Journal of
ABORIGINAL
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Volume 6, Number 1

Journal of
Aboriginal Economic Development

CANDO

Captus Press

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

Table of Contents

THE ARTIST

. . . .

Jason Johnson

Jason was born December 30, 1983 in Whitehorse, Yukon, and lived in the tiny rural community of Burwash Landing until he was seven years old.

Jason has participated in the Sundog Retreat Carving Our Path program since May 2007, where he learned from teachers Calvin Morberg and Vernon Asp.

Jason enjoyed both drama and art classes in high school, and in 2006 Jason acted in a native children's television program produced by Sunrock Productions and aired on APTN.

He is a charming and outgoing member of the community.

Jason likes to try new materials and art forms and is enthusiastic about the learning process. He enjoys the shapes and form of Tlingit art and is steadily improving his own design skills.

Because of Jason's Tlingit heritage, he thinks art and culture are important. Through his artwork, he expresses pride in his culture.

Contact information for this artist can be obtained by calling the CANDO office at 1-800-463-9300.

Editors' Comments

Welcome to the 11th issue of the CANDO Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development, or JAED, featuring new stories and articles presented by an eclectic group of writers, researchers, and community development practitioners.

In this issue we once again profile our CANDO award winners and interviews with leaders in Aboriginal economic, community, and business development. Additionally, we highlight three academic articles that analyze emerging "hot topics" currently facing those involved in Indigenous organizations and communities. We share interpretations on recently published books, and hear from our founding editor — David Newhouse — in the concluding comments to this journal. His reflections mirror another year of change and challenge in the Aboriginal post-colonial world.

Beginning this issue, we would like to highlight CANDO's evolving commitment to practising economic development officers and change agents working in Aboriginal community and economic development. Specifically, JAED 6.1 marks a cognitive move toward better equipping these EDOs and change agents with practical lessons and substantive outcomes covered in the materials published in this and forthcoming issues.

To this end, the editorial board will ensure that every interview, case study, article, book review, and toolkit is readily understandable, accessible and meaningful to those working in the field. For example, those writing academic, or lessons from research articles will be asked to include practical ideas and suggestions to implement, monitor and/or evaluate their research conclusions and recommendations. As well, community members will be asked to participate more actively in developing and publishing stories that they would like to share through their CANDO journal. This participation may include the publication of a successful innovative idea or best practice that can be shared through a co-authored article

written by community leader working together with a researcher and/or journal writer.

In summary, the journal is the same, yet evolving to meet practitioners' needs more effectively. In turn, we request that you not only read through this current issue, but also contemplate ways you might assist in taking future CANDO journals to new heights — by sharing a story, partnering with a researcher to profile events or activities taking place in your community or organization, and/or taking time to read and comment on one or all of the interviews or stories.

Editor's Introduction

Warren Weir

When you read the biographies of incredible individuals that have changed the world, or do a quick search of the Internet for inspirational thoughts on "learning by doing", you will inevitably encounter a countless listing of quotes, attributed to notable people such as Doris Lessing, Albert Einstein, or Nelson Mandela. Lessing, for example, winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature, and leader of campaigns against nuclear arms and South African apartheid, once said that "What matters most is that we learn from living." Albert Einstein, physicist, creator of general and specific theories of relativity, and probably one of the greatest — if not best-known — scientists of the 20th Century, stated that, "Setting an example is not the main means of influencing others, it is the only means." Nelson Mandela, anti-apartheid activist and leader of the African National Congress, is credited with saying that "Education is the most powerful weapon you can use to change the world."

And while the words from these and other outstanding leaders are motivational, Aboriginal leaders and community economic development officers and change agents continue to add to the growing list of experiential commentary and inspirational quotes. Many of these may be found in the materials published in JAED's "Lessons from Experience." In this section we hear from Canadian Aboriginal leaders, educators, and development officers about learning from living, setting healthy and sustainable examples, and changing the world through education, among other quotable-quotes.

In the first interview of JAED, Sherry Baxter questions Clarence Louie, long-time Chief and Aboriginal leader, about the successes of the Osoyoos First Nation, located in southern British Columbia. Chief Louie — who often looks to inspiration from world leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Muhammad Ali — shares information with Baxter about successful projects he has led over the past two decades, including the Nk'Mip Resort, Nk'Mip Cellars, and the recently signed mining agreement. But he is thoughtful about these projects, and has quotes of his own for us to remember and reflect upon. For example, he promotes the value of education, recommending that young people and community workers "go to school and educate [themselves] about other people and other experiences." At the same time he notes that "I've never met someone who knows it all. I don't care how many degrees you have behind your name, you're not a know-it-all." For Chief Louie, it is about financial success, education, participating in the "real" business world, and balance.

In the second interview, Baxter talks with long-time CANDO advocate and Board member Vaughn Sunday. Sunday, from the Akwesasne First Nation, Ontario, describes a number of his community, business, and economic development success stories. He focuses on relationships, noting that education and mentoring are key factors in any successful partnership. But he doesn't forget about acknowledging and appreciating those community members that help make economic success through culturally sustainable relations happen. For Vaughn, "it is give and take. You have to know that and you have to recognize those (people) that help you along the way, and acknowledge those people."

In her last article, Ms. Baxter profiles the winners of CANDO's 2007 Economic Development of the Year award recipients, and asks them some revealing questions regarding their role(s) in Aboriginal economic development in Canada. The award winners, as well as the recognition award winners profiled in this section include: Ruth Williams, the Little Shuswap Indian Band, Verna Billy-Minnabarriet, and the Andrew A. Manitowabi Group.

The CANDO editorial committee would like to thank Chief Louie and Vaughn Sunday for sharing their success stories and experiences. In addition, we extend our congratulations to the CANDO's 2007 Economic Development of the Year award recipients. A very special thank you goes to Sherry Baxter for taking the time to bring these real-life and inspirational stories to print.

INTERVIEW WITH CHIEF LOUIE OSOYOOS FIRST NATION, BRITISH COLUMBIA

. . . .

Sherry Baxter

RESEARCHER

Sherry: Could you give me a quick update on the major projects you've had since winning the CANDO Economic Developer of the Year award in 2000.

Chief Louie: The biggest would be the hundred million dollar Nk'Mip Resort, which includes a hotel (a partnership with Bellstar), a conference center, and the Nk'Mip cellars (a joint venture with Jackson-Triggs of Vincor International).

Our cultural centre opened in 2000, along with our recreational vehicle park and our renovated camp ground. And of course, we've updated all of our businesses — they've had additional growth and additional money put into them. Our championship golf course also opened in 2000 on the north end of our reserve, Nk'Mip canyon. Other than that, all of our other businesses have seen growth and additional jobs and we have continued to invest addition capital into our existing companies. Our first off-reserve business purchase also occurred in 2000 when we bought and moved a cement plant on to the reserve.

Sherry: Can you give me a quick profile of what's occurring at the moment? Didn't you just sign a mining agreement?

Chief Louie: Yes, we just signed our first natural resource agreement. From a mining industry perspective, it's a small mine. The mining agreement is a first for our band and for the Okanagan Nation territory. What's different about our mining agreements is that we are actually sharing royalties with the other Okanagan bands. Most mining agreements don't do that. Typically, the individual band that signs the agreement gets all the royalties and whatever else comes of it. We have a formula where we're sharing with the other bands in our territory. Of course jobs are a part of it, as well as scholarships and donations toward environmental programs.

Sherry: Can you expand on that project and focus in on how you went about establishing the relationships necessary for that deal? What were the building blocks and how did you go about partnering with the communities and government and getting this deal going?

Chief Louie: A couple years ago, we signed a ski hill agreement with American investors out of Idaho. We also have a revenue sharing agreement with the province. But whether you're signing agreements with governments or with other entrepreneurs, for joint ventures, it's about bringing the right people to the table with business experience because there is always those on every Indian reserve or non-Native business

organization that wants the scale tipped totally in their favour. You'll never do a deal if you want everything in your favour.

Business is give and take; good business is reasonable cost, development and service. Some people say immature stuff — "They'll make money off this deal!" — I say, "Well, of course! Why else would they do it, and if you had to operate the business would you not expect to make money also?" I don't know of any successful business people that do deals or lease land to lose money. If someone wants a higher percentage of something and they've never put any money into it, or they say, "It's my traditional territory and I want 50% of the profits." Well, those are unrealistic expectations. There are a lot of unrealistic expectations among some of the Native leadership, but I am encouraged to see more and more Native people understanding business and engaging corporate Canada.

If you're going to do a partnership with someone, the scale has to be as level as it can get. You can't have everything tipped in your favour, neither can the other side get unreasonable. If that's what you want, you'll never do a deal, and there are a lot of Native people where that's fine with them. They have no deal but continue to depend on the Federal government to provide for all their needs. These bands holler and scream and then deliver underfunded social programs. Then they stand up and say they've never done a deal because the deals they've been presented have never been good enough. Yet, their community's biggest budget remains welfare and the biggest employer is still the band office. Well, I know personally that I, and many other Natives, wouldn't do business with most First Nations, or many Native people, because their business expectations are too unrealistic. Few have started a business or have risked their own money, and they've grown up on grants or are always going to the funding trough. Well, the funding trough is one lifestyle, and then there's the business lifestyle of risk and making money, give and take, and putting your money where your mouth is. There are too many Native people on the grant funding trough and that's their experience. I like being around Native people who strive to make their own money and create their own jobs and put their own self-generated money where their mouth is. Putting their own money into their own First Nations social, cultural, recreational, educational and health needs.

Sherry: In order to move away from that, you have to establish partnerships and relationships with many different people . . .

Chief Louie: Yes, smart people surround themselves with smarter people; only dumb people hang around dumb people. If you want to hang around lazy people I guess you go to school on bad examples. There's a lot of that around. There are a handful of First Nations and First Nation people that are starting to realize that business is a risk and in business you don't get everything you want. You can't wait around for the world to be perfect, because it isn't perfect and never will be perfect.

Sherry: What advice would you give to other communities who are trying to establish relationships and partnerships with either government or business, or other communities to get some projects going?

Chief Louie: Go to school and educate yourself about other people and other experiences. The bad, and not just the good. Learn about the bad too. Failed arrangements, failed deals, and bankrupt operations. Some people with degrees might think they're know-it-alls but they have little real-life business experience. I've never met someone who actually knows it all! I don't care how many degrees you have behind your name, you're not a know-it-all. I rarely hear about the failed operations. Where are those? They tend to get shoved under the rug and no one wants to talk about them.

Sherry: Can you address a failure that you've had and describe the lessons you've learned from it?

Chief Louie: Like Chief Philip Martin from the Choctaw Tribe said, "never do anything without a proper feasibility study." There are a lot of Natives that want to go into business and want to do this and that — ideas are easy to come up with. Anyone can come up with ideas. Ideas and dreams are a dime a dozen But getting those ideas off the drawing board and transforming them into reality takes skills, discipline, and a lot of money. You need an outside opinion; you

need to have a professional feasibility study, not just the opinions of your inner circle. We got into a failed cattle operation because we didn't do a feasibility study. We just listened to people that said they needed jobs and, without getting an outside professional opinion — be it an auditor or banker — simply spent band money because we thought it would be a good thing to do. And most Natives don't understand business plans. You can't just say "I want to do this and I want to do that" and not even put it to paper with critical numbers! If you can't put it to paper, then you haven't thought about it enough. Too many Native people don't want to do a business plan. They don't want to have that business plan vetted by their auditor or their accountant. They just have an idea and they think it over and want somebody, the band or government grants, to fund it. That's one of the big problems I see. That's been our failed operation. In our case, we thought that we were smart business people and that we could go out there and do a project without a feasibility study. It failed and it went bankrupt.

Sherry: If you were to define it, what would a relationship mean to you?

Chief Louie: A business relationship? Whoever puts up the most money gets most of the profits. If you want 50/50, then what are you bringing to the table? It is usually First Nation land or a combination of land and money. You've got to be able to quantify what you want in a relationship and not just sell it on philosophies or Native rhetoric. If I'm going to take my own money and bring it to the table, and if you want 50% of whatever it is we say we're going to achieve, then you had better be covering 50% of the risk. You had better be putting your money where your mouth is. If someone is putting up more of the money, then they should be getting more of the profit. They should be making more of the business decisions. Most people would never say, "Well, I want equal say to you, yet you're putting up more than 50% of the money." If I'm putting up more than 50% of the money then I should have more than 50% of the say, because I have investment at risk. A relationship is not always 50/50 unless you've got 50% of the risk and you've brought 50% of the money to the table.

We own 25% of the Spirit Ridge hotel. We don't own 50% because we didn't bring 50% to the table. Just because it's on a reserve doesn't mean we have a majority of the say because we've never run a hotel in our lives. We're partnered with people that have run many high-end tourism resorts. You've got to be willing to take advice from people and listen to experienced professionals. That's where advisors come from. Every successful person in the world has advisors. You ask most Indians "Who are your advisors?". the Elders, your parents? You gotta find people you trust. Elders have cultural experience, and valuable life experiences, we go to them for cultural or personal advice. But when it comes down to operating a business, you need business advisors that have a proven record, not because they are an Indian, or a band member, or are on Chief and Council. It's the reality of the business world. Like if you want legal advice, get a lawyer. Doctor's advice? Then go find somebody who has a degree in medicine. Even lawyers think they know everything about business, but most lawyers aren't business people. Have them involved in the legalities of the company, but keep them out of the business side of things. Same with accountants. Accountants usually have never run a business. You don't have accountants in on the marketing of your vineyard or winery because they've never run that sort of business. So there are specific areas where you need advice from specific, experienced people.

Like I said, smart people surround themselves with smarter people. We have a core of advisors we get advice from, but our businesses are a little bit different because they are community-owned businesses, they're not individually owned. That adds a layer of political difficulty and bureaucracy. There is a lot of give and take when you're a community-owned business as opposed to a privately-owned business. If you own a business privately, you can call the shots and don't have to report to anyone But in a band business, there's a lot of give and take and there's a lot more politics involved. Which for the most part impedes business development but that's the way things are on an Indian reserve. You can't separate politics and business, you can only try to manage it and put in rules and regulations to minimize its impact.

Sherry: Let's say you're developing a business idea, and you're seeking partners, how do you go about that process? Deciding who it is that you want to partner with, and then getting there?

Chief Louie: It's not really done at my table until it has gone through the scrutiny of other people. We have a finance committee with many layers and checks and balances in our system. We have a full time experienced EDO [Economic Development Officer] who has run his own businesses off the reserve and has been involved in million-dollar operations and created a lot of jobs. We have a COO, our financial person. It's got to go through all of them before it comes up to the Council table. People often call me about getting involved in business ventures and I tell them that "your business concept may eventually get to me, but in our structure it must first go through other doors". You've got to go through these layers before it comes up to the Chief and Council table. The process doesn't start at the Council table or with me, the Chief. You've got to walk the plank with these others. If you can get through them, and they've vetted your idea or proposed relationship, then it will come to the Council table to be kicked around even more. There the financial scrutiny is done, and other people get involved and analyze it because there are a lot of "pretend business people" and phoney and bad arrangements out there, and they each expect the First Nations to have access to government-funded money. So they want us to fund their idea, fund their dream. They want to come on a reserve and get away from, I guess, the zoning off the rez, or whatever other requirements that they have to abide by off the reserve. The majority of business people that I've run into are not the kind you want to do business with. There are a few reasonable ones out there and we have been able to partner with some experienced, quality companies, but again it's all about checks and balances: You check the hell out of it. Analyze the heck out of it.

Sherry: In your experience, was there any particular approach that worked best? You may have addressed this with the checks and balances system you described.

Chief Louie: Yes. Most bands and their development corporations, through their staffing or corporations, advisors and their consultants, have a checks and balance system where they analyze possible ventures or operations and the performance of key staff members. I guess one of the best things is like what banks do. They aren't going to lend you money until they analyze things and determine whether you're credible and figure out what the risk is on their part — a risk analysis. I think most First Nations have some of that, whether or not it's very good. We've been able to develop a relationship with banks where they lend us money in much same way that they would lend to non-Native business. I don't believe the concept that we cannot do business on Indian reserves. We have two different banks that want to do business with us and a few other First Nations because they have proven themselves to be business-ready and don't have the political chaos that's usually associated with their Chief and Council or their band membership.

You've got to be willing to go into debt. Every business person, real business person, goes into debt. You don't run a business based entirely on the money you have in your bank account. I don't know any successful business that runs like that. Most First Nations are either scared to go into debt or have not developed the passing grade that banks require; the banks don't feel that they're a safe risk because of their record. Most bands don't even have a business record. So in order to borrow the sizable amounts of money it takes to get into business or to develop a business, you've got to have a bank on your side. In the business world you don't run businesses on cash. You run it on loans and on debt. Most Natives don't realize there's such a thing as good debt. Most people go into debt for their cars or house; that's good debt. Most people don't have the cash to go out and buy a car, they borrow the money. Most people don't have the money to build a house, they finance it. It's the same in business. You've got to be able to finance your business. It's taken us a while to get to the point where the banks have a level of comfort to lend us money at prime rates.

We've proven ourselves to be stable enough. Many First Nations have their internal civil war. Every band has, even Osoyoos. We try to keep that out of the media and you don't air your dirty laundry in public. Banks and business peo-

ple aren't going to come into your community and look for joint ventures or any sort of business relationships when all they hear about is internal strife and conflict. [White] customers will not spend their hard-earned money at sites where there is political strife and conflict — strife that I know exists in every Native community. It exists in Osoyoos, but it also exists in every town because not everyone agrees with the elected leadership. That's democracy. There's always the majority and always the opposition. There's opposition here. That's fine. That's democracy. You can't run a business based on consensus. Business decisions cannot wait around for consensus.

Sherry: Do you have any other advice you'd like to share with EDOs?

Chief Louie: Nothing other than to get pertinent training and always be a student of good and bad examples. There are a thousand business 101 courses, there are a thousand marketing or accounting or finance courses. But there's a big difference between those and seeking out real-life experiences. You've got to go out there and learn the "street smarts" that other people have developed down in the trenches, from being in the real business world and not just the book world. Although the book world is important, just as important is going to First Nations and learning from their experiences. Learn how they handle the politics around their Council table, or the business table, or the bank. Educate yourself about the bands or Native entrepreneurs that have accomplished things in the real business world or about the individuals that have accomplished things and not just talked about them. Go find people who have created real money-making jobs, not just grant-dependent jobs — and not just talked about them or wrote term papers. Get some advisors from the real business world.

INTERVIEW WITH VAUGHN SUNDAY AKWESASNE FIRST NATION, ONTARIO

. . . .

Sherry Baxter

RESEARCHER

Sherry: Could you please describe some of the projects your community has completed recently? Our focus is on relationships and how they have been important to the success of those projects.

Vaughn: I'd start by saying that we have relationships with other First Nations, and we've been mentored when we were working on a project. We would go to other First Nations for advice. For example, when we did an industrial building, I visited Tom Maness, who is one of the best. They have one of the best industrial parks in Canada. I went and spoke to Tom and had a tour of Tom's facility.

We have a partnership where we provide documentation and information on projects to other First Nations. When we built the Peace Tree Mall, I went to Six Nations, which already had a mini mall, and looked at their leasing, their construction, their design. We then altered it to something more suitable for us. We have relationships with other First Nations with an open door policy whereby people give us information and we share information with other First Nations on projects.

We also have relationships with the government, both federal and provincial. Because of our geographic location, we run an entrepreneur program that receives support both federally and provincially. We have a really nice entrepreneur course, and if grants are available, we can work with various players in order to make a business successful.

In terms of other relationships, it's almost on a project-by-project basis. For example, we have a relationship internally with our housing department and we did a subdivision for profit. We will build at a certain price and sell it at a slightly higher price. The reason that we have this project is that we have a waiting list of 380, because of our large population. That is 380 families on the waiting list to get a home. So the more homes we build, hopefully we can reduce that number, and hopefully we can do it in a profitable manner. Therefore, we have a partnership with the department of housing.

I would say that we have many relationships. Another example is our tobacco quota system. We have a law that we abide by and the system used to be managed and governed by the private sector. Well, we lost control of it quite some time ago and the revenues weren't filtering into the council. I was asked to convene a board to revamp the system, and we did that. We approached the provincial government, and we now receive an annual quota of tax-free cigarettes. We put a surcharge on every carton sold to our retailers. We provide a license to our retailers and when they order, they automatically pay a fee to the council. Now, we generate revenues in the amount of $400,000 that funds our justice program. We have a nation-building relationship with our justice program. We're talking about law development, law enactment, and

about policy and procedures to be developed within our community.

So, we have relationships with both the federal and provincial governments, with other First Nations, and with the private sector business. We have many relationships probably because of the sheer size of the community. We have a population close to 11,000 people that live on-reserve with an additional 1,800 on our list that live off-reserve. So we have a lot of demands.

Sherry: Is there a project that you're currently working on now that's going to be done in the next two or three years, which we can focus on in terms of the process you use to build these relationships?

Vaughn: Yes. Probably the easiest one is the subdivision. We put the funds together for the infrastructure and that was about $600,000 for the first 19 homes. Again, it's a relationship with the housing department and a relationship with the community of our territory with people seeking a home. We use a mortgage program with the Bank of Montreal. We provide a loan guarantee program so people can acquire a mortgage to buy the homes in the first place. It's fairly complex, but it's very rewarding in the end. You see a need — a housing shortage — and you see some ways to get around the problem and ways that we can work together with the community and with other departments within our system. I would say the housing project would be the obvious one, where we put monies together for infrastructure, housing, design; we oversee the construction, and we do the sale — it's a tandem partnership.

Sherry: What suggestions would you give, based on your experience, of the kinds of skills or tactics that are useful in starting new relationships?

Vaughn: I would say that for any successful economic development, you need personnel with an education. You need to be able to get along and have background knowledge of things. Programs like CANDO's Certification Process, or university or college — every province has community economic development programs. For any successful economic development, education is one part of it.

The second part is getting some mentorship from other First Nations. Let's say you want to build a hotel, for example. Go and visit Tribal Council Investment Group in Winnipeg. They bought a hotel, I believe it's a Radisson located in downtown Winnipeg; go to Osoyoos, see how the Spirit Ridge Resort was developed. For me, a First Nation can save a lot of time and energy and avoid mistakes by going and speaking with experienced people. And across the country we have enough examples so that economic development people can go and see a successful project and bring back the how-to guideline for their own community. I would say building relationships with other First Nations, or with other business groups that have had success, and getting some good advice from them, is a very important path to success for individual First Nations and economic development people.

Sherry: What's your philosophy on what relationship means? Can you describe what relationships mean to you?

Vaughn: A relationship has to be fostered on both sides. For example, if you're trying to work with Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) on a project, you need to have a relationship such that both sides have an understanding of the process of how you might do a business plan or feasibility study for a project. You might submit your project to a bank. So, you need private funding agencies, financing agencies. You need to have a combination of how much assistance you can get from the government, how much investment you can get from your council, and to do that you have to foster relationships.

I guess the philosophy is that you have an understanding of the process, from starting construction through to cutting a ribbon. So how do you get there? By understanding the process and understanding who you have to see. In terms of fostering a relationship, for example you might have a ribbon cutting ceremony, when you're just beginning construction. Invite those people that assisted you — the bank that you borrowed the money from, the INAC person that assisted you in getting funds. The second part of that is once you have completed a project, according to our culture you give everyone a piece of the result. Let's say we opened our subdivision, for example. We had a steak dinner and invited everybody — every department, every partner — that

we had, and we acknowledged them with a First Nation print that was made in my community. That was basically a "thank you", an acknowledgement that we were successful in this project because we had many partners. It's a relationship whereby we let our local newspaper know about these people who helped us or the bank who gave us a loan. Everybody has a picture in the paper, an article on what the project was, and how we received assistance from everyone.

So it's a give and take. You have to know that and you have to recognize those that help you along the way and acknowledge those people. You save yourself some problems and issues if you go to people you already know or who have experience doing what you're thinking of doing. So I'd say that kind of the philosophy. It's got to be an understanding on both sides, what is the nature of our relationship, this is what we're thinking about, the end result is this, and this is how we're going to get there. It's making sure you know those INAC people or the banks that are evaluating your project. Making sure you have dinner with them so you have an understanding. If there's documentation that needs to be revised or reviewed you have to know that. So it's a communication relationship and it's also acknowledgement of assistance for anything you do.

Sherry: Have you ever had any experience with something that didn't go so well, or that was challenging, that taught you lessons on building relationships?

Vaughn: Sure. The one that comes to mind is a political relationship we had with the Mayans in Latin America. They came to our community and were overwhelmed with our development as a First Nation. So they asked us to visit their community. They had been in a 35-year civil war and they were just getting back on their feet. They needed basic services like bridges and roads, schools for their kids; so, they invited us to visit to see if we could provide any assistance. Based on that visit, we started buying coffee from them. They had agricultural crops and they grew coffee. We made sure that we bought coffee from their organization and we paid a slightly higher fee — it was fair market coffee, and we didn't underpay them. We brought the coffee to Canada and roasted it locally — we had a coffee roasting operation and a coffee house on the reserve serving this high grade, high quality First Nation coffee. We could honestly say it was First Nation grown, First Nation roasted, and First Nation developed coffee.

It was a really, really good project, theoretically. But the problem that we ran into is Tim Hortons. We couldn't convince our own people to drink the coffee that was Native grown, Native harvested, Native roasted, and Native developed. It taught us a lesson that sometimes a good idea theoretically doesn't work practically. In this case, Tim Hortons swallows everyone else that has an idea about coffee. Now, we're looking at meeting with Tim Hortons to try to get a Tim Hortons franchise on our reserve. It taught us a valuable lesson. You can't just go with a political idea and expect it to succeed. You have to do some research along the way and look at your competition — the neighbouring town from our community has about 14 or 15 Tim Hortons in a town of 40,000. Well, instead of fighting against that tidal wave coming at us, turn the opposite direction and try to buy a franchise.

PROFILE OF CANDO'S 2007 ECONOMIC DEVELOPER OF THE YEAR AWARD WINNERS

....

Sherry Baxter

RESEARCHER

INTRODUCTION

Aboriginal economic development remains the key vehicle to self-sufficiency and self-governance for Canada's Aboriginal Peoples. Every year, the Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers (CANDO), along with those in the economic development field, celebrate and highlight four individuals and/or businesses/communities who have exemplified successful and inspiring economic development initiatives. This honour and recognition takes place through the Economic Developer of the Year Awards at CANDO's Conference and Annual General Meeting. CANDO's 2007 awards included four exceptional and uniquely successful community economic development and business role models. These role models included the Award winners Ruth Williams (individual category) and the Little Shuswap Indian Band (business/community category); and the Recognition Award winners Verna Billy-Minnabarriet (individual category) and the Andrew A. Manitowabi Group (business/community category).

In order to highlight these well-deserving award recipients, a brief profile of each winner is presented below. These profiles are based on information obtained from web sites and the award nomination packages submitted, which best highlight the achievements and accomplish-ments of these exceptional individuals and businesses/communities. The nomination packages focused on a comprehensive variety of details, including the following: a profile of the individual, business or community; a background summary of their work experience or business/community history; examples of the various Aboriginal economic development initiatives undertaken; a description of the innovative and ground-breaking elements of their initiatives; challenges faced by their initiatives and how they were overcome; the effects of the initiatives on their surrounding communities (either geographically or of interest); the nature of the partnerships and relationships formed through their initiatives; and their contributions to the field of Aboriginal economic development and impact on the Economic Development Officer (EDO) profession.

The profiles below will outline these key areas of their achievements. In addition, to supplement her profile, Verna Billy-Minnabarriet was able to provide a brief response to the following interview questions: a description of her community; an outline of the major projects she has started or has been a part of, steps she took to complete those projects; what she feels were the most significant impacts she has had on her community through those projects; an outline of the most significant successes and challenges she

faced while accomplishing those projects; what her future plans are; and what advice she would give EDOs.

RUTH WILLIAMS,
INDIVIDUAL CATEGORY AWARD WINNER

Profile

Ruth Williams is the Chief Executive Officer of All Nations Trust Company. She was nominated by the All Nations Trust Company and received a number of exceptional reference letters from various professionals in the field of Aboriginal economic development. Ruth Williams was honoured for her initiatives in promoting entrepreneurship (i.e., support of Aboriginal self-reliance); establishing new partnerships; and preserving a strong sustainable community. As highlighted in her nomination form,

> Ruth Williams has been a leader in social and economic development for Aboriginal people in British Columbia for 25 years. She has been a member of dozens of organizations over the years, almost invariably assuming a leadership role. [Williams] currently sits on not less than seven different boards, including the Aboriginal Housing Committee of BC; the Kamloops Native Housing Society ([serving as] President); and the United Way and Indian and Northern Affairs Project Review Committee ([serving as] Chair). [Williams] has also been a founding member of eight non-profit organizations which are working to improve the quality of life for Aboriginal [people] in the BC interior. These organizations include: the Round Lake Treatment Center, the Aboriginal Health Advisory Council, and the Central Interior Ministry of Child & Family Services Advisory Board.

In reference to her impact on establishing new partnerships,

> [Williams] was a founder of All Nations Trust Company (ANTCO), a company with 200 Aboriginal shareholders including several First Nation

communities, Métis and urban Aboriginal organizations, and Aboriginal individuals.

> As CEO for ANTCO, [Williams] seeks out new agreements and partnerships [and] some examples for this include:

- CMHC [Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation]direct lending: [Williams] negotiated the first Agents Agreement with Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation for delivery of their Direct Lending Program; and
- Negotiation of a $75 million trust agreement.

> As a Canadian Employment and Insurance Commission Advisory Board member, [Williams] was successful in putting forth a recommendation that the Regional Advisory Board be designated a Community Futures Development Office to ensure that rural First Nations had access to business financing. That recommendation led to the decision to create the Community Futures Development Corporation of Central Interior First Nations.

> [Williams] has established long-term partnerships with every level of government: federal, provincial, First Nation, and municipal. These partnerships have proven invaluable for the organizations and committees with which [she] has been involved with.

Williams has partaken in the following initiatives to promote Aboriginal entrepreneurship:

- She is a member and Vice-Chair of the western board for the first Native Economic Development Program (NEDP) Board;
- She is a founding member of All Nations Trust Company;
- She is a past board member of the National Aboriginal Capital Corporation Association (NACCA);
- She is a past board member with the Kamloops District Community Futures Development Corporation;

- She has negotiated a $350,000 loan fund with the BC provincial government;
- She has negotiated a $250,000 Aboriginal youth loan fund with Aboriginal Business Canada;
- She has negotiated funding from the federal government to provide business advisory positions for various BC regions, which to date have provided business start-up and financing assistance to more than 500 entrepreneurs within BC; and
- She has established a relationship with the Nicola Valley Institute of Technology (NVIT), resulting in ANTCO sponsoring NVIT's annual business case competition for 20 Aboriginal youth interested in the field of business.

In order to preserve a strong sustainable community, Williams has been a founding member of various organizations and has been part of a number of programs. Through these she has been able to positively influence and improve the socio-economic well-being of urban and rural Aboriginal communities in BC. Below is a list of those organizations and programs she has been involved with:

- She is a founding member and 16 year President of Kamloops Native Housing Society, which has creating affordable housing for urban Aboriginal families and has created spin-off opportunities for jobs, education, and improved health conditions;
- She is a founding member of the Little Hands of Friendship Daycare Society, which helped create daycare facilities for over 80 children;
- She is a founding member and previous Vice President of the Round Lake Treatment Center, which provides shelter and holistic healing for alcohol and drug addictions;
- She has overseen ANTCO's growth with direct advantages to the Aboriginal shareholders, staff, and their families;
- She is a founder of the BC Agri-Food Futures Fund, which provides access to funding for Aboriginal people to grow and benefit from agricultural crops; and
- She was the General Manager of the Interior Indian Friendship Society for 14 years, and moved that organization to financial stability,

allowing it to focus on community-drive initiatives.

Background Summary of Work Experience or Business/Community History

Although much of Williams' work experience has been outlined above, the following section provides a summary of her experience. Williams has been the CEO of ANTCO since 1997. She was the General Manager of the Interior Indian Friendship Society from 1983 to 1997. These organizations have greatly benefited from her experience, hard work and dedication to Aboriginal people, focusing and inspiring Aboriginal people to seek growth from opportunities they can create for themselves. Williams is also a member of the Aboriginal Housing Committee for BC, is a founding member and 16 year President of Kamloops Native Housing Society, and is a previous board member of NVIT.

Examples of Aboriginal Economic Development Initiatives

Williams has been part of three major initiatives throughout her work experience with ANTCO, the Interior Indian Friendship Society, and as a member of the Provincial First Citizens' Fund (FCF) advisory board. Below is a description of these initiatives as outlined in her nomination package.

> [Williams] was a founding member of ANTCO. The company started out as an idea for Aboriginal people to help themselves by creating a financial institution to assist with business start-ups within the [five] tribal regions of south-central BC. The company has grown substantially under [her] guidance and has since loaned more than $56 million to Aboriginal businesses throughout Canada.
>
> As the General Manager of the Interior Indian Friendship Society, [Williams] made several business moves that strengthened the financial bottom line for this organization which had previously struggled to provide a handful of social programs.

Under her guidance, the Society increased its staffing from [five people] to 52 and increased assets from $50,000 to $3 million. This had decreased the dependence on government funding and allowed it flexibility to focus on community-driven initiatives such as the Little Hands of Friendship Daycare.

As a member of the provincial FCF Advisory Board, [Williams] helped transition an ineffective grant program to a business loan program and was instrumental in bringing that program into the control of Aboriginal Capital Corporations. This move brought more control of Aboriginal business loan dollars back to Aboriginal organizations.

Innovative and Ground-breaking Elements of Those Initiatives

Williams was both a visionary in fostering and completing the initiatives described above and succeeding despite having to work outside the limitations of government funding programs. As highlighted in her nomination package, the following points describe how Williams was innovative in producing those ground-breaking initiatives.

[Williams] was a visionary and founding member of ANTCO, a for-profit, wholly-Aboriginally-owned and provincially regulated institution. The company was established to provide a service to all Aboriginal entrepreneurs, both on- and off-reserve. The company has been in existence for more than 20 years and has provided valuable service in that time.

As General Manager of the Interior Indian Friendship Society, Ruth worked outside the limitations of government funding programs to secure a solid economic base for the Society. The benefits of these business transactions are still felt by the Society today in the form of increased/expanded programs with more emphasis on community needs.

Individual or Business/Community Challenges and How They Were Resolved

There were a number of key challenges faced by Williams while creating ANTCO and developing other programs. The following describes each challenge (in no particular order) and how it was subsequently resolved.

The first obstacle included the struggle to have various Aboriginal groups and individuals pool their resources to achieve a common goal. This challenge was overcome by ANTCO. The company's success proves that combining resources is possible and the outcome has been the improved position of 200 shareholders, including First Nation communities; Métis organizations; Friendship Centres; and status, non-status, and Métis individuals. The company now has more than $12 million in loan capital. Further, the inclusion of all Aboriginal people in creating ANTCO was a key goal. This barrier was overcome by keeping the prospective shareholders focused on the common goal: a financial institution with full Aboriginal ownership.

The second struggle was finding additional loan capital for ANTCO once it was formed. Williams was instrumental in resolving this, as she accessed funding from the federal government despite no formal program for this purpose. This opened the door for other Aboriginal Capital Corporations nationwide. Subsequently, this lead to a challenge to gain federal acceptance of providing funding for a regulated, for-profit financial institution, the ultimate goal for ANTCO.

The third obstacle was gaining the confidence of the Superintendent of Trust Companies (the regulatory body for trust companies in BC). The regulatory body was not interested due to the previous demise of an Aboriginal financial institution in Vancouver. This challenge was overcome by Williams and her team by being persistent and sticking to the Superintendent's strict policies.

A fourth barrier consisted of developing social and economic programs under the guidance of the provincial government at a time when government would not yet recognize the unique requirements of Aboriginal people. Persistence and adherence to policies once again

helped Williams and her team overcome this challenge.

Effects of the Initiatives on Surrounding Communities (Geographic or of Interest)

The initiatives Williams has been involved in have created beneficial, quantitative effects on Aboriginal communities spanning the country. ANTCO has loaned over $56.6 million (in over 1,100 loans) since 1987. Further, she has helped provide over 84 housing units to Aboriginal families in Kamloops. This affordable housing has had a significant impact on the ability of these families to achieve education and career goals.

Nature of the Partnerships and Relationships Formed

Williams has helped create positive partnerships and relationship with various levels of governments, Aboriginal organizations, communities, businesses, and entrepreneurs. Specifically, she has helped with the transition of a provincial grant program into a business loan fund, extending the reach of those funds for more people to take advantage of them. Further, she negotiated ANTCO to manage the delivery of that loan fund as a primary contractor for the province of British Columbia.

Contribution to the Field of Aboriginal Economic Development and Impact on the EDO Profession

As stated in her nomination package, Williams contributed to Aboriginal economic development and impacted the EDO profession in the following ways:

- [Williams] helped to bring business support services to All Nations Development Corporation. The Business Development Officers on staff have provided literally hundreds of entrepreneurs with advisory services and funding (leverage);

- [She] has influenced federal and provincial governments to appreciate the need for advisory services and access to capital to empower [Aboriginal] people to grow (individual and community business projects);
- [Her] proposals have led to the creation of other business advisory offices in the Kootenay and North-East regions of BC. These independent organizations have assisted dozens of Aboriginal entrepreneurs over the past [five] years; and
- [Williams] has shown a willingness to share lessons she has learned and technical information with other Aboriginal Capital Corporations.

LITTLE SHUSWAP INDIAN BAND
BUSINESS/COMMUNITY AWARD WINNER

Profile

The Little Shuswap Indian Band is located in Central British Columbia, halfway between Vancouver and Calgary. The Band has five reserves totalling 7,747 acres, which are under band and member ownership and are scenic forested areas. These reserves include the Quaaout Indian Reserve, Chum Creek Indian Reserve, Meadow Creek Indian Reserve, Scotch Creek Indian Reserve, and North Bay Indian Reserve.

The area is surrounded by three mountain ranges. They include Adams Hill to the North, Boysse Mountain to the South-West, and Squilax Mountain to the South-East. The Little Shuswap Band is located between the big Shuswap Lake, which has 1,200 miles of shoreline and Little River, the shortest river in the world; and the Little Shuswap Lake. The area borders on the "world's richest three hundred acres of land" because of the salmon run that occurs every four years.[1]

Felix Arnouse is the Band's Chief and his two Councillors are Tess Tomma and Wes Francois. The Little Shuswap Indian Band was recognized for establishing new partnerships, preserving a strong sustainable community, creating new business ventures, maintaining Aboriginal

---

[1] Source: Little Shuswap Indian Band's website: <http://www.littleshuswaplake.com/history.html>.

culture and values, facilitating Aboriginal economic opportunities, market development and innovation, and the creation of employment. To learn more about the Band, you can order a copy of their promotional DVD by e-mailing <lsibreceptionist@littleshuswaplake.com>.

Background Summary of Work Experience or Business Community History

In addition to the profile of the Band above, The Little Shuswap Indian Band is organized into the following eight main departments: Housing, Education, Fisheries, Forestry, Wellness, Quaaout Resort & Conference Centre, Youth and Family, and Public Works. To expand on a few of these departments, the Wellness department provides community services in health, education, social development and day care. The Department has funding from both Health Canada and the Department of Indian Affairs to operate the following programs:

- Mandatory health programs — public health nursing including immunization and communicable disease control, environmental health services;
- Community health programs — A&D counselling and referral, community education programs, workshops, nutrition for expectant and new mothers, patient travel, health information and referral;
- Education services — early childhood education, liaison and support for school children, funding and support for post-secondary education (e.g., college, university), program development;
- Social development services — social assistance, GFA, employment enhancement programs;
- Counselling and referral; and
- Community projects such as post-secondary education on reserve, workshops, summer day camp programs, annual community events (e.g., Christmas activities), conferences, cultural events.[2]

The Quaaout Lodge's mission is "to meet our guests' expectations by providing comfortable accommodation, quality food, excellent services, and unique cultural experience".[3]

Examples of Aboriginal Economic Development Initiatives

As outlined in the nomination package for the Little Shuswap Indian Band, the following is a list of the Band's businesses:

- Quaaout Resort & Conference Centre
- Talking Rock golf course
- Little Shuswap Gas Station and Strip Mall
- Squilax Daycare
- Little Shuswap Electric Company
- Lake Shore Residential and Industrial Park Leases and Taxation

Innovative and Ground-breaking Elements of Those Initiatives

Two innovative measures were required to ensure the success of the Talking Rock golf course. The following excerpt taken from the nomination package describes these creative and successful innovations.

> Little Shuswap Indian Band set out on a campaign to raise capital through [the] consolidation of 25 pre-paid lease lot revenues. The task of consolidating 25 leaseholders to each commit a fairly large sum of money into Little Shuswap Indian Band's economic initiative in the political environment of the day was arduous. Also the leaseholders' dynamic within their association made the initiative of acquiring the capital through pre-paid leases for Talking Rock quite innovative for a First Nation community.
>
> The second innovative initiative to raise construction capital came in the form of pre-paid memberships. Year-to-date, 25 out of a total 50 founders'

---

[2] Source: The Little Shuswap Indian Band's website: <http://www.littleshuswaplake.com/wellness_department.html>.

[3] Source: The quote was taken from the Little Shuswap Indian Band's nomination package.

memberships have been sold at $25,000 for 20 years. This is another innovative approach which reflects the confidence, integrity and credibility of Little Shuswap Indian Band's Elders, community, management, and Chief and Council.

Individual or Business/Community Challenges and How They Were Resolved

The innovative solutions discussed in the above section were also Little Shuswap Indian Band's main challenges in the Talking Rock golf course initiative. No other challenges were outlined in the nomination package.

Effects of the Initiatives on Surrounding Communities (Geographic or of Interest)

The Little Shuswap Indian Band has had two major impacts on surrounding communities through their various economic development initiatives. These impacts were outlined in the nomination package and are provided below.

- The Little Shuswap Indian Band has been on the forefront of economic development for over a decade. Quaaout Lodge was the first initiative which brought hope ... for [Aboriginal] people far and wide.
- The second form of positive effect [Little Shuswap Indian Band's] initiatives are having comes in the form of bridging the race gap. [Little Shuswap Indian Band's] initiatives have created employment for all types in industry and that means bringing together people to understand each other's culture, traditions and heritage.

Nature of the Partnerships and Relationships Formed

The Little Shuswap Indian Band formed numerous partnerships and relationships in fulfilling its economic development initiatives; however, two of them were specifically highlighted in the nomination package. Below is the excerpt describing those unique relationships.

> Consultation with the community came in many different forms to forward the economic development initiatives of the Little Shuswap Indian Band. A partnership and formal relationship that was created came from the internal workings of Little Shuswap Indian Band Housing Committee, which was made up of a cross section of the community members who had vested interest from a housing perspective. The housing committee had issued a policy to allow band member housing to be built adjacent to the golf course and its fairways. The result was a relationship being created between the community members and economic development directors to consult each other in golf course living accommodations and economic development business issues and matters.
>
> [A] formal relationship outside the community came from post secondary programs that related to the golf industry; thus, partnerships were formed to carry out formal educations in the golf industry. These partnerships included ... [two-] year in-class programs with Olds College, [a one] year distance education [program] with Guelph University, and a plethora of weekly specialty programs from various post secondary institutes.

Contribution to the Field of Aboriginal Economic Development and Impact on the EDO Profession

The Little Shuswap Indian Band has "taken the necessary steps to strengthen their community and realize benefits and offer opportunities for their members."[4]

---

[4] Source: The quote was taken from the Little Shuswap Indian Band's nomination package.

Furthermore, as stated in the Band's nomination package,

> Quaaout Resort Conference Centre is one of many Band businesses of Little Shuswap Indian Band where they demonstrate and provide quality service and facilitate this in a competitive industry. The Conference Centre is uniquely designed to provide their guests with functional venues in settings that beautifully reflect the Native heritage of the region. It is known [as] a perfect place for conferences, seminars, and workshops; and more recently popular for weddings.

VERNA BILLY-MINNABARRIET
INDIVIDUAL CATEGORY RECOGNITION AWARD WINNER

Profile

Verna Billy-Minnabarriet, B.A., P.B.D., M.A., is the Vice President of Learning Services & Community Partnerships at Nicola Valley Institute of Technology (NVIT). Billy-Minnabarriet was highlighted for her commitment and dedication to promoting entrepreneurship, establishing new partnerships, preserving a strong sustainable community, and the creation of employment. She was nominated by Hopeton A. Louden. As stated in her nomination package,

> [She has] been a stalwart in making mainstream educational institutions work for Aboriginal peoples. We must acknowledge and start to recognize the immense contribution that Aboriginal educators have made and are making to successful economic development. ... [Billy-Minnabarriet's] contributions have been exemplary!

Background Summary of Work Experience or Business/Community History

Notwithstanding Billy-Minnabarriet's extensive and very impressive resume (which could not be included here), a brief snapshot of her work experience is provided below from her nomination package.

> [Billy-Minnabarriet] has always worked in the education field particularly in the area of Aboriginal youth and adult education. Her work has focused on training, program design and development, fund development and advocacy especially as they relate to learning opportunities and skill development for Aboriginal youth and adults. In these regards she has taught, designed, implemented, and administered programs aimed at the advancement of Aboriginal peoples in the social, economic, and administrative environments. She works actively in promoting community, organizational and institutional partnerships that support the economic and social progress of Aboriginal peoples.

Examples of Aboriginal Economic Development Initiatives

In addition to Billy-Minnabarriet's work experience outlined above, she has been part of a number of economic development initiatives. Some of these initiatives as outlined in her nomination package include the following:

- As the Education Director and Curriculum Design for the training section of Community Futures Development Corporation of Central Interior First Nations, she designed, implemented and trained the Youth Pre-entrepreneurial Training Program;
- She designed and delivered a three day cross-cultural training program for organizations and industry the intent of which was to foster and promote job and entrepreneurial opportunities for Aboriginal youth. This job entailed supporting Aboriginal small business development including individual learning, business and marketing plan development. This training and support was delivered provincially; and
- She delivered a program designed for increasing tourism for the Central Interior First Nations.

As well, her consulting firm, DGLV Associates, provides services in economic development,

GIS, facilitation, cross cultural training and community assessment.

Innovative and Ground-breaking Elements of Those Initiatives

As mentioned in Billy-Minnabarriet's nomination package, her work can be considered ground-breaking because of its "ongoing commitment, dedication, range and the number of individuals and communities that it has and will impact".[5]

Individual or Business/Community Challenges and How They Were Resolved

Billy-Minnabarriet's individual challenges were described in her nomination package as follows:

> ... [She was a] single parent, Aboriginal woman from a small band in Interior BC raising three children, teaching them good values, working to feed and clothe them, educating them, education herself to a Masters Degree level and dedicating herself to a vocation that is about the betterment of <u>all</u> Aboriginal peoples.

Effects of the Initiatives on Surrounding Communities (Geographic or of Interest)

The following excerpt describes the positive and inspirational effects Billy-Minnabarriet's work has had on her community and Aboriginal people across the country.

> ... [W]e have increasing numbers of Aboriginal peoples attending post secondary educational institutions. [Billy-Minnabarriet's] contributions in Curricula design to meet the unique needs of Aboriginal students and her work with the numerous bodies involved in improving post secondary education ... have impacted both geographic and 'interest' communities. Her work with NVIT and the

development of its community educational outreach programs has brought post secondary classes to local Aboriginal communities in BC. Her earlier work in training youth and adults in entrepreneurial skill development and her work with Interior First Nations in tourism initiatives has had social and community economic impact on a tremendous number of communities.

Nature of the Partnerships and Relationships Formed

Billy-Minnabarriet has been responsible for, and part of developing, various partnerships and relationships through her work. Below is a description of those relationships as described in her nomination package.

> [Billy-Minnabarriet] has been instrumental in the partnership between NVIT and CANDO. The ... impact of this relationship [is key] to both parties and what it means for the advancement of Native [EDOs]. As well in her work with CFDC of Central Interior First Nations she developed many partnerships with Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal organizations and industries in order to support and facilitate job and entrepreneurial opportunities for Aboriginal peoples is yet another example of the above.

Contribution to the Field of Aboriginal Economic Development and Impact on the EDO Profession

Billy-Minnabarriet has been instrumental in the partnership between CANDO and NVIT as noted earlier. She has also been invaluable as the Chair of the CANDO Standing Committee on Education & Research. Further, her contributions outlined in the above sections highlight her commitment and dedication to the economic development of Aboriginal communities and higher education of Aboriginal people.

---

[5] Source: The quote taken from Verna Billy-Minnabarriet's nomination package.

Supplement: Verna Billy-Minnabarriet's Interview Response

I am from Two Nations, Nle?kepmux (Thompson — My father's side) and Secwepemc (Shuswap — My mother's side); I was raised on the family ranch called 89 Mile and when of school age moved to Cache Creek with my maternal grandparents. I am a member of the Bonaparte First Nation (St'uxwtews) Cache Creek in the Shuswap territory. My community is a combination of Cache Creek, Ashcroft and Bonaparte. I lived in all three townships and graduated from Ashcroft Secondary.

The Bonaparte Indian Band is a member of the Secwepemc (Shuswap) Nation. The band's two main communities are near Cache Creek and also near Marble Canyon about 20 miles west of Cache Creek. It was created when the government of the Colony of British Columbia established an Indian Reserve system in the 1860s. It is a member band of the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council. The Bonaparte Indian Band is also called the Stuctwesemc, which means "people of Stuctuws" (also spelled St'uxwtews).

Projects

Just for clarification my community is in the field of First Nations Education. Most of the projects I have been involved in have been directly or indirectly involved with First Nations/ Aboriginal Education.

I am presently the Vice President of Learning Services at Nicola Valley Institute of Technology (NVIT). NVIT is an Aboriginal Public Post Secondary Institute, where programming, instruction and support are based on the medicine wheel. My interest and passion has been First Nations education both as a change agent and as an advocate. I am also very involved in First Nations Educational leadership within the province of British Columbia, and nationally. I chair various provincial and national committees that are in the process of evaluation and identifying the direction of Aboriginal education in our nations. The types of committees I am involved in range from post secondary program development, community economic development, First Nations institutional development and advocacy to community development with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in redesigning the Aboriginal Shield Drug Awareness program for grades 3–10 in the public and band sanctioned school systems.

Education designed and delivered by communities and for communities fits my philosophy both in work and in my personal life. I have always been taught that education is the way for our people to advance and become the builders of their own lives and experiences. I have aspired to carry out my direction from my Elders and my community to persevere in my chosen field of education and to acquire the tools to assist me in my work.

I have taken a leadership role in building governing institutions within our Province that is dedicated to advancing Aboriginal Post Secondary Education. At present I am the Chair of The Indigenous Adult and Higher Learning Association (IAHLA) and it was formed at the request of Indigenous controlled Post-Secondary Institutes and Adult Learning Programs to address and further the mutual interests of all Indigenous controlled Learning Centres in British Columbia (BC). The organization receives administrative support from the First Nations Education Steering Committee.

The IAHLA mandate includes the following activities:

- To collect and disseminate relevant information to assist Indigenous adult and higher learning agencies in their provision of education services;
- To undertake research that will benefit Indigenous adult and higher learning agencies throughout BC;
- To facilitate networking and information sharing activities, such as conferences, meetings, and workshops;
- To support collective professional development and training opportunities;
- To undertake other support activities at the direction of Indigenous adult and higher learning agencies; and
- To solicit funding as necessary to undertake the activities listed above.

The first Annual General Meeting (AGM) of IAHLA took place in January 2004. At that time, IAHLA members discussed upcoming initiatives for the Association, which included

efforts to promote the programs being offered in Indigenous institutes throughout the province as well as discussions about the possibilities for collective research and professional development activities.

Some of the initiatives that have taken place with IAHLA are

- Data Collection Project (3 years)
- Aboriginal Forum Post Secondary Education Discussion Paper
- Review of Indian Student Support Program
- First Nations Post Secondary Institutions — Funding and Best Practices Research
- Post Secondary Quality Assurances Practices
- IAHLA Framework Document
- Policy Background Paper

At NVIT the Aboriginal Community Economic Development (ACED) program has been redesigned to reflect today's practices and issues for First Nations communities and is relevant to First Nations communities. My role in this project was to acquire funding and experts to work with me and once the project was complete it was my responsibility to ensure that the program was accepted in the BC Public Post Secondary System so that students who took the program were granted transferable credit that laddered into a degree track. Students must have mobility to move from one institution to another if they chose to. In addition to redesigning the program I also ensured that the program was accredited through CANDO. At this point in time we have been granted an additional seven years accreditation through CANDO. NVIT's ACED program meets the full 16 competencies required by CANDO and enhances those competencies. The ACED program also ladders directly into a Degree program with the University of Northern British Columbia (UNBC).

I also chair the CANDO Standing Committee on Education & Research and we are in the process of redesigning the CANDO Certification Process for membership. I would define the steps of organization building through community interest by explaining that in order to build organizations the community members must first agree that an organization needs to exist. For example IAHLA exists because the First Nations/ Aboriginal educators and institutions in BC agreed through a collective meeting held that an

organization needs to exist to assist in advocating and advancing the education agenda. The key to maintaining organizations is communication and inclusion. Members must have a say in the organization and they must be included in decisions. This is done through various ways i.e., email, electronic newsletters, regular scheduled meetings, websites and a hard working executive of the board. A key person in making all this happen is a good Executive Director and support staff. Leaders can't do all the work — a good leader learns to delegate and trust those to whom they delegate. A sure way to cause dissention in an organization is to hover and micro manage. This lets the organization's staff know that a leader does not trust themselves or the people working with them. So, be a good leader and let the people you hire do their work and trust that the work will get done and if there is mistakes then back the staff up. A good leader does not blame the mistakes on others but takes responsibility of those mistakes regardless of who made them. That's how you build a strong, healthy organization which fosters loyal, hardworking and dedicated staff.

My future plans are to complete my Doctorial program, continue to build NVIT and the communities, work diligently with First Nations in building capacity as they define it and to work internationally with other developing countries. My dream is to teach in another country at a university, preferably in Africa, Australia or New Zealand.

My advice to other developers and builders would be to keep your vision focused, make achievable goals, work hard and have fun while you're doing it. Life is too short not to enjoy the good times, hard times and learning times. Enjoy.

ANDREW A. MANITOWABI GROUP
BUSINESS/COMMUNITY RECOGNITION AWARD WINNER

Profile

The Wikwemikong Development Commission nominated the Andrew A. Manitowabi Group (also known as Andy's) for its role in the following key areas of Aboriginal economic development:

- Promoting entrepreneurship and Aboriginal self-reliance;
- Establishing new partnerships and creating new business ventures;
- Preserving a strong sustainable community;
- Maintaining Aboriginal culture and values;
- Facilitating Aboriginal economic development opportunities;
- Market development and innovation; and
- Creating an employment and community workforce.

Andy's provides a one stop shopping experience in Wikwemikong. As stated in the Group's nomination package,

> Mr. Andrew A. Manitowabi is certainly a pillar of determination and persistence for success in the realm of Aboriginal business and economic development. Most importantly, ... he is also a loving father who takes great pride in all his children. He is especially proud of their accomplishments and achievements to expand and further develop opportunities in the service and retail business within Wikwemikong.

Andy's One Stop Shop on Manitoulin Island offers several divisions, including Andy's Freshmart, Andy's Shell Gas Station and Garage, Manitowabi Clothing and Gifts, Andy's True Value Hardware, Coffee Shop, Wiky Wash'N'Dry, F. Manitowabi Contracting, Andy's — An Agent of Royal Bank, and The Source at Andy's. Andy's One Stop Shop's goal is to "provide quality goods and services at competitive prices while providing employment opportunities for community members. All profits stay in the business to allow for growth and more employment opportunities."[6]

Background Summary of Work Experience or Business/Community History

The following excerpt from Andy's nomination package describes the background of the business.

[Andy's] proprietorship includes a grocery store with fresh meat and produce, hardware store, garden store, clothing/general merchandise store, electronics store, gasoline and service station/fuel delivery, coffee/sandwich/ice cream shop/meals to go, video store, laundromat, lottery terminal, banking services and excavating/heavy equipment contracting.

Andy's is a family-owned business which was established in 1966 by Mr. Andrew A. Manitowabi who is a father of nine children. Manitowabi is respectfully known as "Andy" by his patrons and community members. In his early years, Andy envisioned the community of Wikwemikong growing much larger with more people buying vehicles and building new homes.

He forecasted the need for a full service gas station that could also provide home fuel delivery service. He also had a backhoe for hire, to assist with community initiatives that involved housing and road construction in Wikwemikong. He also started a little laundromat with two washers and one dryer. Today, for those who can remember, Andy's efforts to provide services for the community of Wikwemikong started as a micro-business and through the years has grown into a multi-facilitated operation which provides a variety of services and products.

When first establishing his business, Andy once jokingly announced the idea of selling groceries as well, so that he could buy enough food at wholesale prices to feed his very large family. In 1994, [having] retired at the age of 72, he had decided it was time to transfer the entire management of his business to his remaining seven children. A partnership was then created amongst the siblings

---

[6] Source: Andy's One-Stop Shop website: <http://andysonestopshop.com/>.

which is now known as the Andrew A. Manitowabi Group.

Andy still maintains an active role in the day-to-day operations of the business. You will see him now and then in various sections of the business operation to either say "hello" to the customers or to check in with everyone to see how the family and staff are doing. He is inquisitive to new opportunities for development, but will always caution his children about large financing matters to ensure the business can handle any new expenses and/or ventures. He especially enjoys visiting the customers as he strolls through the store as his motto for the family business is to keep their customers happy.

Examples of Aboriginal Economic Development Initiatives

The Group's Aboriginal economic development initiatives include their entire business portfolio. As stated in the nomination package,

> Wikwemikong has a strong history of being economically inclined within the business trade. [Wikwemikong] is notably proud of Andy and his family for their ongoing commitment and dedication in providing their home community with a variety of service and retail businesses. Andy and his family are truly to be inspired in continuing the tradition of Aboriginal economic initiatives in the business trade.

Innovative and Ground-breaking Elements of Those Initiatives

The most innovative and ground-breaking element of Andy's One Stop Shop is best described by the following statement from their nomination package.

> [The Group was developed] through the learning of values from their parents [and] has developed a marketing scheme that encourages local residents to support their local economy to establish sustainable ability and open

doors for new opportunities for other business people. The education and business awareness that they provide to their customer base has proven to be successful with customers coming to Wikwemikong to take advantage of the local service and retail business. The entire family now operating under the Andrew A. Manitowabi Group has been able to secure business partnerships with several brand name companies/distributors. This has resulted in the development of several divisions within the multi-operation of service and retail business....

Individual or Business/Community Challenges and How They Were Resolved

The primary challenge for the Andrew A. Manitowabi Group is believed to have been the start-up process to get the business off the ground in 1966. The barrier was gaining the support and recognition needed from the general public and their community. The following excerpt from their nomination package expands on how this challenge was overcome.

> ... It has been essential for Andy's to provide education awareness on the importance of shopping locally and to support local business to avoid any economic leakage and the advantages for the community.
>
> Andy's has done a terrific job of making their customers feel number one and that they are valued as the essential component to the success of their family business. Andy's has earned the trust and respect from their patrons by offering Annual Andy's Community Fun Day Event and an Annual Tent Sale and Customer Appreciation Day.
>
> Throughout the family business marketing strategy, Andy's has been able to convince the valued customer of the cost-saving for them as a consumer when taking into consideration the significant travel required to purchase any of their products and/or ser-

vices from other businesses outside the community of Wikwemikong. Andy's also reminds the community through local media about the daily savings when buying from Andy's and that the quality of services and products are comparable and competitive to favour the customer from other business outside the community. The family also distributes a monthly flyer program as part of their advertisement for amazing pricing on everyday needs. They also feature seasonal in-store specials on a wide selection of products.

Effects of the Initiatives on Surrounding Communities (Geographically or of Interest)

There is no doubt the Andrew A. Manitowabi Group has had positive effects, both geographically and of interest, on its community members and other Aboriginal communities across the country. Not only has the Group offered tangible benefits to their community, they have also served as an inspiring role model for all Aboriginal communities. The following excerpt taken from the nomination package expands on these positive effects.

> It is believed that the customer service that is presented to each person that walk through the door of Andy's is presented with the natural friendliness and welcoming attitude of Aboriginal hospitality. This has contributed a great deal toward the appreciation of Aboriginal business and services from the non-Native sector.
>
> It is strongly believed that the Andrew A. Manitowabi Group has been instrumental and has played a significant role in placing an increased value and appreciation for Aboriginal tourism and hospitality in Wikwemikong and on Manitoulin Island in general. It is an exceptional gesture that members from neighbouring communities are coming to Wikwemikong to shop at Andy's regardless of the economic disadvantage of being located

on the Eastern end of the Manitoulin Island.

Nature of the Partnerships and Relationships Formed

The Andrew A. Manitowabi Group formed a number of key partnerships and relationships during their start-up and expansion. The following description taken from their nomination package highlights those relationships.

> The Andrew A. Manitowabi Group has demonstrated high achievement within the Aboriginal business sector. The family continues to demonstrate strong Aboriginal leadership in their achievements by developing other business partnerships with the retail and service business such as the Freshmart, True Value, Shell Canada, Royal Bank of Canada, and The Source. The family has established/ formed many other working relationships that have contributed to the success of their multi-facilitated operation in Wikwemikong to date.
>
> The main aspect for the success of the business has always been the grocery sales as stated on the website for Andy's One Stop Shop [http://andysonestopshop.com]. The Manitowabi Grocery operated independently for the initial 40 years of operation. In 2006, the family successfully negotiated a Freshmart franchise with National Grocers/Loblaws and Andy's Freshmart was officially launched on June 21, 2006, which was their 40th Anniversary celebration ... Andy's Freshmart was launched to improve product selection and pricing for their valued customers. The family is now able to access the full line of President's Choice and No Name products through their supplier. The family also follows the recommended pricing structure and flyer program to ensure competitive pricing for the community of Wikwemikong.
>
> A business partnership was pursued with the Source as there is a

growing demand by the people of Wikwemikong and the Manitoulin Island for a local electronics outlet. The Andrew A. Manitowabi Group's Source recently opened electronic product line to meet the demand as a Source dealer since 2006. The family can access a wide range of electronic products at national advertised pricing. The family also offers special products through special orders which only takes a couple of days with no additional shipping costs to their customers. Their customers are constantly on the watch for "Salebrations" throughout the year.

Andy's True Value Hardware opened its doors in the Spring of 1997 bringing the much needed hardware products to a growing community. The customer will find paints, power tools, household items, sporting goods and so much more. The buying power of the True Value cooperative allows the family business to acquire a wide selection of products at competitive pricing. The family is now planning to slowly expand into the supply of building materials and home improvement products which will also create more opportunity and advantage for the community.

Contribution to the Field of Aboriginal Economic Development and Impact on the EDO Profession

Andy's has significantly contributed to the field of Aboriginal economic development by paving the way for its own success and creating an inspiring example in the process. Further, the Group has had an overwhelming impact on the EDO profession by illustrating the opportunities available to EDOs in their communities and entrepreneurs across the country. Andy's One Stop Shop is a simple yet exceptional model of economic development and success. The excerpt below expands on these contributions and impacts.

The Andrew A. Manitowabi Group is always ready and willing to share their best practices for success and achievement.

[Andy's] has created approximately 50–60 employment opportunities for community members both on a yearly and seasonal basis. The family is definitely a primary community employer within the private sector that is able to offer a variety of employment and training opportunities to [the] band membership. This has been an overall advantage for the EDO for the Wikwemikong Band in the creation of meaningful and sustainable employment.

The support and dedication of the Andrew A. Manitowabi Group certainly has been an inspiration for the Economic Development Branch of Wikwemikong. The family is always willing to provide opportunity for training for community members.

CONCLUSION

As illustrated by the award winners profiled above, Aboriginal economic development is alive and well in Aboriginal communities across the country. CANDO is honoured to have the privilege to profile these exceptional individuals, businesses and communities; and to be able to share their stories with economic professionals across the land. CANDO looks forward to presenting even more inspiring stories and examples of successful Aboriginal economic development through these awards and the new best practices models, to be featured in both the *Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development* and the CANDO website at <www.edo.ca>. Congratulations once again to the 2007 Economic Developer of the Year Award winners, and thank you for your dedication and ambition.

Editor's Introduction

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

Yale Belanger

In recent years the profile of Aboriginal economic development (AED) has steadily increased. Thanks in part to the success of the Membertou and Osoyoos First Nations, and the continual media spotlight directed at First Nation casinos, AED is now acknowledged as a central component of nation-building and cited as requisite to ensuring local political and social stability.

Yet, AED is still often framed in basic terms: as an investigative site of agency and form of resistance to colonization; as an interesting footnote to self-government's continued evolution; or it is presented in a way that subtly suggests the progressive utility of adopting capitalism versus the regressive nature of retaining traditional economic processes. AED has however progressed beyond these basic taxonomies and arguably demands more rigorous and intensive approaches to research needed to nuance out the often invisible undercurrents that significantly influence economic success or failure. The following papers demonstrate that the study of AED can be incredibly complex and embrace multiple approaches: from probing research methodologies and the role indigenous knowledge can potentially play in academic research; to employing complex statistical methods to study the impact of federal and provincial policies; to appreciating global technology trends on AED initiatives.

As anyone working in Aboriginal economic development will attest, community success often hinges on the compatibility of local initiatives with non-Native development strategies. Aboriginal economic development officers and community-political leaders must

also ensure that their strategies remain compatible with federal poli-
cies — failure to do so could undermine one's ability to foster local
development. In the first survey of its kind conducted in Canada,
Adam Wellstead and Richard Stedman utilize data collected from
First Nations and non-Native individuals involved with formulating
federal First Nations forestry policy to determine precisely the cen-
tral issues affecting First Nations forestry in Canada. As the authors
demonstrate, First Nations seeking to expand into forestry have to
contend with no less than 12 policy communities representing inter-
ests ranging from provincial and territorial agents to the private sec-
tor. Each policy community has forged it own distinctive perceptions
of the major barriers confronting First Nations, although the authors
found that First Nations and non-Native informants generally see
eye-to-eye concerning the relative importance of each of the vari-
ables examined. However, two specific camps were evident showing
that First Nations and non-Native agents disagreed concerning policy
orientation, existing barriers and natural threats. With the First
Nations Forestry Program set to expire in 2009, the opinions
catalogued here merit serious consideration during the anticipated
policy formulation stage.

The age of ever-improving Information Communications Tech-
nology (ICT) has resulted in increased connectivity, leaving it possi-
ble for an individual in Canada to quickly access a colleague in
Australia as the barriers to communication quickly fall and the elec-
tronic global village takes root. These ideas form the foundation for
Laura Lamb's article probing the benefits this new economy may
offer Aboriginal people. In particular the author asks, does ICT
offer Aboriginal communities an economic opportunity previously
unavailable due to geographic isolation? Using the Neechi principles
forged at an Aboriginal-owned Winnipeg co-operative as her inter-
pretive lens, Lamb profiles three First Nations-operated call centers
to determine whether their success is due to luck or economic fun-
damentals. Lamb generally concludes that the issues are dynamic,
which makes it difficult to determine success for communities adopt-
ing what the author describes as back-office services, or the delivery
of off-site services such as customer service and administrative sup-
port. Nevertheless, and despite various challenges, the author con-
cludes that the new economy indeed offers opportunities previously
unavailable for those communities seeking to improve local
economic conditions.

In the final paper, Jason Prno and Ben Bradshaw reflect on the
centrality of Impact and Benefit Agreements (IBAs) utilized to man-
age and mitigate the impacts associated with mining operations on

Aboriginal lands. Asking the straightforward question — do IBAs work? — the authors explore whether or not Aboriginal communities benefit from these agreements. Concerned with the general lack of research on this issue, the authors tackle the thorny topic of engaging Aboriginal communities in research, whether the generated data truly reflects community-based attitudes, and how to employ these data to serve larger academic and industry research agendas. The authors suggest that the primary issue is methodological and that there is a need to create flexible interpretive frameworks to glean data from community members poorly versed in the complex language of academe and industry. Researchers are increasingly overwhelmed with demands for improved research methodologies stressing they engage Aboriginal people at the grassroots level. There is also a growing canon of literature proclaiming the benefits that indigenous knowledge has to offer to academic and industry research. This paper discussed the challenges associated with refining a protocol to guide future research endeavours seeking to examine the utility of IBAs, and should be applauded.

INTERSECTION AND INTEGRATION OF FIRST NATIONS IN THE CANADIAN FORESTRY SECTOR
Implications for Economic Development

Adam M. Wellstead
NORTHERN FORESTRY CENTRE, CANADIAN FOREST SERVICE
NATURAL RESOURCES CANADA

Richard C. Stedman
DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES
CORNELL UNIVERSITY

INTRODUCTION

First Nations participation in Canada's forest sector has steadily increased over the past decade and has emerged at the forefront of government policy agendas. There are several underlying reasons for this trend, including the conclusion of many treaty land settlements, the increase in the number of Aboriginal-based forest management licenses, a more substantive role for First Nation people in forest management planning processes, partnerships, and the development of more wholly-owned businesses or joint ventures (Wyatt, 2008; Wilson and Graham, 2005). There is great potential for additional expansion, as approximately 80% of Canada's 630 First Nation communities are located in forested settings (Parkins et al., 2006; NAFA, 2007).[1]

Despite these trends, many First Nations bands face significant challenges to full engagement in the forest sector. In particular, many First Nations still lack the capacity for forest management and business development activities. In response, federal government programs such as the joint Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), Natural Resources Canada (NRCan), First Nations Forestry Program (FNFP), or INAC's Aboriginal Business Canada attempt to

[1] In this paper, the focus of the survey is on First Nations. However, we do, when possible, reference an applicability to a wider Aboriginal audience.

address these long standing problems.[2] However, these programs were not designed to address more substantive tenure-based policy issues. In fact, despite their good intentions, they may perpetuate a status-quo of capacity impasse.

In its last year (2008–2009), the FNFP faces an uncertain future. One of the challenges of the program has been an inability to gauge the program's long term impact in the Canadian forest sector. Typically, the program's success has been measured at the project level (i.e., employment created) or though narratives highlighting "success stories" from individual projects (Natural Resources Canada, 2005). However, Parkins et al. (2006) in their study of Statistics Canada Census data found that the effects of forestry employment to Aboriginal communities between 1986 and 2001 were negligible.

In light of the program level efforts made by government agencies, very little is understood about the First Nation's policy role in Canadian forest sector. More specifically, we argue that underlying substantive issues impact First Nations policy participation and may inform program-level decisions. This paper reports the results of a survey of Canada's First Nations forestry "policy elites" (that is, both First Nations and non-First Nations individuals). This is the first survey of its kind where a wide representative constituency of those in position of influence, interest in, or knowledge of forestry. In this paper, we examine the major issues affecting First Nations forestry in Canada using comparison of means tests and multivariate analysis. This paper will be of interest for those working in the economic development field, particularly those who are on the front-line of such changes and challenges. In some cases, economic development officers participated in the survey that we conducted. The results will present a snap-shot of the larger issues affecting the current state of First Nations forestry.

BACKGROUND

The government support of Canadian First Nations forest management involves overlapping constitutional responsibilities. The federal government has jurisdiction over "Indians and lands reserved for Indians" under s. 91(24) of the Constitution Act, 1867 and is administered by INAC. Although INAC, under the Indian Act (ss. 57a, 93), has federal government responsibility for forestry on-reserve lands, over three-fourths (77%) of industrial forest management activity in Canada takes place on Provincial Crown forested lands and thus falls under Provincial government authority (s. 92A of the Constitution Act, 1867) (Natural Resources Canada, 2006). Some environmental issues relating to forestry management fall under both provincial and federal jurisdiction. This overlap in responsibility illustrates the importance of collaborative federal partnerships. Recently, the National Aboriginal Forestry Association (2007) reported that First Nations hold tenure and have access to an annual harvest allocation of some 11.7 million cubic meters of timber on Crown and private land representing 6.4% Canada's total forest harvest. They estimate there could be a doubling of the Aboriginal managed land base within twenty years as new treaties are finalized and settlement lands are identified.

Government involvement in Aboriginal forestry dates back over fifty years. One of the largest programs that assisted in the development of First Nations forestry management was the Indian Lands program under the Federal-Provincial Forest Resource Development Agreements (FRDAs) from 1984–1996. During this time, some $42 million was allocated for the program, most of which was dedicated to updating or establishing forest inventories and management plans. This program was directly delivered by Forestry Canada (now the Canadian Forest Service, Natural Resources Canada). During the delivery of these FRDAs, there was very

---

[2] Recently in Alberta, the Economic Partnership Initiative was delivered by the Government of Alberta's International and Intergovernmental Relations/Aboriginal Relations department.

little direct involvement by First Nations except on an advisory basis.

After the FRDA program expired in 1995, a five-year joint initiative was developed to respond to the changing needs of First Nations. The FNFP, between INAC and NRCan, was established in 1996. The program was renewed, after two one year extensions, for another five years in 2003. The scope of activities undertaken within the FNFP was therefore much broader than under the FRDA program. The objectives of the FNFP were to enhance First Nations capacity through the development of and participation in forest based businesses, increase the number of First Nations partnerships and joint ventures, investigate the feasibility of national trust funds, capital pools, and other funding mechanisms, and to enhance First Nation capacity to sustainability manage reserve forests (Natural Resources Canada, 2001). These included the development of management plans that included values beyond timber harvesting, training programs, the development of business plans, and increasing the access to the land base.

Over the course of the program, over $41 million has been allocated to over 1,900 projects valued at over $154 million (Natural Resources Canada, 2007). Several features of the program are particularly noteworthy for economic development officers. The first is the emphasis placed on regional program delivery. The program was delivered out of each of the five Canadian Forest Service regional offices.[3] This decentralized approach to program delivery allowed for a greater degree of flexibility in recognizing the regional diversity of First Nations issues, needs, and capacities. For example, projects in the Prairie Provinces emphasized skills training whereas British Columbia's projects were oriented towards business development. The second feature is the provincial division of the program's implementation and governance. All major management decisions and funding allocations were made by Provincial-Territorial Management Committees (PTMC). Each PTMC is represented by First Nations, NRCan and INAC represented by their respective regional offices and in some cases members from provincial/territorial governments and the forest industry.[4] The PTMCs developed and updated work plans, reviewed project proposals and allocated funding. Economic development officers working with First Nations communities have been integral partners the FNFP program delivery process from proposal writing assistance to ensuring that individual projects have been completed.

In spite of these efforts to increase First Nations' involvement in program level decision-making, their involvement within the larger Canadian forest management policy making system is what Stephen Wyatt refers to as "forestry by First Nations" (2008). In this system, First Nations participate within the existing management regime where they may work with the forest industry or receive financial and economic benefits. However, this represents a limited scope of involvement by First Nations' people. Three other systems are identified in Figure 1: "forestry for First Nations," "forestry with First Nations," and finally, "Aboriginal forestry." Each

---

FIGURE 1
Wyatt's Classification of First Nations' Forest Management Systems

Forestry *by* First Nations → Forestry *for* First Nations → Forestry *with* First Nations → Aboriginal Forestry

---

[3] The offices are located in Fredericton, Quebec City, Saut ste Marie, Edmonton, and Victoria.

[4] In Québec, the members attending the provincial annual conference of the General Assembly of First Nations Administrators (NAFA) active in forestry, discuss and vote on the various recommendations submitted by the PMC for approval.

is defined by the scope and extent of Aboriginal rights in tenure structures and government policy regimes, economic participation, consultation, impact and assessment and certification, traditional knowledge, co-management, and differing paradigms (Wyatt, 2008). For example, in a "forestry for First Nations" system partnerships and joint ventures are more likely and consultation takes into consideration Aboriginal views whereas in a "forestry with First Nations" system Aboriginal rights should be incorporated into the tenure system, there is extensive consultation, and traditional knowledge is a equally important as western-based science. In an "Aboriginal forestry" forestry system, Aboriginal rights are fully recognized; partnerships reflect Aboriginal goals and First Nations have the right of final approval in co-management arrangements. There has been a spate of similar literature prescribing what Aboriginal forestry should be (See Stevenson, 2006; Parsons and Prest, 2006; Kimmins, 2002). A shift from "forestry by First Nations" to any one of these three new systems would represent a significant revision of policies and would require significant financial resources and institutional change (Wyatt, 2008). However, making modest changes within "forestry by First Nations" system by making modest program-level changes can best be described as "policy drift." Hacker (2004) defines "policy drift" as changes in the operation or effect of policies that occur without significant changes in the policy's structure. In this paper, we examine the attitudes of those individuals, namely "policy elites" who have some influence to make decisions in the direction of First Nation forestry.

POLICY COMMUNITIES, NETWORKS AND IDEAS

To better understand the possibility of policy change within the context of Canadian First Nations forestry, this paper employs the policy community and policy network approaches. Government agencies no longer have the capacity or the resources to address issues single-handedly (Smith, 2000; Lindquist and Wellstead, 2001). They depend now on the co-operation and resources of others outside of government (e.g., NGOs, academia, communities, forestry industry). In Canada, both the policy community and policy

network frameworks carry considerable currency as research approaches (Howlett and Ramesh, 2003). According to Atkinson and Coleman (1995), these two approaches refer to the actors (organizations and individuals) within a particular sector and their relationships with one another. Coleman and Skogstad (1990) state that policy community members share a common focus and, with varying degrees of influence, shape policy outcomes over the long run. The policy community is divided into two segments: the sub-government and the attentive public. The "sub-government segment," at the centre of any policy community, includes senior government personnel in positions of direct responsibility for a particular sector and established organizations engaged in policy formulation and implementation. Sub-government actors attempt to maintain what Baumgartner and Jones (1993) refer to as a "policy monopoly." Policy monopolies typically have two major characteristics: a definable institutional structure that limits access to the policy process; and the supporting ideas associated with the institutions that connect to core policy values. These monopolies are successful when they are driven by a powerful idea and are able to function without need for much access to others outside the sub-government (Baumgartner and Jones, 1993). The "attentive public segment" includes those actors who are capable of influencing policy, but who do not participate in policy-making on a regular basis (e.g., interest groups, professional organizations, other government departments, international organizations). Historically, in a "Forestry by First Nations" forest management regime, First Nations policy actors have been part of the attentive public.

While policy communities define all of the actors involved in particular sector's policy process, the policy network describes the types of relationships between governmental and non-governmental actors that evolve in a particular issue (Lindquist, 1992). A large body of literature on the policy network framework describes relationships that depend on factors such as resources (e.g., funds, number of personnel), degree of institutionalization, and rules of conduct (Coleman and Skogstad, 1990; Lindquist, 1992; van Waarden, 1992; Howlett and Rayner, 1995). Coleman and Skogstad (1990) examined Canadian policy communities, including agriculture,

forestry, wilderness, and banking.[5] Key to our study, Canadian forest policy networks have historically been closed and highly resistant to significant policy change (Howlett and Rayner, 1995; Howlett, 2001). However, Hoberg and Morawski (1997) argue that the intersection of two policy communities can lead to significant policy changes. In their examination of forest and Aboriginal policy in Clayoquot Sound in British Columbia, the intersection of two sets of different actors, institutions, and ideas resulted in a reconfiguration of regional forest policy making.[6] Similarly, Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1999) argue that policy oriented beliefs shape the direction of policy change. They argue that within a typical policy community, there may be 2–4 "advocacy coalitions" defined by strong policy core beliefs that are hard to alter. Policy change is more likely to occur on the secondary (operational) aspects of policy beliefs. In Canada, there are 12 forestry policy communities, each corresponding to a particular province or territory.[7] Typically, Canadian First Nations' forestry programs reflect the secondary aspects of dominant government-business nexus (Howlett and Rayner, 2001). This closely parallels with Wyatt's "forestry by First Nations" system where policy change is at best incremental.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Very little is known about the interaction and intersection between Canadian First Nations and forestry policy communities. Potential areas of inquiry include attitudes toward forest management, priorities for funding; the perceived effectiveness of existing programs; and barriers to effectiveness. These may differ according to key characteristics of individual policy communities.

Following a description of the actors in the First Nations Forestry policy community, we ask how perceived barriers to First Nations involvement in the forestry sector differ according to First Nations status, attitudes about sustainable forestry, perceived threats to First Nations Forestry, awareness of the existence of various programmatic efforts, position in the policy process (sector and organizational role), and province of work. We hypothesize that there will be significant differences between First Nation and non-First Nation responses in term of their perceptions the major barriers facing First Nation forestry. A corollary to this hypothesis is that these two groups will have different forestry policy oriented belief structures.

DATA AND METHODS

The data for this study come from responses to an online survey of the Canadian First Nation forestry policy community. Data were collected in the spring of 2007 using Zoomerang® online software. The study population encompassed all those that the research team could identify that occupy a recognized position of influence or having knowledge of First Nations forestry. This sample included senior provincial and federal government personnel, First Nations (Band employees, Chief and Councilors, and economic development managers), consultants, managers and directors of forest industry organizations. Because of its relatively small size, the entire population rather than a random sample was surveyed. Participants were identified though an extensive search of organizations' web pages and/or telephone directories (see Laumann and Knoke, 1987; Sabatier and Zafonte, 1995, for examples of similar research using this

---

[5] Coleman and Skogstad (1990) classified policy networks into three types according to government and societal powers and organizational capacity:

- A pluralist policy network exists when there are many actors involved. These networks may occur when power is dispersed from either government or society (pressure pluralism), when societal actors are disorganized (clientele pluralism), or when organized interests are dominant (parentaela pluralism).
- In a closed policy network, policy-making is concentrated within a government agency and one societal organization (a concentration) or a government agency and two or more societal organizations (corporatist).
- A state-directed (closed) policy network includes highly autonomous coordinated government agencies that dominate the policy-making process.

[6] Hoberg and Morawski (1997) refer to the combination of actors, institutions, and ideas as "policy regimes."

[7] Nunavut does not have a significant forestry sector.

approach). Finally, a "snowball" technique was used, whereby respondents were given the opportunity to identify other individuals who should be invited to participate.

RESULTS

Describing the Respondents

A total of 876 potential participants were identified for inclusion in the study. We obtained 375 usable surveys, for an overall response rate of 42.8%. Of these, slightly under half (44%) identified themselves as being of First Nations heritage. Over half (59%) were from three provinces: British Columbia (31%), Ontario (17%), and Alberta (11%), and relatively fewer were from Atlantic Canada (12% in total), Quebec (6%), or the Territories (11%). Following previous research on policy communities (Stedman et al., 2004), we examined the structure of the policy community surrounding FNF via participating sectors. Over 60% of our respondents are employed by Canadian government agencies (39% Federal and 22% Provincial). This high percentage of government-based respondents is similar to a recent study of natural resource policy communities (Wellstead et al., 2004). Nearly one-fourth (24%) were employed in the forest industry, and another 21% were Band employees. A disproportionate number of non-First Nations respondents were employed by government agencies whereas over half of the First Nations respondents worked for their band or a First Nations organization.

Current First Nation Forestry Programming

Respondents were asked to rank the priority for funding for five sets of forestry related activities (five in each set): management, planning, business development, skills training, and professional training. Priority activities included forest health activities, silviculture management, integrated land management, forest survey training, harvesting training, silviculture training, and professional and technical training. Of the 25 activities, there were only three where the First Nations and non-First Nations differed significantly: forest health (insect and disease) management, negotiations training and traditional land use studies.

Non-First Nations respondents thought that these three activities were more important that First Nation respondents (Table 1).

Respondent Attitudes and Beliefs: Comparing First Nations and Non-First Nations

Respondents were asked a series of questions regarding their beliefs about First Nations Forestry, including perceptions of FNFP effectiveness, effectiveness trends and barriers to increasing effectiveness, attitudes and beliefs about forest management, and priorities for funding. Perceived effectiveness was measured on a five point Likert scale ranging from 1 = not at all effective to 5 = very effective. Respondents averaged close to neutral (mean = 3.17), but showed wide variation (sd = 1.13): 25.5% felt the program to be not effective, 39.4% felt that it was effective, and 35.2% were neutral. These responses did not differ according to status as being First Nations or non-First Nations. This finding confirms that members of this policy community agree on the operational (secondary) aspects of First Nations forestry policy.

Respondents were asked to identify a series of barriers to First Nation involvement in the forestry sector (rated on a 5 point scale from 1= strongly disagree that this is a barrier to 5= strongly agree). A reliability analysis (a procedure for evaluating the internal consistency of multiple-item additive scales) revealed an alpha score of .832, suggesting that the items tapped into a common underlying domain (Table 2).

Dramatic differences emerge in perceived barriers according to First Nations status. For nearly all of the survey question items, respondents of First Nations status were significantly more likely to perceive barriers, including failure of government, access to resources and capital, and lack of participation. Interestingly, only one item: "band politics" was perceived as a barrier more often by nonFirst Nations people, and several items related to the technical skills among First Nations communities did not differ significantly by status. These findings suggest that differences in perceived barriers are less related to perceptions of internal capacity, but rather to external control and lack of recognition. These differences also extended to perceptions of the changing opportunity structure for First Nations

TABLE 1
Forestry Activity Priorities: First Nations versus non-First Nations

	First Nations	Non-First Nations	Sig.
Forest Management Activities			
Forest certification	3.41	3.28	ns
Forest health (insect and disease)	2.56	2.91	**P<.05**
Fire suppression	2.97	2.96	ns
Harvesting	3.00	3.00	ns
Silviculture (e.g., planting, site preparation)	2.84	2.78	ns
Forest Planning Activities			
Forest management planning	2.93	2.79	ns
Forest inventories	3.19	3.15	ns
Integrated land management planning	2.83	2.65	ns
Other forest values (e.g., fisheries, watersheds, and wildlife)	3.16	3.20	ns
Traditional land use studies	2.77	3.11	**P<.05**
Business Development Activities			
Bio-energy	3.24	3.27	ns
Ecotourism	2.81	3.24	ns
Non-timber forest products	2.87	3.24	ns
Milling and processing	3.16	2.89	ns
Forest services (e.g., consulting, technical services)	2.83	2.85	ns
Skills Training Activities			
Cut and skid operations training	3.33	3.58	ns
Fire suppression training	3.13	3.18	ns
Forest survey training	2.69	2.83	ns
Harvesting training	2.87	2.70	ns
Silviculture training	2.95	2.70	ns
Professional Training Activities			
Business management training	2.77	2.66	ns
GIS/GPS training	3.29	3.21	ns
Negotiations training	2.99	3.41	**P<.001**
Mapping training	3.38	3.41	ns
Professional and technical forestry training	2.48	2.26	ns

forestry: respondents of First Nations status were far less positive about trends in opportunities. Over one fourth (28%) said opportunities had declined, compared to only 6% of those not of First Nations status (60% of this group felt opportunities had improved, compared to 36% of First Nations people). These differences in perceived barriers, however, did not carry over to perceptions of the effectiveness of the First Nations Forestry program: respondents were widely distributed on their views of programmatic effectiveness, and there were no differences between respondents according to First Nations status (Table 3).

Our next suite of questions addressed more general forest policy related cognitions and attitudes. Responses averaged fairly close to "neutral" (3.0) for most items, although the distribution varied reasonably widely. The pooled sample of respondents was fairly pro community,

TABLE 2
Perceived Barriers, by First Nations status

	First Nations		Non First Nations				
	N	Mean	N	Mean	t	df	Sig
Lack of financial, technical, or business skills within First Nations communities	162	4.22	201	4.15	.65	361	ns
Lack of capital available to First Nations people	162	4.41	200	3.74	5.93	360	**P<.001**
Lack of infrastructure owned by First Nations people	162	4.14	200	3.93	1.99	360	**P<.05**
Lack of workforce skills in First Nation communities	159	3.90	202	4.07	−1.59	359	ns
Lack of clear forest management mandate by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC)	160	4.04	194	3.53	3.93	352	**P<.001**
Band politics	159	3.61	199	3.85	−1.97	317	**P<.050**
Lack of access to resources on Provincial Crown lands	161	4.12	200	3.40	5.42	359	**P<.001**
Failure of provincial and federal governments to recognize First Nation authority	161	4.36	200	3.18	9.10	359	**P<.001**
Failure of provincial management regulations to address First Nations issues	160	4.27	197	3.25	8.16	355	**P<.001**
Lack of community participation in planning and decision-making	161	3.89	201	3.40	3.54	360	**P<.001**
Current market conditions	160	3.69	201	3.56	1.14	359	ns
Confusion over federal–provincial jurisdictions	161	3.75	202	3.10	4.87	361	**P<.001**
Lack of access to resources on reserve lands	159	3.50	194	2.90	4.48	351	**P<.001**
Summed Scale: All Barriers	146	3.99	170	3.54	6.24	314	**P<.001**

Reliability = .832

pro-First Nations, and anti corporate in its orientation: respondents were most likely to agree that communities should have more power in making decisions in the forest sector (mean = 3.84, 36% strongly agree) and that First Nations should be given a wider range of property rights on Provincial Crown forested lands (mean = 3.70, 39% strongly agree). They were least likely to agree that forest companies should be given a wider range of property rights on Provincial forested Crown lands (mean = 1.91, 5% strongly agree). We also conducted a principal components factor analysis (varimax rotation) to explore underlying commonalities across the suite of items. This analysis revealed three underlying dimensions among these forest policu related

TABLE 3
Perceived Opportunities for First Nations Forestry

	Not First Nations	First Nations	Total
Greatly Declined	2.0%	10.9%	5.9%
	4	17	21
Declined	4.0%	16.7%	9.5%
	8	26	34
Stayed the same	34.7%	35.9%	35.2%
	70	56	126
Improved	31.7%	28.2%	30.2%
	64	44	108
Greatly Improved	27.7%	8.3%	19.3%
	56	13	69
Total	202	156	358

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	44.457	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	46.928	4	.000

beliefs: the first we term "business as usual," suggesting that existing forest management practices are seen as sustainable; the second suggests that First Nations groups already have sufficient input/control over forest management; a single item third factor emphasizes community control over forest resources (Table 4). From another set of items, we explored a number of potential threats to First Nations forestry (e.g., forest fires, insect damage, pesticide and herbicide use). The impacts of long-term climate change and unsustainable harvesting were seen as most important by the respondents. These threats tap a common domain of meaning — "threats" — and a summed scale is created for use in the multivariate analysis (Table 5).

Prior to conducting our multivariate analysis, we compare First Nations and non First Nations respondents on their forest-related beliefs as described above (Table 4) and the summed scale of perceived threats (Table 5). We found substantial differences between the groups for each of these dimensions. First Nations respondents were less likely to agree that current forest management is effective (business as usual), and that First Nations involvement was already sufficient. They were more likely to emphasize the need for stronger community control, and perceived more threats to forest management (Table 6).

Multivariate Analysis

We conducted an Ordinary Least Squares regression to examine the simultaneous effects on perceived barriers (dependent variable) to First Nations involvement of First Nations status, region of work, position in the policy process (coded as government versus non-government), and attitudinal factors such as perceived threats to forestry, perceived effectiveness of the FNFP, and more general forest-related attitudes (independent variables). This analysis has relatively

TABLE 4
Forest-related beliefs

	Factor 1 Business as Usual (alpha = .642)	Factor 2 First Nations Involvement Sufficient (alpha = .636)	Factor 3 Community Control	Mean	SD	% Strongly Agree
Communities should have more power in making decisions in the forest sector			.601	3.84	1.16	35.5%
Current provincial/territorial forest legislation and policies promote sustainable management	.588			2.85	1.16	6.8%
Environmental groups and the media tend to exaggerate the environmental damage caused by forest management practices	.562			3.07	1.30	18.6%
Forests are managed successfully for a wide range of uses and values, not just timber	.532			3.03	1.24	12.7%
Forest companies should be given a wider range of property rights on Provincial forested Crown lands		.614		1.91	1.12	4.8%
First Nations should be given a wider range of property rights on Provincial Crown forested lands		-.614		3.70	1.35	39.1%
First Nations concerns are adequately represented on forest related decisions		.519		2.25	1.19	5.1%
My province has enough protected areas such as provincial and national parks or wilderness areas	.479			2.91	1.36	16.9%
Species biodiversity is being threatened by current forest management practices	-.484			3.41	1.24	23.5%
The expansion of the forest industry will improve my province's/territory's economy	.558			2.99	1.20	11.9%

TABLE 5
Forest Threats

	N	Mean	SD	% Strongly Agree
Impacts of long-term climate change	364	4.05	1.06	42.9%
Unsustainable harvesting	366	3.90	1.25	43.7%
Greater frequency/severity of insect damage in forested areas	363	3.85	1.20	39.1%
Greater frequency/severity of forest fires	365	3.78	1.19	37.0%
Increased forest certification efforts on First Nations lands (e.g., Canadian Standards Association, Forest Stewardship Council)	365	3.62	1.16	26.0%
Use of pesticides and herbicides	362	3.47	1.30	28.5%

Alpha = .751

TABLE 6
Forest Beliefs and Threats, by First Nations Status

	First Nations		Non First Nations				
	N	Mean	N	Mean	t	df	Sig
Business as Usual	150	2.78	184	3.01	–2.59	332	**p<.01**
First Nations Involvement Sufficient	153	1.89	190	2.35	–4.75	341	**p<.001**
Community Control	154	4.06	197	3.65	3.34	349	**p<.001**
All threats	151	4.04	199	3.57	5.65	348	**p<.001**

strong predictive ability, explaining 36.5% of the variation in perceived barriers (Table 7).

This model reveals that the strong differences in perceived barriers between First Nations and Non-First Nations respondents are greatly reduced when controlling for other factors. Greater perceived barriers to FN involvement in the forest sector are largely explained by region and attitudes. Respondents from all regions perceived greater barriers: interestingly, these differences were strongest in the regions traditionally considered the power centre of Canada: Quebec and Ontario, but the effect was strong in the Prairie region as well. Clearly, there is something

happening vis-à-vis program delivery or function, as these regional effects are strong and not reducible to other factors in the model. There are strong attitudinal effects as well: quite reasonably, respondents that perceive more potential issues that may threaten FN forestry also perceive greater barriers to FN involvement. Although this finding may strike the reader as nearly tautological, it is not: the barriers are rooted in the policy process (politics, authority, recognition, access, etc.) and the threats are in the biophysical environment: e.g., fire, climate change, and insect damage. Perceived effectiveness of the FNFP was expected to attenuate per-

TABLE 7
Predicting Perceived Barriers (summed scale)

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.629	.395	.365	.54517

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	46.624	12	3.885	13.073	.000
	Residual	71.329	240	.297		
	Total	117.954	252			

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error
1	(Constant)	2.072	.283		7.312	.000
	First Nations Status	.129	.080	.094	1.616	.107
	Atlantic	.277	.144	.137	1.924	.055
	Quebec	.709	.194	.253	3.651	**.000**
	Ontario	.463	.142	.240	3.262	**.001**
	Prairie	.372	.128	.234	2.905	**.004**
	BC	.250	.124	.169	2.014	**.045**
	Government	−.148	.087	−.098	−1.705	.089
	FNFP Effectiveness	−.055	.032	−.091	−1.712	.088
	All threats	.327	.048	.390	6.777	**.000**
	Business as usual	.017	.049	.021	.349	.728
	Enough First Nations Involvement	−.107	.044	−.144	−2.441	**.015**
	Communities should have more power	.125	.037	.209	3.402	**.001**

ceived barriers, but this was not the case. Two of the three general forest attitudes scales were also significant: respondents who agreed that communities should have more power in decision making and disagreed that First Nations involvement is sufficient perceived more barriers, suggesting frustration in these specific areas.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The FNFP program is scheduled to end in March of 2009. Over its course, economic development officers have played a significant implementation role. This paper considers a larger policy question that needs to be addressed, namely will new programming include provisions that will result in a

shift to the more integrative modes of forest management, introduced above by Wyatt (2008), such as "forestry for First Nations" or "Aboriginal forestry"? This paper explored the possibilities for such change by analyzing the Canadian First Nations forestry policy community. From our elite based survey, attitudes towards forest programming and policy, and the barriers facing First Nations were measured.

When existing activities under the current management regime were examined, there was very little divergence between First Nation and non-First Nation respondents in the relative importance placed on each. This supports Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith's (1999) assertion that there is often agreement on the secondary

(operational) aspects of policy. However, the comparison of means test clearly indicates there was a notable polarization between First Nation and non First Nation respondents when policy-oriented beliefs, attitudes about barriers and natural threats are examined. This confirms the existence of two distinct advocacy coalitions (or two distinct sets of ideas about forest management). An interpretation of the policy theory would infer that barring any significant external events impacting the Canadian forestry sector significant policy revisions are unlikely. Instead, policy change under such a scenario is likely to drift and the status quo will continue.

Such an interpretation may be premature. The multivariate analysis indicated that that although policy oriented beliefs are important in explaining the major structural barriers to First Nation involvement in Canada's forest sector, they are regionally diffuse. Thus, regional variation is an important consideration as well as biophysical threats. At present, we do not know why the regional differences we obtained are so prevalent. This modeling exercise suggests the First Nation and forestry policy communities more than intersect but the shared attitudes toward First Nations barriers indicates that they are in fact regionally integrated. If so, more robust policy revisions that are regionally specific may be required. Moreover, the growing complexity of 12 policy communities, each with a unique constellation of actors, issues, and institutions makes such an approach desirable. This finding is particularly important for those directly involved in the economic development field and often engaged in routine business of providing professional support and technical advice to First Nation communities and organizations. There may be a need for greater collaboration and networking with a wider audience dealing with regionally specific and more substantive issues related issues that continue to pose barriers to the advancement of First Nation led forestry in Canada.

REFERENCES

Atkinson, M., and W. Coleman. 1995. Policy networks, policy communities, and the problems of governance. In *Policy studies in Canada: The state of the art* edited by L. Buzinskis, M. Howlett, and D. Laycock, 193–218. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Baumgartner, F., and B. Jones. 1993. *Agendas and instability in American politics*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.

Coleman, W., and G. Skogstad. 1990. *Policy communities and public policy in Canada: A structuralist approach*. Toronto, ON: Copp Clark Pitman.

Hacker, J. 2004. Privatizing Risk Without privatizing the welfare state: The hidden politics of social policy of retrenchment in the United States. *American Political Science Review* 98(2): 243–60.

Hoberg, G., and E. Morawski. 1997. Policy change through sector intersection: Forest and Aboriginal policy in Clayoquot Sound. *Canadian Public Administration* 40(3): 387–414.

Howlett, M. 2001. Introduction: Policy regimes and policy change in the Canadian forest sector. In *Canadian forest policy* edited by M. Howlett, 3–23. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Howlett, M., and J. Rayner. 2001. The business and government nexus: Principal elements and dynamics of the Canadian forest regime. In *Canadian forest policy* edited by M. Howlett, 23–62. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Kimmins, J.P. 2002. Future shock in forestry — where have we come from; where are we going; is there a "right way" to manage forests? Lessons from Thoreau, Leopold, Toffler, Botkin and Nature. *Forestry Chronicle* 78: 263–71.

Laumann, E., and D. Knoke. 1987. *The organizational state: A perspective on national energy and health domains*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Lindquist, E. 1992. Public managers and policy communities: Learning to meet new challenges. *Canadian Journal of Public Administration* 35(2): 127–57.

Lindquist, E., and A. Wellstead. 2001. Making sense of complexity: Advances and gaps in comprehending the Canadian forest policy process. In *Canadian forest policy* edited by Michael Howlett, 419–46. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

National Aboriginal Forestry Association (NAFA). 2007. *Second report on First Nation-held forest tenures in Canada*.

Natural Resources Canada. 2007. *First Nations forestry program report to National Council*. Ottawa, ON: Natural Resources Canada.

Natural Resources Canada. 2006. *A planning framework for innovation management*. Ottawa, ON: Natural Resources Canada.

Natural Resources Canada. 2005. First Nations forestry program: Success stories. Natural Resources Canada.

Natural Resources Canada. 2001. First Nation Forestry Program: Five Years in Review 1996/97–2000/01. Ottawa, ON: Natural Resources Canada.

Parsons, R., and Prest, G. 2003. Aboriginal forestry in Canada. *Forestry Chronicle* 79(4): 779–84.

Parkins, J., R., Stedman, M. Patriquin, and M. Burns. 2006. Strong policies, poor outcomes: Longitudinal analysis of forest sector contributions to Aboriginal communities in Canada. *The Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development* 5(1): 61–73.

Sabatier, P., and M. Zafonte. 1995. The views of Bay/Delta water policy activities on endangered species issues. *West Northwest* 2: 131–46.

Stedman, R. D. Davidson, and A. Wellstead. 2004. Risk and climate change: Perceptions of key policy actors in Canada. *Risk Analysis* 24(5): 1393–404.

Statistics Canada. 2006. 2001 Census.

Stevenson, M. 2006. The possibility of difference: Rethinking co-management. *Human Organization* 65: 167–80.

van Waarden, F. 1992. Dimensions and types of policy networks. *European Journal of Political Research* 21: 29–52

Wellstead, A., D. Davidson, and R. Stedman. 2004. Assessing prairie forest policy networks and policy oriented beliefs. Information report NOR-X-395. Edmonton: Canadian Forest Service, Natural Resources Canada.

Wilson, J., and J. Graham. 2005. Relationships between First Nations and the forest industry: The legal and policy context. Ottawa: Institute of Governance.

Wyatt, S. 2008. First Nations, forest lands, and "Aboriginal forestry" in Canada: From exclusion to comanagement and beyond. *Canadian Journal of Forest Research* 38(2): 171–80.

OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES
What Does the New Economy Have To Offer Aboriginal Economic Development?

. . . .

Laura Lamb

SCHOOL OF BUSINESS AND ECONOMICS, THOMPSON RIVERS UNIVERSITY

Economic Progress translates into social progress; a society where all citizens benefit and no one is left behind

INTRODUCTION

The New Economy, also known as the information economy or knowledge-based economy, took hold in North America in the mid 1990s. Some believe that the combination of the prominent information and communication technologies (ICT) sector and the Internet hold great promise for the economic development of Aboriginal communities. Online access can provide education and training opportunities as well as a wealth of information whether it be about public sector services available to Aboriginals or on-line banking. For instance, the New Economy can provide education and training opportunities for rural and remote communities as the Internet makes on-line electronic learning feasible for those in remote communities as in the case of Campus Manitoba, a division within the Faculty of Extended Learning at the University of Manitoba, that offers post-secondary level courses to remote areas including White Bear First Nations in Saskatchewan with the use of communication technology to deliver lectures and tutorials.

Another example is the Connecting Aboriginal Economic Developers (CAED) project, sponsored by Western Economic Diversification Canada, to develop an Extranet that will help over 400 Aboriginal economic development officers to collaborate and access information for learning, mentorship and for their jobs (Western Economic Diversification Canada). The Internet offers lines of communication and access to information and knowledge for isolated firms as knowledge spillovers[1] have become less dependent on spatial proximity (Kolko, 2001). For instance, embroidery goods can be produced with digitalized sewing machines and patterns accessed through the Internet, and couriered to customers at a distance (Duboff, 2004).

A second view contends that the increasing skill level requirements of the New Economy sectors pose greater employment challenges to already employment challenged Aboriginal com-

---

Deputy Minister Al Hinton, Saskatchewan Northern Affairs "Sharing Canada's Prosperity — A Hand Up, Not A Handout", Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, Government of Canada, March 2007.

[1] A knowledge spillover is a type of positive externality whereby a third party to a transaction receives learning and knowledge benefits.

munities. The pivotal role of knowledge and ideas in the New Economy further emphasizes the need for higher education and skill development for economic development. The recent Senate report, "Sharing Canada's Prosperity — A Hand Up, Not A Hand Out" (Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, 2007) states that Aboriginal people often lack the basic skills and expertise to gain employment in the traditional economy, such as the natural resources sectors (oil and gas, mining), let alone the New Economy sectors which typically require higher skill sets. The Senate report also notes the substantially lower education attainment levels of Aboriginal Canadians compared with non-Aboriginal Canadians. It has been estimated that it will take about 28 years to close the education gap. Consequently, the disparities in education and training may lead to additional challenges for Aboriginal economic development in the New Economy.

The overall effect of the New Economy on Aboriginal economic development is not clear as it broadens economic and social development possibilities through ICT and the Internet and at the same time it creates greater challenges with greater human capital requirements for participation in the New Economy sectors. This article is an attempt to address the question posed in the title, what does the New Economy have to offer Aboriginal development? The question is addressed in two ways, first, by considering the appropriateness of Aboriginal communities as locations for firms in the New Economy and second, by assessing the compatibility of New Economy businesses with the objectives of Aboriginal economic development.

This article is composed of six sections. Section one briefly outlines the main characteristics of the New Economy and section two explains the location decisions of firms in the New Economy. Section three describes the back-office services industry and its suitability for Aboriginal economic development. In section four an economic model of firm location in the New Economy is illustrated. Section five is an assessment of the compatibility of the back-office services and like industries with Aboriginal economic

development objectives. Section six is a discussion and conclusion.

1. THE NEW ECONOMY

While there is no standardized definition of the New Economy, a review of New Economy literature uncovers a few common themes among the range of definitions. The New Economy is characterized by an increasingly dominant information and communication technologies (ICT) sector; the development of the Internet and its contribution to the economy; increasing globalization; a more highly skilled labour market; and an increasingly important role for knowledge and ideas. At the firm level, more easily accessible information and knowledge leads to broadening the strategic capacities (Petit, 2002) and altering the decision making processes in firms. In addition, there is a great deal of literature devoted to the location decisions of firms in the New Economy, as it is widely believed that the determinants of industrial agglomeration, or clustering, are different in the New Economy which is the topic discussed in section 2.

2. LOCATION DECISIONS IN THE NEW ECONOMY

There is a great deal of literature devoted to the location decision of firms in the New Economy, as it is widely believed that the decision of whether or not to cluster has evolved. One stream of literature suggests that firms are more likely to locate in a cluster in the New Economy largely because the creation and transfer of knowledge is more conducive to firms in clusters (Globerman, 2002; Bekar and Lipsey, 2000), while another stream argues that firms are more likely to locate away from metropolitan hubs and clusters as ICT has made it possible for firms to effectively communicate, conduct economic activity, and thus create and pass on knowledge over distances (Kolko, 2002). In other words, a firm with a modem in a geographically remote area can be competitive. This second view has been called the forty acres and a modem concept[2] and

---

[2] The term is coined by Kotlin, 1998.

is considered to be applicable to specific economic activities, such as back-office services.

The way in which knowledge is created and learning occurs in firms in the New Economy may provide insight into the location decision of firms. New economy literature suggests that firms access knowledge either through global pipelines, local atmosphere, or a combination of both. Global pipeline refers to the channel in distance interactions of firms which reaches over short distances to other regions and over long distances internationally (Bathelt, Malmberg, and Maskell, 2002). For instance, the New Brunswick ICT sector became competitive with world-leading ICT clusters by developing long distance networking and business development activities to create extra-local linkages (Davis and Schaefer, 2003). Local atmosphere is a concept used to describe the creation and transfer of knowledge within a cluster. It refers to unintended and intended learning processes which occur as an outcome of frequent face-to-face interactions, movement of employees among firms and between education and research institutions and firms, new firm start-ups and the like (Wolfe and Gertler, 2004; Bathelt et al., 2002; Maskell, 2001). Firm location does not directly affect the knowledge created and transferred through global pipelines while it does directly affect knowledge created and transferred through local atmosphere.

Being that many First Nation communities are located away from metropolitan hubs and tend not to be part of industrial clusters, the forty acre and a modem concept may provide economic development opportunities for Aboriginal economic development. The forty acre and a modem concept is applicable to specific economic activities particularly back-office services, the topic covered in the following section.

3. BACK-OFFICE SERVICES INDUSTRY

Back-office services, describes the off-side delivery of a range of non-core service functions, including administrative tasks, customer service and technical support (Conrad, 2000). Information and communications technology has made it possible for many back-office services to be provided in locations far from home offices. With appropriate information technology (IT), any non-face-to-face service can be provided back-office. Outsourcing is the term used to describe the contracting of business functions outside the firm. Outsourcing occurs inside and outside national borders.

There is nothing new about outsourcing as manufacturers have outsourced parts manufacturing to smaller firms for decades. In the New Economy, the demand for outsourcing has increased as information and communications technology (ICT) has made it possible for many more aspects of production to be outsourced, namely services. The ability to outsource services is specifically what the New Economy brings to the concept of outsourcing, often to low cost countries with lower labour standards such as China and India. In essence, services can be provided from anywhere on the globe if the telecommunications infrastructure is available. Firms outsource to reduce costs, improve employee productivity and to focus on core business functions (Canadian Chamber of Commerce, 2005). The back-office services industry has become a significant component of the global economy evidenced by the close to US$3 trillion or nearly 10% of global GDP it comprises (International Trade Centre, 2000).

While offshore back-office services is growing at a rate of 15% to 20% (Conrad, 2000) annually, some types of back-office services such as customer relationship management (call centres, technical support, etc.) are more suitable for nearshore rather than offshore outsourcing (Bowen, 2005). Nearshoring refers to contracting out to geographically close countries, such as is the case where U.S. firms outsource to Canadian firms.

Back-office operations are increasingly viewed as a source of economic development for communities and regions. The International Trade Centre (2000) has identified back-office services as a high growth market opportunity. Numerous American communities have been actively soliciting back-office business to create jobs. For instance, Rural Outsourcing, an IT company that outsources to rural communities in the U.S. claims that they can provide information technology services at 30% to 50% below most urban based consulting firms due to lower overhead and wages in rural regions (Johnson, 2005).

Some Aboriginal communities in the United States are benefiting from nearshoring. For instance, Lakota Express, a Native American woman owned marketing and web-design firm, established in 1996, is based on a South Dakota Indian reservation and provides services for clients including Daimler Chrysler, the federal, state and tribal government. Lakota Express has a state of the art call centre that provides inbound and outbound telemarketing. They also provide other services such as data entry, order processing, and surveys. (Lakota Express, Inc, 2006)

In addition, tribally owned companies have been set up on Northern Ute reservations in Utah. On four Utah reservations, 150 to 180 full time jobs have been created through outsourcing of government and commercial contracts. "One venture, owned by members of the Cedar Bank of Paiutes, did $14 million in business last year" (Walker, 2005). Jobs include data entry, call centre, helpdesk and info-tech work.

Notwithstanding labour costs in Canada being higher than in Mexico and India, the two favoured outsourcing destinations of the United States, there are several factors which make Canada a very desirable place to outsource. Canada has a competitive advantage in attracting U.S. outsourcing business due to its educated population, high employee retention rates, cultural and linguistic similarities, stable political environment, business-friendly climate, shared business culture, and close proximity to the United States (Bowen, 2005; Canadian Chamber of Commerce, 2005). As well, outsourcing to Canada is a less sensitive topic among U.S. firms and their clients and has attracted less political and media attention in the United States than outsourcing to off-shore locations (Bowen, 2005).

In 2006, the Canadian business support services industry reported over $5.7 billion in revenues with over 48% of that being generated by telephone call centres (Vincent and McKeown, 2008). While Canadian growth in back-office operations is not expected to reach near the levels of India and other Asian countries, it is expected to maintain a secure position for U.S. firms that rely on others to look after their business analytics, corporate reporting, and data warehousing operations and want those functions performed geographically closer to the head office (Bowen, 2005).

Contact centre business is the largest type of offshore activity performed in Canada. "Call centre strategies are in place in nearly all Canadian provinces, and constitute a continued area of focus for economic development activities for the provinces. Contact centres have played an important role in bringing high value, white-collar services-based employment to communities across Canada, especially to rural and remote communities" (Canadian Chamber of Commerce, 2005: 5). For instance, in Sault Ste. Marie, 2500 jobs, mainly in customer service and technical support, were created by U.S. outsourcing during the period 2002–2005.

A few of Canada's Aboriginal communities have become involved in the contact centre industry. The Aboriginal community of Bella Bella, with a population of about 1500, on Campbell Island in British Columbia has successfully operated a call centre from 2000 to 2008 providing jobs for eight full-time and several part-time employees (Gauthier, 2001). The Saskatchewan Indian Institute of Technologies (SIIT) has operated a call centre since 1996. They started with 8 employees and currently employ about 35 permanent part-time Aboriginal employees, many of whom are post-secondary students. The SIIT call centre is based on the Asimakaniseekan Askiy reserve in Saskatoon and offers its services on a national level, but primarily in Saskatchewan, in the First Nation languages of Cree, Dene, and Saulteaux, and English. Convergys, an Ohio-based call centre giant, opened a call centre at the Power Centre in Truro, Nova Scotia, run by the Millbrook First Nation in 2004. The call centre currently employs about 600 full-time employees, a small proportion are Aboriginal.[3] These jobs pay above minimum wage, starting in the range of $9.75–$11.35 per hour. The larger companies such as Convergys offer comprehensive benefit packages which include health, dental, pension, stock options and tuition reimbursement benefits. Note that the call centre operations in Saskatoon and

---

[3] Jill Richard, Convergys Recruiting Manager at the Truro call centre does not know how many of the 600 employees are Aboriginal but states that it is a small proportion. Employees cannot be asked to self-identify as Aboriginal.

Truro are located in cities and not in rural and remote areas, thus making these two examples less applicable to the forty acre and a modem concept. At the same time neither of the urban located call centres is located in a cluster thereby justifying their inclusion and relevance to this discussion. Given the viability of back-office services firms in rural and Aboriginal communities in the United States and Canada, the back-office services industry may hold promise as an economic opportunity for other Aboriginal communities is Canada.

New economy literature suggests that the creation and transfer of knowledge in back-office services industries is more reliant on global pipelines than local atmosphere thereby lending support to the forty acres and a modem view of firm location in the New Economy. Section 4, the section to which we now turn, assesses the applicability of the forty acre and a modem concept to back-office services firms located in rural and remote areas using microeconomic theory and modeling.

4. THE NEW ECONOMY MODEL OF FIRM LOCATION

While economic literature has largely ignored questions about firms' location decisions, Paul Krugman's (1991) work in the area of industrial geographic concentration has played a prominent role in filling the void. Krugman's (1991) core periphery model is used to analyze the forces of economic clustering and spreading by allowing mobile workers to migrate between regions. Numerous extensions of the model have been developed to analyze economic topics in the areas of international trade, economic growth, business cycle theory and regional economics, the latter being most relevant to the topic of this article.

In this article, Krugman's core periphery model is modified to analyze the location decisions of firms in the back-office services industry. The core model is modified to reflect two relevant determinants, the first is congestion costs and the second is the creation and transfer of knowledge, both of which are more fully explained below.

It has been argued that some firms find it more profitable to locate away from industrial clusters and large cities in order to minimize congestion costs, specifically the additional costs of doing business and living in large urban centres (Brakman et al, 1996). For instance, Silicon Valley has incurred large increases in the cost of living and traffic congestion which has in turn ignited growth in less congested surrounding areas (Broersma, 1998). In addition, a Transport Canada (2007) study estimates urban congestion costs in Canada's nine largest urban areas to be in the range of $2.3 to $3.7 billion dollars in 2003, mostly due to time lost in traffic, increased fuel consumption and increased greenhouse gas emissions.

The literature suggests that as congestion costs increase, firms are more likely to relocate to away from large metropolitan hubs to reduce production costs, as well as the costs of living for their employees. The congestion effect is relatively strong for back-office services firms since cost savings is one of the main motivations for outsourcing back-office services. Back-office services firms are believed to have a competitive advantage when located in less congested and rural regions characterized by relatively low wages and low rent. Accordingly, a congestion effect is incorporated into the core periphery model, as was first done by Brakman, Garretsen, Gigengack, van Marrewijk, and Wagenvoort (1996).

A second modification to the model addresses the importance of knowledge creation and transfer in the New Economy. Here we make reference to the concepts of local atmosphere and global pipelines as previously discussed in section 2. Firms in the back-office services industry rely on gaining information and knowledge over distances via global pipelines to a larger extent than through local atmosphere. Back-office services firms in small communities or rural regions create extra-local linkages through global pipelines whereby information and knowledge is exchanged. In the model, the benefit of knowledge creation and transfer through global pipelines is available to all regions, both urban and rural.

Although local atmosphere is expected to play a much smaller role for firms in the back-office services industry, it does exist and is advantageous to co-located firms. For instance, in Winnipeg, experienced call centre workers often move from Convergys to MTS Allstream

Inc. or EDS where their experience earns them higher wage rates. MTS Allstream Inc. and EDS both benefit from local atmosphere, through cost savings, by hiring already trained and experienced call centre workers.

The modified model considers the following five clustering forces:

1. Economies of scale, which is the cost savings associated with larger scale production (a positive clustering force);
2. The share of household expenditures allocated to New Economy goods and services (a positive clustering force);
3. Transport costs (a negative clustering force);
4. Congestion costs (a negative clustering force); and
5. Local atmosphere (a positive clustering force).

To clarify, a firm to which economies of scale is very important is more likely to locate in a cluster, a firm producing a product which comprises a large share of household expenditure is more likely to locate in a cluster, a firm with high transport costs is more likely to locate away from a cluster, a firm to which congestion costs are high is more likely to locate away from a cluster, and a firm to which local atmosphere is important is more likely to locate in a cluster.

The Model

The model describes two regions that each produces two types of goods, back-office services and agricultural goods. Both regions have two types of workers, agricultural workers and back-office services workers. Agricultural workers cannot become back-office services workers, and vice versa. For simplicity, it is assumed that the agricultural workers are immobile and unable to move between the two regions while the back-office services workers are mobile and migrate to the region offering to highest real wage.[4]

The two regions are identical except that region 1 is a cluster characterized by co-located back-office services firms in close proximity to learning institutions specializing in the back-office services industry leading to the creation of

local atmosphere and thus providing firms with a competitive advantage, denoted by lower production costs. The lower production costs result from the knowledge and information benefits associated with clustering. In region 2, many back-office services firms may exist without being co-located due to the large geographic size of the region. In sum, the regions are identical in all attributes except for the number of back-office services firms and the competitive advantage due to clustering of back-office services firms in region 1.

The agricultural goods are standardized which means that all farm products are identical. In other words, a farm in region 1 produces identical corn to all other farms in region 1 and all farms in region 2. The back-office services firms produce differentiated services which mean that each firm provides a different service. For instance, one firm may provide customer support for a telephone company and another firm may provide customer support for a government child care service program.

All workers live in households which purchase both agricultural goods and back-office services. Households like variety and thus purchase back-office services from both regions regardless of the region in which they reside. In other words, there is trade among the two regions.

As back-office services workers move between the two regions chasing a higher real wage, the region with the larger number of firms and workers experiences congestion and thus higher production costs. The analysis investigates the change in real wages as congestion costs are varied.

The model deals with two time periods, the short run and the long run. Back-office services workers are not mobile in the short run but are mobile in the long run. When real wages are not the same in both regions in the short run, the back-office services workers migrate from the region with low real wages to the region with the high real wages in the long run. A long run equilibrium is reached when real wages are equal across both regions at which point there is no tendency for workers to further migrate. The equations of the model are strongly non-linear

---

[4] Real wage is nominal wage adjusted for inflation.

FIGURE 1
Equilibria with Varying Levels of Congestion
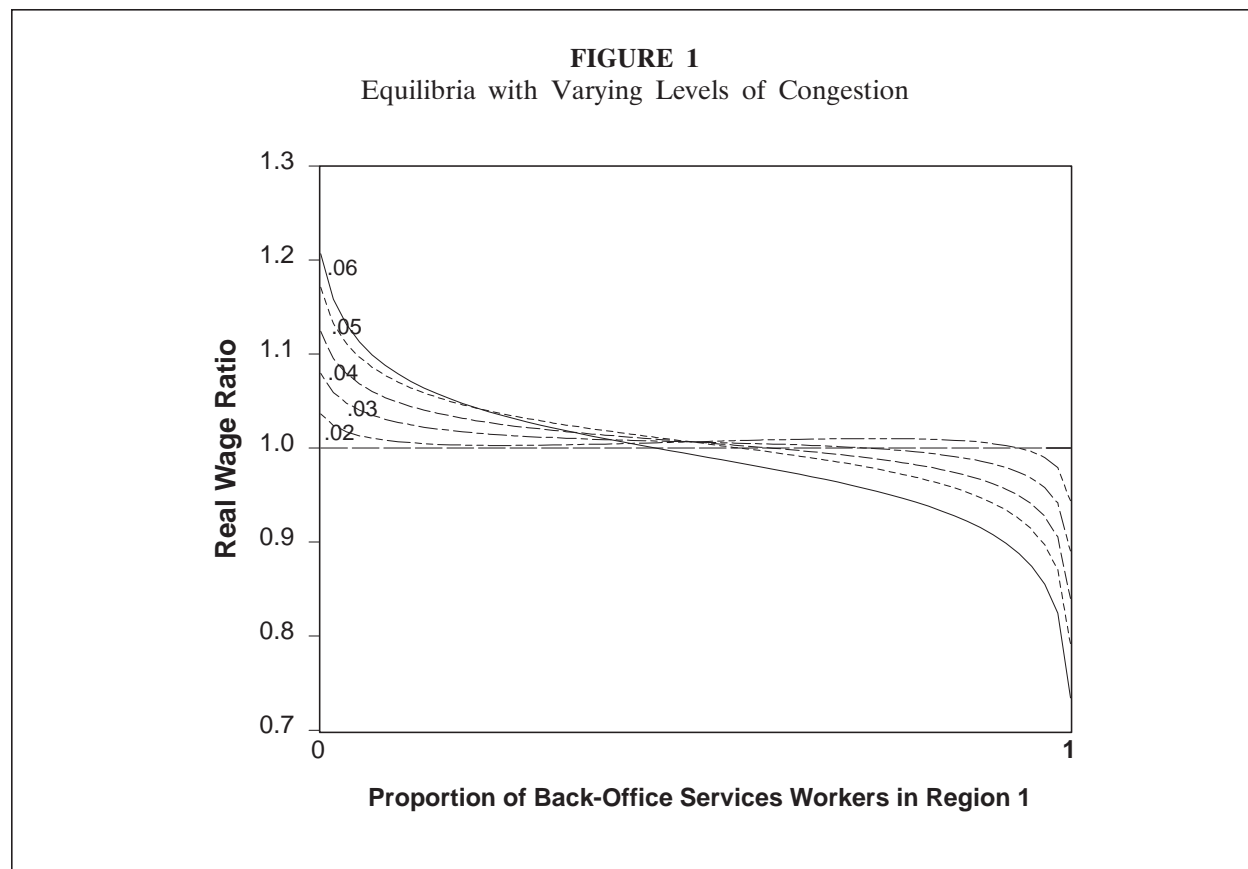
and require the performance of numerical simu-
lations for solutions. Refer to the appendix for
more technical details of the model.

Simulation results

The numerical simulations illustrate that back-
office services workers, and thus firms are more
likely to locate away from the cluster in region 1
as congestion costs rise, as is thought to be the
case for many firms in the back-office services
industry. The results imply that firms in indus-
tries which incur relatively high congestion costs
have a tendency to locate away from congested
urban clusters.

The main simulation results are summarized
in Figure 1 above. The graph in Figure 1 illus-
trates the short run and long run equilibriums as
the congestion variable is varied. Note that the
vertical axis represents the ratio of the real wage
in region 1 to the real wage in region 2 with a
horizontal reference line at 1.0 denoting the long

run equilibrium condition where the real wage is
identical in both regions. The horizontal axis
represents the initial distribution of back-office
services workers between the two regions. Specif-
ically, it shows the proportion of back-office
services workers in region 1. For instance, if
the proportion of back-office services workers in
region 1 is .30, then 30% are located in region 1
and 70% are located in region 2. Each of the
six curves on the graph is the line joining all the
short run equilibrium wage ratios as the propor-
tion of back-office services workers in region 1
increases from 0 to 1. The point at which each
curve intersects the horizontal reference line
(Real Wage Ratio = 1) represents the long run
equilibrium, the point at which the real wages
are the same in both regions and workers no
longer move between the two regions. Each
curve, identified by a number, represents a dif-
ferent level of congestion costs. Congestion costs
range from .02 to .06, where .02 represents the
case where congestion costs are relatively low

and .06 represents the case where congestion costs are relatively high. For instance, the curve labeled .02 is in long run equilibrium when 95% of workers are located in region 1. In this case, the competitive advantage and associated clustering benefits of locating in region 1 outweigh the congestion costs as the majority of firms choose to locate in region 1. When congestion costs are relatively high as in the case of the curve labeled .06, the long run equilibrium occurs when 58% workers are located in region 1, illustrating little to no clustering as firms spread out to minimize congestion costs.

The simulation results lend support to the premise that the benefits of knowledge creation via global pipelines (over distances) and reduced congestion costs is greater than the benefits from knowledge creation via local atmosphere (by means of clustering) for many firms providing back-office services.

5. THE COMPATIBILITY OF THE BACK-OFFICE SERVICES INDUSTRY WITH ABORIGINAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES

While the simulation results in section 4 provide support for the development of the back-office services industry as a viable approach to Aboriginal economic development, a discussion of the compatibility of the approach with Aboriginal economic development objectives is needed to assess the appropriateness of the approach. There is no generally agreed upon set of Aboriginal economic development objectives as they vary widely across the country. Development objectives as set out in the Neechi model have been selected for assessment in this article. The principles of the Neechi model, founded by an Aboriginal worker-owned cooperative in Winnipeg, have come to be considered a comprehensive set of community economic development principles by many advocates of community-based approaches to development and are increasingly

adopted by community-based organizations such as SEED[5] Winnipeg (Loxley and Lamb, 2006). More relevantly, the community-based approach to development has been adopted by many Aboriginal communities with a focus on "a more community-oriented, less individualistic, culture, which leads to a decidedly refreshing approach toward economic development" (Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, 2007:4). While debate about the goals, objectives, and priorities for Aboriginal economic development continues to evolve as experiences grow, the Neechi principles provide a relatively effective benchmark and for that reason have been chosen for the present analysis.

The Neechi principles are summarized as follows: production of goods and services for local use; local reinvestment of locally generated profits; long-term employment of local residents; local skill development; local decision-making; improved public health; improved physical environment; neighbourhood stability; and human dignity. In this section, the goals will be discussed as they relate to the back-office services industry in Aboriginal communities. The three examples of participation in the back-office services industry in Canadian Aboriginal communities, as discussed in section 3, cover two approaches to involving Aboriginal communities in the New Economy. First, Aboriginal communities can develop their own back-office services firms as in the cases of Bella Bella and SIIT. Second, Aboriginal communities can attract existing back-office services firms to locate on First Nations reserves. The latter is most suitable to First Nations located close to urban centres who want to expand commercial activity on reserve by attracting outside investment.

Table 1 provides a summary of the assessment of compatibility of back-office services for Aboriginal economic development with the Neechi principles. On the first Neechi principle, back-office services firms provide services for export, not for local use, although their existence and success may provide the opportunity for new firm start-ups which may produce a good or ser-

---

[5] SEED Winnipeg is a non-profit community economic development organization with a mission to deliver programs and services that help low income individuals, groups, and organizations start businesses. Aboriginal Community Collaborations (ACC) is one of SEED's six program areas, whereby it connects with Aboriginal organizations to collaborate on creating community economic development initiatives designed for the Aboriginal community, one of which is the Aboriginal Build A Business Program.

TABLE 1
Compatibility of Back-Office Services for Aboriginal Economic Development
with Neechi Principles

Neechi Principle	Compatible	Somewhat Compatible	Incompatible	Explanation
1. Production of goods and services for local use			X	Services produced for export
2. Local reinvestment of locally generated profits		X		The opportunity is provided as long as the firm is locally owned.
3. Long-Term employment of local residents		X		Depends on market conditions for the back-market services industry
4. Local skill development	X			The strongest benefit
5. Local decision-making		X		Exogenous factors strongly influence local decision-making
6. Improved public health	X			Greater employment and income are correlated with improved public health.
7. Improved physical environment	X			Greater employment and income are correlated with an improved physical environment.
8. Neighbourhood stability	X			Greater employment and income are correlated with more neighbourhood stability.
9. Human dignity	X			Employment is associated with greater human dignity.

vice for local consumption. For instance, the additional income and profits brought into the community from the back-office services firms will provide community residents with greater purchasing power strengthening demand for goods and services from local businesses. Backward linkages[6] may be created as back-office services firms are likely to call for other business initiatives to provide skills development and training programs to potential workers who will require some basic training in computer literacy and customer relations among other skills. Forward linkages[7] may be created as back-office services workers gain skills and move onto other employment initiatives.

On the second Neechi principle, back-office services firms provide the opportunity for local reinvestment of profits provided that the firm is locally owned. In the back-office services industry either the firm is locally owned and contracts out

---

[6] A backward linkage is a measure of the extent to which the output of a sector depends on inputs purchased from other sectors in the community.

[7] A forward linkage is a measure of the extent to which the output of a sector is sold as an input to other sectors in the community.

to non-locally owned firms, as in the case of the Bella Bella Call Centre on Campbell Island and the SIIT Call Centre in Saskatoon or the firm itself is non-locally owned, as in the case of Convergys, a multinational corporation, in Truro. The Millbrook First Nation owns the Power Centre in Truro where Convergys is a tenant. In the case of the SIIT Call Centre, the generated revenue is reinvested in SIIT educational services (Burke, 1999).

Long-term employment for local residents, the third Neechi principle, is somewhat compatible in that back-office services employment may either be long term or it may provide skills, training, and experience necessary to be able to secure other long term employment opportunities. The back-office services industry has often successfully played the role of providing starter jobs for low skilled local residents whom in the process build on their human capital. For instance, the Bella Bella Call Centre developed with the objective of providing job experience and skills training to Heiltsuk band members who would go onto other jobs or attend school for higher education (Stockford, 2006). At the SIIT Call Centre, many of the part-time jobs are occupied by Aboriginal post-secondary students providing them with work experience, advantageous in securing long term employment after graduation, and an income to assist in financing their education. The back-office services industry is characterized as one with a high degree of competitiveness and sometimes short lived contracts, thus making it more suitable for the short-term goals of providing training and job experience. For instance, the Bella Bella Call Centre closed in early 2008 as their last contract expired.

In close connection, the fourth Neechi principle, local skill development, is strongly compatible with back-office services firms in rural and remote communities. Both Aboriginal owned call centres, Bella Bella and SIIT, in Canada provide on the job training. The Convergys call centre on Millbrook First Nation provides job training and offers specific computer training courses to those without prior computer experience, though the number of Aboriginal employees has been small. Local skill development leads to knowledge spillovers whereby workers move among back-office operations firms or other local business initiatives. Although, opportunities for knowledge spillovers may not be commonplace in remote Aboriginal communities.

On the fifth principle, an Aboriginal firm providing back-office services is likely to be locally owned, as in the cases of the Bella Bella and SIIT Call Centres, yet their existence and the way it operates is determined by exogenous factors, namely decisions by outside agents (clients such as private firms or government). Locally owned back-office services firms in Aboriginal communities are likely to be small scale operations unless the community is in close proximity to an urban centre. The non-Aboriginal owned call centre in Truro is large scale employing close to 600 workers, most of whom are not Aboriginal.

Neechi principles six through nine, improved public health, improved physical environment, neighbourhood stability and human dignity are all compatible with the operation of back-office services firms in an indirect manner. A community with greater levels of employment, greater wage income, and more locally earned profit is likely to provide better public health, an improved physical environment, greater neighbourhood stability and a higher degree of human dignity. Income and profits lead to a larger tax base whereby the public sector has more resources for allocation towards public health spending and physical infrastructure. A higher level of employment and income enables households to improve their personal physical environments, whether it is their homes, yards, or rental properties. The employment of previously unemployed individuals is associated with greater human dignity and self esteem which may leads to neighbourhood stability. To clarify, employed individuals are less likely to be transient, thereby improving neighbourhood stability. Chief Wilfred Humchitt, of the Heiltsuk band in Bella Bella, stated, "It has been uplifting to see members of our community get off social assistance, take advantage of their training and secure employment that ensures lifelong career opportunities. I have seen individuals leave the call centre with greater esteem and a positive outlook for the future." (Stockford, 2006).

The greatest strength of back-office operations for Aboriginal economic development is in its ability to provide jobs and skills to Aboriginal people, thus addressing one of the most critical concerns in Aboriginal communities. Experience

in the back-office services industry helps a workforce to develop computer and customer service skills which are in demand and are portable to other work environments (International Trade Centre, 2000). The skill level requirements are relatively low. The costs of providing back-office operations are expected to be comparatively low due to the lack of congestion costs such as high rents and high wages associated with larger centres. Back-office services clients look to save at least 30 to 40% of the costs of providing the service in-house. Labour costs are typically 60% of any back-office services while other major cost items which need to be competitive include telecommunications and rent (International Trade Centre, 2000).

Although back-office operations do not comply with many of the Neechi principles, they may be viewed as a means to an end if appropriately planned to cross-subsidize other development initiatives towards community development, such as further training programs and housing projects. As well, it may offer the opportunity to keep rural communities intact provided telecommunications infrastructure is available to support the delivery of back-office services.

6.   DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

At least three Aboriginal communities have participated in the back-office services industry in Canada. Of the three communities described in section 3, one was in business for close to eight years, another is in their twelfth year of business, and the third signed a six year deal in 2003. Are the Aboriginal communities' involvement in the call centre industry a result of chance or are they supported by economic fundamentals? If the latter is true then call centres and other back-office services type operations may be suitable for economic development in other Aboriginal communities. The analyses in this article suggest that the success of back-office services firms in Aboriginal communities is supported by economic fundamentals.

The NE firm location model supports the forty acre and a modem concept that firms in certain industries will benefit from locating away from a cluster as the costs of clustering (congestion costs) outweigh the benefits (local atmosphere). The Bella Bella Call Centre is a prime example of a forty acre and modem type firm as

it operated in a small and relatively remote community and relied on information and knowledge transferred over distances (global pipelines). As previously discussed the existence of the SIIT Call Centre on reserve in Saskatoon, a city of 200,000, is also supported by the simulation results since it is not part of a call centre cluster and operates with relatively low overhead costs. The Convergys call centre located in the Millbrook First Nation run business centre, is different from the other two businesses because it is not Aboriginal-owned and it operates at a larger scale. It is a unique case in regard to the New Economy clustering model as well. It fits the forty acre and a modem model in that it operates in a small city of about 23,000 and a census agglomeration population of about 45,000 where congestion costs are expected to be low. It also fits the clustering model in that the location decision was largely based on successful operations in other parts of the province. The province of Nova Scotia is geographically small and has a well developed call centre industry, enabling local atmosphere to benefit the newest Truro call centre. Information and knowledge are created and transferred as employees move among firms and firms can benefit from economies of scale in employee training programs and other support services.

In regard to the compatibility analysis of back-office services with Aboriginal economic development objectives it is difficult to reach a definite conclusion since objectives vary widely among First Nations in Canada. As stated in section 5, back-office operations do not comply with many of the Neechi principles but may still be considered to be worthwhile if they can provide skill development and jobs. Nonetheless, some Aboriginal communities will not be interested in developing back-office operations for economic development in their communities.

Based on the discussion and economic analyses in this article, it can be stated that the back-office services industry has been particularly successful in the New Economy and may be appropriate for Aboriginal economic development in some Aboriginal communities provided certain challenges are overcome.

One challenge to using back-office services as an economic development strategy is that many First Nation communities lack the characteristics that would attract New Economy indus-

tries. These communities typically have low education levels, tend to lack workers trained in the use of technologies, and have limited access to broadband and IT equipment. Although the situation is changing rapidly as many isolated communities, such as Bella Bella and others in the north, are increasingly becoming connected to broadband.

A second challenge is dealing with the ongoing competitive threats in the back-office services industry. The International Trade Centre (2000) reports that the international environment is very competitive and seemingly long-term contracts can disappear suddenly in the back-office services industry. The Bella Bella call centre deals with this risk by taking on several contracts for service, and in fact had 24 contracts within its first eight weeks of operation (Stockford, 2006). In addition, rapidly changing support technology requires providers of back-office services to keep current with continuous upgrading which can be costly. As well, economy wide factors such as the recent dramatic rise of the Canadian dollar has eroded some of the comparative advantage of back office operations in Canada (Vincent and McKeown, 2008).

A third challenge is the need for public sector support, especially for the provision of training programs and infrastructure which are essential for the success of any New Economy initiative in a disadvantaged community, First Nations or otherwise. Some of this support is being provided. The Province of Nova Scotia has partnered with Congergys to provide computer readiness training to prospective call centre employees without computer skills (Richard, 2008). The Manitoba government has implemented training initiatives aimed at creating labour opportunities for the disadvantaged Aboriginal population in the call centre industry in Winnipeg (Guard, 2006). In 2003, the B.C. Institute of Technology (BCIT) implemented an Aboriginal call centre training program in conjunction with the Aboriginal Community Career Employment Services Society (ACCESS) who developed an Aboriginal employment readiness program. By the fall of 2003, more than 100 people had completed the two programs and close to 70% had found employment (BCIT, 2004). In regard to the provision of infrastructure, Duboff (2004) identifies the lack of Broadband Internet access as the greatest barrier for

rural Aboriginal development organizations to participate in the NE, although the situation is improving. In addition, public sector support in the form of tax incentives can be extremely advantageous in attracting call centres to Aboriginal communities. The success of the Millbrook First Nation in attracting Convergys to their development was largely due to the province of Nova Scotia's offer to rebate a portion of payroll tax on condition of specific job creation numbers and income tax is paid by the employees. Additional rebates are available to Convergys as they continue to expand.

Fortuitously, a combination of a predicted labour shortage and a concern for chronic unemployment in disadvantaged communities has inspired some innovative proposals for labour force training programs. Loewen, Silver, August, Bruning, MacKenzie and Meyerson (2006) propose the development of a labour market intermediary focused on a specific industry such as IT. The intermediary is to be comprised of employers, unions, governments and community-based organizations and educational institutions that are committed to developing an improved employment development system that will ultimately move large numbers of low income members of disadvantaged communities into good jobs.

While this article has focused on the back-office services industry, other industries are compatible with the forty acres and a modem concept and may be just as applicable to Aboriginal economic development. Other suitable industries may include natural resource management, Internet-banking, and E-learning, to name a few (Duboff, 2004).

This article contributes to the existing body of academic and non-academic literature in three ways. First, it contributes to the literature on Aboriginal economic development in that it suggests that trade offs are sometimes necessary in order to realize the most crucial goals. For instance, chronic unemployment is perhaps the largest challenge for First Nation communities and it may be necessary for a community to compromise other development objectives, namely self-sufficiency, in order to provide employment opportunities for its residents.

Second, this paper contributes to public policy literature directed at economic development. Since public sector support is required for most

BOX 1
EDO Ideas

Two models for back-office services initiatives in Aboriginal communities:

Model	Location of Aboriginal Community	Ownership	Size of Business
1	Rural or urban (non-cluster)	Aboriginal owned firm (Bella Bella Call Centre and SIIT Call Centre)	Small scale (up to 50 employees)
2	Urban (non-cluster) or close proximity to urban centre	Non-Aboriginal owned firm (Convergys on Millbrook First Nation)	Medium to large scale (more than 50 employees)

Points for consideration

Model 1

1. Entrepreneurship, management, and marketing skills are required to get the business up and running.
2. Appropriate information technology (IT) infrastructure is required, i.e., broadband, computer hardware, etc.
3. Training is needed. Possibly training may be provided in partnership with government, as in the cases previously discussed.
4. Clients for a small scale back-offices service firm may include local and provincial governments, local utilities to provide services such as billing, customer support, data entry, etc.

Model 2

1. The Aboriginal community must have the prerequisites to attract a back-office services firm such as Convergys, which may include the following:
   (a) Physical infrastructure, i.e., roads, sewer, water, utilities, business park, etc.
   (b) Provision of office space as in the case where Millbrook First Nation provided a new $2 million building for Convergys.
   (c) May require a land leasing system if the outside firm wants to builds its own building on reserve land.
   (d) A streamlined business regulatory system, i.e., transparency, efficiency, access to information, etc.
   (e) Development of investment promotional materials.
   (f) Willingness to partner with governments and financial institutions to negotiate a deal, i.e., Millbrook First Nation worked with the Province of Nova Scotia to provide incentives for Convergys.

2. The community must be located close to an urban centre with a labour force large enough to staff a large scale back-office services firm.

economic development, it is beneficial to consider public investment in New Economy forty acre and a modem type initiatives since they are likely to have higher success rates given their current and forecasted growth rates. For the back-office services industry, public policy needs to be directed towards providing universal access to broadband service and associated telecommunications equipment for specific initiatives. As well, publicly funded labour training programs, such as the ones discussed above, are needed to train the chronically unemployed and are vitally important for successful economic development.

Third, the results of the analyses in this paper broaden the scope of Aboriginal economic development strategies providing useful information for academics and practitioners of economic development. Strategies involving the creation of New Economy initiatives broaden the possibilities for Aboriginal economic development initiatives. A number of ideas for economic development in Aboriginal communities have been discussed in this paper and may prove useful for economic development officers (EDO). The main points are listed in Box 1 below. The information in Box 1 is intended to provide some preliminary information for an EDO interested in learning how to get started with a back-office services initiative in an Aboriginal community and is not intended to be fully comprehensive. The EDO should also keep in mind that the strategies suggested in this paper are most appropriate for achieving the short to medium term goals of providing local skill development and work experience. As previously discussed, long term employment is not very secure in this industry due to the extreme competitiveness and foot-loose nature of the industry. However, there may be good potential for niche markets in the back-office services industry where Aboriginal communities have a unique competitive advantage, namely the ability to reach other Aboriginal communities through common language. As Aboriginal communities reach higher levels of economic development and become wealthier, private firms will want to find ways to reach Aboriginal consumers. SIIT started out providing Aboriginal communities with product information for SaskTel because of their ability to provide services in three Aboriginal languages. The demand for these types of services is likely to increase in the future.

his paper concludes by addressing the question posed in the introduction: What does the New Economy offer Aboriginal economic development? It offers new opportunities for Aboriginal economic development strategies based on the forty acre and a modem concept. These strategies are by no means a solution in themselves, they merely add to the Aboriginal economic development tool box. The analysis in this paper has shown that Aboriginal economic development initiatives in certain New Economy activities are both advantageous and feasible. At the same time, it creates challenges for Aboriginal economic development as development objectives of self-sufficiency, local ownership and local decision-making are becoming increasingly challenged by increasing globalization in the NE.

APPENDIX

Krugman's (1991) core periphery model is a fully specified, general equilibrium model where the interaction of demand, increasing returns, and transportation costs drive a cumulative process of regional concentration.

Consider 2 regions (r = 1, 2) both producing sector A back-office services, consisting of numerous varieties, and a sector B, standardized agricultural good, which serves as numéraire. The production of NE back-office services is characterized by increasing returns to scale, foot-loose production, and imperfect competition.

The model assumes two factors of production sector A workers and sector B workers. Sector B workers only produce sector B agricultural goods and sector A workers only produce sector A back-office services. Sector A workers are mobile and locate in the region offering the highest real wage while Sector B workers are immobile and the sector B agricultural industry is perfectly competitive with constant returns to scale and standardized goods. It is assumed that the labour market always clears so that there is no unemployment.

The demand side of the economy is modeled with a Cobb-Douglas utility function with constant elasticity of substitution (CES) where the consumption of all varieties of sector A goods is symmetrical.

In the short run, the sector A labour force is not mobile and short run labour markets clear. The transition from the short run to the long run involves the migration of sector A workers to the region with the highest real wage. In long run equilibrium, the real wages are equal in both regions.

Congestion results in negative location specific external economies of scale, which directly associates increasing production costs with the number of firms in the region. The local atmosphere concept is modeled in lower marginal costs for region 1; the region characterized by co-located sector A firms in close proximity to learning institutions specializing in areas pertinent to sector A firms. The lower costs ensue

from the knowledge and information benefits associated with of co-location. Sector *A* firms in region 2 are not co-located and are not in close proximity to learning institutions. To clarify, region 2 is geographically large enough so that many firms may exist in a region without being considered co-located.

Numerical simulations are performed to investigate the change in real wages as key variables, described above, are varied. The simulations are performed by observing how short run equilibrium values for income, price index, and nominal wage are observed for a range of exogenously set values of initial distributions of the sector *A* labour force. Initial distribution of the sector *A* labour force between the two regions is varied between 0 and 1, to perform 59 separate simulations in which the initial distribution of sector *A* workers in region 1 rises incrementally from 0.0169 to 0.9971. The short-run equilibrium is summarized by the following three equations representing income, price index, and nominal wage in each region:

$$Y_r = \phi_r(1-\gamma)L + \lambda_r \gamma L w_r$$

$$I_r = (B_r)\left(\frac{\sigma}{\sigma-1}\right)\left(\frac{\gamma L}{\alpha\sigma}\right)^{\frac{1-\sigma\tau}{1-\sigma}}\left[\sum_{r=1}^{2}\lambda_r^{1-\sigma\tau}w_r^{1-\sigma}T_{rs}^{1-\sigma}\right]^{\frac{1}{1-\sigma}}$$

$$w_r = \rho\beta_r^{-\rho}\left(\frac{\delta}{(\sigma-1)\alpha}\right)^{1/\sigma}\left(\frac{\gamma L}{\alpha\sigma}\right)^{-r}\lambda_r^{-\tau}\left[\sum_{r=1}^{2}Y_s I_s^{\sigma-1}T_{sr}^{1-\sigma}\right]^{1/\sigma}$$

When real wages are not the same in both regions sector *A* workers move from the region with low real wages to the region with high real wages. A long run equilibrium is reached when real wages are equal in both regions. The real wage ratio (real wage in region 1 over real wage in region 2) varies as the initial share of the sector *A* labour force in region 1 varies.

Default Simulation Values

Unless otherwise specified the parameters for the simulations are as follows:

δ = 0.4	α = 0.08	$\phi_1 = \phi_2$ = 0.5
T = 1.7	β_1 = 0.78	L = 1
σ = 5	β_2 = 0.80	
τ = 0.01	γ = 0.4	

List of Variables

L	=	total labour force
σ	=	elasticity of substitution between sector *A* goods
δ	=	share of income spent of sector *A* goods
γ	=	share of labour force working in sector A
λ_r	=	share of sector *A* labour force working in region r
α_r	=	fixed labour cost in region r
β_r	=	marginal labour cost in region r
w_r	=	nominal wage in region r
Y_r	=	income in region r
τ	=	congestion parameter
ϕ_r	=	fraction of agricultural labour in region r
T_{rs}	=	transport cost of a shipment from region *r* to region s
I_r	=	price index of sector *A* goods in region r

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bathelt, Harald, Anders Malmberg and Peter Maskell. 2002. Clusters and knowledge: Local buzz, global pipelines and the process of knowledge creation. Danish Research Unit for Industrial Dynamics Working Paper No. 02-12 <http://www.druid.dk/wp/pdf_files/02-12.pdf>.

Bekar, Clifford and Richard G. Lipsey. 2002. Clusters and economic policy. *Canadian Journal of Policy Research*, 3(1): 62–70.

Bowen, Gary N. 2005. Nearshore? Farshore? Which shore for CRM?" *Outsourcing-Journal* (March) <http://www.outsourcing-canada.com> (accessed December 5, 2006).

Brakman, Steven, Harry Garretsen, Richard Gigengack, Charles van Marrewijk, and Rien Wagenvoort. 1996. Negative Feedbacks in the Economy and Industrial Location *Journal of Regional Science*, 36(4): 631–51.

British Columbia Institute of Technology (BCIT). 2004. Aboriginal call centre program wins industry award. BCIT news release (November 9).

Broersma, Matthew. 1998. Is Silicon Valley destined to become a victim of its own success? ZDNet News (November 4).

Burke, Marie. 1999. Award winning call centre offers more than just service. Sage (February) <http://www.ammsa.com> (accessed June 23, 2008).

Canadian Chamber of Commerce. 2005. Offshore outsourcing: Opportunities and challenges for the Canadian economy. Canadian Chamber of

Commerce research paper (January) <http:/ www.chamber.ca/cmslib/general/Outsourcing 050113.pdf> (accessed December 6, 2006).

Chrusch, Margaret. 2008. Manager of SIIT Call Centre, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Telephone interview by author, June 24.

Conrad, Doreen. 2000. Back office operations. *International Trade Forum: The magazine of the International Trade Centre*, UNCTAD/WTO, Issue 3 <www.tradeforum.org/news> (accessed December 5, 2006).

Davis, Charles, H., and Norbert V. Schaefer. 2003. Development dynamics of a start-up innovation cluster: The ICT sector in New Brunswick. In *Clusters Old and New*, edited by David A. Wolfe and Meric S. Gertler, 121–60. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Duboff, Carly. 2004. A scan of community economic development organizations, rural communities and First Nations in Manitoba and their participation in the new economy. University of Manitoba Masters Thesis.

Gauthier, Diane. 2001. 1-800 technology creates employment for Heiltsuk Bank. *Circles of Light*, No. 10 (March), Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.

Globerman, Steven, Daniel Shapiro, and Aidan Vining. 2005. Clusters and intercluster spillovers: Their influence on the growth and survival of Canadian information technology firms. *Industrial and Corporate Change*, 14(1): 27–60.

Guard, Julie. 2006. Training unemployed Manitobans for call centres — A good public investment? Report prepared for Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, November.

International Trade Centre. 2000. *Offshore Back Office Operations: Supply support services to global markets*. UNCTAD/WTO, Geneva.

Johnson, Emma. 2005. Outsourcing to the Heartland (November 22) <www.wired.com/new/business> (accessed December 6, 2006).

Kolko, Jed. 2002. Silicon mountains, silicon molehills: Geographic concentration and convergence of internet industries in the US. *Information Economics and Policy*, 14: 211–32.

Kotkin, Joel. 1998. Why Wall Street is Losing out to 40 Acres and a Modem. *New York Times* (December 27), Section 3, page 7, column 1.

Krugman, Paul R. 1991, *Geography and Trade*. Cambridge, Ma: MIT Press and Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press.

Lakota Express, Inc. n.d. <www.lakotamall.com/ lakotaexpress> (accessed December 6, 2006).

Loewen, Gary, Jim Silver, Martine August, Patrick Bruning, Michael MacKenzie, and Shauna Meyerson. n.d. Identifying employment opportunities for low-income people within the Manitoba innovative framework. Manitoba Research Alliance on Community Economic Development in the New Economy Research Report <http://www.manitobaresearchalliance. ca> (accessed March, 2007).

Loxley, John, and Laura Lamb. 2006. Economics for CED practitioners. In *Community Economic Development: Building for Social Change* edited by Eric Shragge and Michael Toye. Cape Breton: University of Cape Breton Press.

Manitoba Research Alliance on CED in the New Economy. 2006. Summary of rural issues related to CED in the new economy. Research paper prepared for the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives — Manitoba, <http://www.manitoba researchallianceced.ca> (accessed February, 2007).

Maskell, Peter. 2001. Towards a Knowledge-based Theory of the Geographical Cluster. *Industrial and Corporate Change*, 10(4): 921–43.

Petit, Pascal. 2002. The roots of the new economy: An institutional perspective. *International Productivity Monitor*, 4: 39–52.

Nova Scotia. 2004. Convergys corp. to open in Truro. Premier's Office (April 25) <http:// www.gov.ns.ca> (accessed June 23, 2008).

Richard, Jill. 2008. Recruiting manager, convergys, Truro, Nova Scotia. Telephone interview by author, June 24.

Saskatchewan Indian Institute of Technologies (SIIT) <www.siit.sk.ca> (accessed June 24, 2008).

Canada. Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples. 2007. Sharing Canada's prosperity — A hand up, not a handout. Final Report, Special Study on the involvement of Aboriginal communities and businesses in economic development activities in Canada.

Stockford, Paul. 2006. Return to the Rez: Indian contact centers revisited. *Call Center Magazine* (October) <http://www.callcentermagazine.com/ showArticle.jhtml?articleID=193100652> (accessed November 1, 2007).

Transport Canada, Environmental Affairs. 2007. The costs of urban congestion in Canada. (July) <http://www.tc.gc.ca/programs/Environment/ EconomicAnalysis/docs/summary.pdf> (accessed 2007).

Van Marrewijk, Charles. 2005. General geographic economics model with congestion. Tinbergen Institute Discussion Paper, TI 2005-100-12.

Vincent, Richard, and Larry McKeown. 2008. Trends in the telephone call centre industry. *Analytical Paper Series*. Statistics Canada, Ottawa (February).

Walker, Carson. 2005. Outsourcing seen as boon to American Indians. The Associated Press, The

Seattle Times Company <http://www. lakota mall.com/lakotaexpress/Outsourcing%20seen %20as%20boon%20to%20American%20Indians. pdf> (accessed December 6, 2006).

Western Economic Diversification Canada. n.d. Aboriginal Economic Development Officers to meet in cyberspace. <http://www.wd.gc.ca> (accessed November 1, 2007).

Wolfe, David A., and Meric S. Gertler. 2004. Clusters from the inside and out: Local dynamics and global linkages. *Urban Studies*, 41(5/6): 1071–93.

PROGRAM EVALUATION IN A NORTHERN ABORIGINAL SETTING
Assessing Impact and Benefit Agreements

Jason Prno
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY, UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH

Ben Bradshaw
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY, UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH

ABSTRACT

Over the past two decades, a number of Impact and Benefit Agreements (IBAs) have been established between mining firms and Aboriginal communities in support of some familiar projects across the Canadian North. Negotiated directly between mineral developers and Aboriginal communities with limited state interference, IBAs serve to manage impacts associated with the mine project and deliver tangible benefits to local communities. Notwithstanding their increasing use and potential significance, limited research has been undertaken to address a fundamental question — are they working? The dearth of research on IBA effectiveness is undoubtedly a function of its methodological complexity. In an effort to help overcome this challenge, this paper reports on the strategies employed to assess IBA effectiveness in two northern, Aboriginal locales. Drawing on insights from the program evaluation literature, the strengths and limitations of the field exercise are reflected upon with an aim of refining a procedure for future, more widespread use.

INTRODUCTION

The Canadian North is undergoing rapid and significant change environmentally, economically, politically, and culturally (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996; Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, 2004; Mining Association of Canada, 2007). As with program evaluation generally,

assessing the precise impacts of these changes, be they due to global warming or a massive mine development, has long been regarded as an important yet methodologically difficult task. This is especially true for Aboriginal communities, who have a long and difficult relationship with research conducted "on them", and yet recognize its importance for achieving goals like self-governance and economic self-sufficiency (Weir & Wuttunee, 2004).

This paper focuses on one contemporary research challenge facing a growing number of northern Aboriginal communities — assessing the effectiveness of private agreements that they have signed with mine developers to address outstanding impacts from mine developments and secure tangible benefits. As introduced to readers of this Journal by O'Faircheallaigh (2006), these supra-regulatory contracts are commonly termed Impact and Benefit Agreements or IBAs. Provisions that could be negotiated and included in an IBA are virtually limitless, but for Aboriginal signatories they commonly include: recognition of rights; financial incentives; opportunities for employment and training; opportunities for community economic development; and additional environmental and cultural protection measures (Kennett, 1999a; Sosa & Keenan, 2001; Klein et al., 2004; Public Policy Forum, 2005; O'Faircheallaigh, 2006).

For industry signatories, IBAs serve many aims. Firstly, when surrounding communities are satisfied with the design of a mine development and are seen to benefit from it, there is generally greater social acceptance for the project both locally and afar; this acceptance is often referred to as a "social license to operate" and it is increasingly becoming as significant to resource developers as are regulatory permits. In the absence of such a license, mine developers risk project delays during the permitting phase and possible shutdowns during the operations stage.[1] In some cases, such as in Nunavut, firms' negotiation and establishment of IBAs also meets various legal requirements. Even in the absence of explicit legislation requiring an IBA, political pressures from governments and regulators typically compels industry to pursue agreements with local Aboriginal communities. In short, in regions like the Canadian North, it is generally accepted that no new mine can proceed without the signing of IBAs.

While this fact has been welcomed by many who see IBAs as generally progressive, especially when paired with "best practice" Environmental Assessment, it is also widely acknowledged that IBAs have to be systematically evaluated in order to determine if — to put it most simply — they are working (O'Faircheallaigh, 2000, 2004; Keeping, 2000; O'Reilly & Eacott, 2000; Galbraith et al., 2007).[2] That is, are IBAs meeting their explicit aims, and perhaps, more broadly, the implicit expectations of their signatories?

This question has received limited treatment in the nascent scholarship on IBAs notwithstanding Sosa and Keenan's (2001: 18) charge that "the [IBA] literature is fairly recent and includes little analysis regarding the success of these agreements." Beyond describing the phenomenon, scholarship has focused on the development and negotiation of IBAs (e.g., ICME, 1999; O'Reilly, 2000; Wolfe, 2001; Couch, 2002; O'Faircheallaigh & Corbett, 2005), their legal standing (e.g., Keeping, 1997; Kennett, 1999b; Klein et al., 2004), their aims or rationale, especially in reference to regulatory mechanisms (e.g., O'Faircheallaigh, 1999; Fidler & Hitch, 2007; Galbraith et al., 2007), and their possibilities especially with respect to Aboriginal Economic Development (e.g., O'Faircheallaigh,

---

[1] The history of Canadian resource development is rife with project shutdowns and slow-ups due to Aboriginal resistance. For example, the first proposed Mackenzie Valley natural gas pipeline was halted largely because of Aboriginal concerns (Page, 1986), and the Great Whale River Project in Quebec was put on hold in 1994 partly because of local Aboriginal protest (Bone, 2003). More recently, the Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board formally rejected proposed uranium exploration in the Thelon Basin of the Northwest Territories, largely because of local Aboriginal concerns and the potential the project had to impact upon their culture (CBC, 2007). These kinds of slowdowns can be costly for project proponents, as the mining industry relies on massive injections of capital to develop a potential mine site. If a project is halted in mid-course, revenue is not being generated and loan obligations accumulate.

[2] There is interest in this topic from within the mining sector as well, as seen in the well-attended 2005 "Do IBAs work?" and 2006 "Making Impact and Benefit Agreements work" plenary sessions of the Canadian Aboriginal Minerals Association conference, and sessions touching on IBAs at other major industry conferences.

2006). Research examining IBA effectiveness has recently begun to appear (e.g., Dreyer & Myers, 2004; North-South Institute, 2006; Hitch, 2006); however, it is evident that a significant knowledge gap remains.

This persistent gap likely reflects the difficulties associated with answering the question "are IBAs working?". Indeed, Kennett (2003, pers. communication) calls this the "million-dollar question". His reasoning is two-fold: this knowledge is of vital interest to many; and the uncovering of this knowledge is methodologically complex. This latter point is undoubtedly true. For starters, most if not all of these agreements are confidential, which hinders efforts to identify their contents and evaluate the degree to which specific objectives are reached. Further, evaluating IBA effectiveness commonly requires the selection of evaluative criteria that few stakeholders will agree upon. Finally, any fieldwork completed by "outsiders" needs to be conducted in an intercultural setting, which brings with it another set of unique challenges. Nevertheless, given their increasing use and significance, determining whether IBAs are working is a necessary task.

This paper aims to contribute to one key part of this larger task — to help overcome methodological challenges associated with IBA impact evaluation. More specifically, the paper: provides a review of past and comparable research efforts aimed at assessing IBA effectiveness, as well as more general scholarship focused on the conduct of research in intercultural contexts; reports on the strategies employed to assess the effectiveness of a number of IBAs in support of three diamond mine developments in the Northwest Territories; and reflects upon the strengths and limitations of the research exercise with an aim of refining a procedure for future, more widespread use. To be clear, rather than focus on the results of this research exercise, this paper takes the necessary time and space to present, reflect upon, and seek to refine the approach to assessing IBAs in a northern, Aboriginal setting. This exercise not only has significance for those focused on the narrow task of assessing whether IBAs are working, but also the larger community of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal scholars engaged in participatory research with Aboriginal communities.

LEARNING FROM OTHERS

Given the methodological challenges associated with assessing IBA effectiveness, considerable review was undertaken of: the program evaluation literature; others' efforts to assess IBA outcomes; and emerging scholarship focused on the conduct of research, and especially fieldwork, in intercultural contexts. Insights from these three bodies of work are offered here.

Insights from the Program Evaluation Literature

The implementation of an IBA within an Aboriginal community is arguably akin to the execution of any number of government or band-initiated programs. Hence, methodological insights can be gained from the program evaluation literature,[3] one significant aspect of which focuses on the importance and challenge of establishing cause and effect when assessing a program's impact. This challenge derives from the need to identify and control for extraneous, contextual variables that may generate impacts that are far more significant that those generated by the program under review (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984). While evaluation based on the use of control and experimental groups is widely considered the most reputable method to manage this challenge, practical and political considerations often limit its use (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984). Fortunately, a number of other evaluation methods are well described in the literature.

In cases of program implementation where coverage of a program is non-uniform over space, it may be possible to observe variations in impacts from one select portion of the population to another. For example, an IBA might direct benefits to one community but not another similar one. While observed differences between the two communities could be attributed to the IBA, there are clearly many other variables that may have contributed to these dif-

---

[3] This literature is also recognized by the title 'policy evaluation'; our use reflects both foci.

ferences as well. In before-and-after studies, relevant conditions are measured for a study population eligible for a program both before and after a program is implemented, with the difference between the two taken to be the program's impact. Of course, the problem with this type of study is that many rival events and factors beyond the new program could be responsible for the observed difference; for this reason, a single before-and-after study is considered weak in terms of validity (GSRU, 2005). The potential value of such studies can be substantially increased, however, if multiple measurements before, during, and after the implementation of a program are completed in order to understand what changes might have occurred naturally within the population regardless of the implemented program, and therefore reduce the risk of misattribution of cause and effect (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984).

A characteristically different approach to program evaluation relies on the judgements of experts, administrators, and/or program participants to assess the impacts of implemented programs. Despite their obvious limitations, due to time, cost or other constraints, they may be the only feasible approach. More importantly, in situations where program participants are the intended beneficiaries of the program, the solicitation of their opinions is easily justified. Such efforts are usually employed in *naturalistic* settings rather than the contrived environments of controlled trials, with the goal of capturing as closely as possible the understandings, interpretations, and experiences of ordinary people in their everyday lives and environments (GSRU, 2004). Methods that can be employed in such situations are numerous, but have commonly included document review, individual interviews, focus group research, and participant observation (Kitchin & Tate, 2000).

Rather than settle on one approach to evaluate a program, some contributors to the program evaluation literature advocate use of a large repertoire of research approaches and associated methods (e.g., Patton, 1987). Such a strategy can help address a variety of evaluation questions and meet the sometimes idiosyncratic needs of stakeholders (Patton, 1987). More significantly, the use of multiple approaches and methods of data collection can help to achieve "triangulation" (Baxter & Eyles, 1997); that is, by

answering a question through a variety of means and cross-checking results, the validity of the results is strengthened (Winnchester, 2005).

Another fundamental focus of the program evaluation literature, beyond issues of approach or method, pertains to the purpose of the evaluation. While convention suggests that evaluations should assess a program's outcomes relative to its stated objectives (O'Faircheallaigh, 2002), in practice this is not always done. Indeed, evaluations have commonly been undertaken to measure a program's impacts irrespective of its objectives, or relative to an ideal external set of evaluative criteria with limited connection to the program's objectives. In the case of IBAs and their evaluation, it is understandable that certain stakeholders want to hold an IBA up to standards of their own choosing; however, where this is done, results should be presented with explicit recognition and consideration of the purpose of the evaluation.

Insights from Existing IBA Effectiveness Research

O'Faircheallaigh (2006, pers. communication) has raised a number of concerns with respect to assessing the effectiveness of an IBA. For one, any IBA assessment that is conducted without access to the particular contents of that IBA, given confidentiality rules, is inevitably compromised. Additionally, he notes that any would-be causal outcomes of a particular IBA reflect a whole suite of activities from its negotiation through to its implementation, as well as a great number of complicating contextual variables. For this reason, much of the author's evaluative research on IBAs has focused on IBA content (e.g., O'Faircheallaigh, 2004; O'Faircheallaigh & Corbett, 2005), arguing that it represents a more reliable way of analyzing IBA success.

The first formal evaluation of post-implementation IBA *outcomes* was conducted by Dreyer and Myers (2004). The authors sought to assess the effectiveness of two IBAs in the Yukon Territory from the perspective of their Aboriginal signatory, the Ross River Dena. More specifically, Dreyer and Myers (2004) sought to determine whether the IBAs negotiated by the Ross River Dena Council had been successful in providing short and long-term benefits to Aboriginal residents by (1) identifying commu-

nity members' perceptions of the benefits they had received from the IBAs; and (2) comparing the negotiated and actually received benefits. Data collection was accomplished through a combination of archival review, semi-structured interviews, open-ended interviews, community member surveying, and participant observation. A second similar review of IBA effectiveness, undertaken by the North-South Institute (2006), solicited community members' perspectives on the implementation and outcomes of one IBA established between the community of Lutsel K'e, Northwest Territories, and BHP Billiton, the developer of the region's first diamond mine. This was accomplished through semi-structured interviews with community members, a focus group comprised of community youth, and participant observation. A third study tangentially focused on IBA effectiveness, conducted by Hitch (2006), sought to answer the question: "Can mining contribute to the development of sustainable communities through the application of IBAs?" A case study approach was used, with a focus on the Tahera Diamond Corporation's *Jericho* mine IBA in Nunavut. IBA effectiveness was assessed through the application of a set of normative sustainability criteria. Twelve interviews, conducted with key informants from industry, government, NGOs, local communities, and the local Inuit association, were used as the basis to generate scores as per these normative criteria.

All three of these studies constituted groundbreaking efforts to gauge IBA effectiveness. Furthermore, at least in the case of Dreyer and Myers (2004) and North-South Institute (2006), an impressive suite of data collection methods was used to solicit community members' opinions, and community representation was strong. Yet, with respect to systematically assessing the effectiveness of the respective IBAs, some limitations were evident. IBA outcomes, as perceived by community members, were assessed with limited reference to the specific objectives of the IBA under review. In the case of the North-South Institute (2006) study in particular, community views of what the IBA had delivered, and especially what it had not delivered, were effectively identified, but it was unclear if this necessarily constituted a failing of the IBA. Furthermore, in both cases IBA outcomes were identified without explicit reference to a pre-IBA baseline; that is, limited effort was made to mea-

sure change from the pre- to the post-IBA implementation period, which might then be reasonably ascribed to the IBA. While these limitations are understandable, they should ideally be addressed in any future efforts to evaluate the effectiveness of an IBA.

Additional Considerations Associated with the Conduct of Aboriginal-focused Research

An added complication for research that seeks to evaluate IBA effectiveness is that it commonly occurs in an intercultural setting, requiring the solicitation of Aboriginal viewpoints. This can be challenging for a variety of reasons, not the least of which is the impact of past research with or on Aboriginal peoples. Quite commonly, the purpose and meaning of Aboriginal-focused research undertaken by academics has been alien to Aboriginal peoples and the outcomes misguided and even harmful (Brant-Castellano, 2004). More recently, however, a shift in practice is evident among researchers, which mirrors a surge in scholarship directed at improving the conduct of intercultural research (e.g., Kowalsky et al., 1996; Gallois & Callan, 1997; Dodd, 1998; Sarbaugh, 1998; Letendre & Caine, 2004; Weir & Wuttunee, 2004). While this scholarship is generally insightful, in the context of conducting research within Aboriginal communities, Weir and Wuttunee's (2004) charge that the scholarship offers little practical methodological guidance is a fair one. Thankfully, researchers can, and indeed in some case are required to, draw on a growing number of "best practice" guides for conducting Aboriginal-focused research (e.g., RCAP, 1996; AIATIS, 2002; Ellerby, 2005; TCPS, 2005; ITK & NRI, 2007).

Drawing on these and other sources, a number of practical insights are discernable. First, it is evident that one must become familiar with the history, worldview, and customs of a culture with which one intends to work (Brislin and Yoshida, 1994; Gallois & Callan, 1997; Dodd, 1998). More so, it is widely argued that researchers must hold respect for the culture, traditions, and knowledge of the researched society or community, as this undoubtedly contributes to better results (AIATSIS, 2000; TCPS, 2005; ITK & NRI, 2007). In studies located principally in Aboriginal communities, researchers should also

establish collaborative procedures[4] to enable community members to participate in the execution, if not planning, of research (RCAP, 1996; ITK & NRI, 2007). Indeed, an increasing number of authors have argued for Aboriginal people to be *partners* in research, as opposed to mere participants (e.g., Brant-Castellano, 2004; Weir & Wuttunee, 2004; TCPS, 2005). This is a view wholly different from that seen in earlier times, where researchers assumed control of knowledge production, collected information in brief encounters, and promoted the merits of "outsider" research concerning Aboriginal communities (Brant-Castellano, 2004).

Once research plans are developed and Aboriginal "subjects" are solicited, informed consent must be obtained from all participants (RCAP, 1996; Schnarch, 2004). Consent ensures that participants are cognizant of the purpose and nature of the research, aware of their rights to withdraw, and informed of the degree of confidentiality that will be maintained in the study. Another common aspect of consent relates to accessing research data and broader results. It is now a given that Aboriginal peoples should have access to research results, including raw data (Schnarch, 2004). The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996) in their *Ethical Guidelines for Research* notes that "results of community research shall be distributed as widely as possible within participating communities, and reasonable efforts shall be made to present results in non-technical language and Aboriginal languages where appropriate". Important also is the advancement of draft research reports to community members. This allows for challenges of and modifications to the report should they be necessary (Weijer et al., 1999).

Evidently the basis for most if not all of these considerations associated with the conduct of Aboriginal-focused research is the firm belief that a community subjected to research should benefit from it rather than be disadvantaged (AIATSIS, 2000). In the past, researchers have profited professionally and economically from Aboriginal research without employing local people, compensating research subjects, or providing tangible community benefits (Schnarch, 2004; Weir & Wuttunee, 2004). It is now widely recognized that in setting research priorities and objectives for community-based research, researchers shall always give serious and due consideration to the benefit of the community concerned (RCAP, 1996). Where possible, research should also support the transfer of skills to individuals and increase the capacity of the community to conduct its own research (RCAP, 1996; Weijer et al., 1999; ITK & NRI, 2007).

These various insights on conducting research in intercultural settings were coupled with those generated from the review of the program evaluation literature and past research focused on IBA effectiveness in order to develop a novel approach for evaluating the effectiveness of IBAs. This approach, as applied in the context of three diamond mine developments in the Northwest Territories, is described in the next section.

A MULTI-METHOD APPROACH TO ASSESSING IBA EFFECTIVENESS

Mining represents a significant component of the economy of the Northwest Territories; in 2007, mineral production was thought to be worth over $1.41 billion (NRCAN, 2007a). Diamonds have been a relatively recent addition to the region's mineral portfolio. The first diamond mine, BHP Billiton's *Ekati*, began production in 1998. A second mine, Rio Tinto/Harry Winston's *Diavik*, began production in 2003. A third mine, De Beers' *Snap Lake*, is slated to begin production in 2008. These three mines are clustered in an area approximately 200–300 km northeast of Yellowknife (see Figure 1). In all three cases, a suite of IBAs were signed with regional Aboriginal groups (see Table 1). While IBAs have been signed with other mines in the Canadian North, the IBAs associated with these three developments were selected for assessment for a number

---

[4] Of course, the establishment of these collaborative procedures first requires a working relationship with a host community. Relationship building is a task in itself, as "entry" into Aboriginal communities is not without its challenges. Quite commonly, outside researchers are required to complete a "waiting" stage, with "entry" only offered once trust is established (Johnson, 1984; Hutchison, 1985).

FIGURE 1
Location of the Ekati, Diavik and Snap Lake mines, and field research sites

of reasons. For one, they were all negotiated under the same territorial legislative framework, and were negotiated with the same Aboriginal signatory groups. Additionally, they produce the same product (i.e., diamonds) and thereby generate similar concerns and opportunities. Finally, the three operations were the subject of prior related research (see Galbraith et al., 2007), which was drawn upon for completion of this research.

Drawing on the insights offered in the previous section, a culturally sensitive, multi-method approach was developed to try to assess the effectiveness of these IBAs. More specifically, the approach entailed three distinct tasks: (1) organizing and assessing regional scale secondary socio-economic data in time series; (2) key informant interviewing; and (3) community focus group interviewing (see Figure 2). The use of secondary socio-economic data in time series served to capture an aggregate picture of socio-economic change in the impacted Aboriginal communities, whereas the key informant and community focus group interviews aimed to pro-

TABLE 1
List of IBA signatories to the IBAs studied for the case study

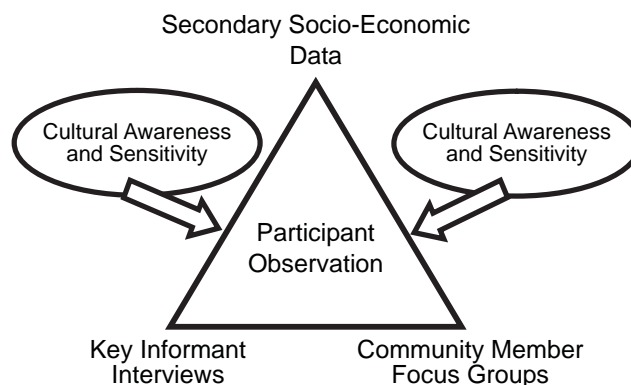| Project for which IBAs were signed	Proponent(s)	Aboriginal signatories (and date of signing)
Ekati Diamond Mine (*begun production in Oct. 1998*)	BHP Billiton	• Tlicho Government (*then Dogrib Treaty 11*) (Oct. 1996) • Lutsel K'e Dene First Nation (Nov. 1996) • Yellowknives Dene First Nation (Nov. 1996) • North Slave Métis Association (Jul. 1998) • Kitikmeot Inuit Assoc. and the Inuit of Kugluktuk (Dec. 1998)
Diavik Diamond Mine (*begun production in Jan. 2003*)	Diavik Diamond Mines Inc. (Rio Tinto plc and Harry Winston Diamond Mines Ltd.)	• North Slave Métis Association (Mar. 2000) • Tlicho Government (*then Dogrib Treaty 11*) (Apr. 2000) • Yellowknives Dene First Nation (Oct. 2000) • Kitikmeot Inuit Association (Sept. 2001) • Lutsel K'e Dene First Nation (Sept. 2001)
Snap Lake Diamond Mine (*to begin production in 2008*)	De Beers Canada	• Yellowknives Dene First Nation (Nov. 2005) • Tlicho Government (Mar. 2006) • North Slave Métis Association (Aug. 2006) • Lutsel K'e Dene First Nation (June 2007)

vide more specific insights. In combination with general participant observation,[5] these three approaches delivered distinct but complimentary data thereby allowing for triangulation of research results. Finally, the approach stressed intercultural awareness and sensitivity.

Before offering details regarding the execution of each of the three primary tasks, two additional noteworthy aspects of the approach need to be highlighted, especially in comparison to other research efforts to assess IBA effective-ness (e.g., Dreyer & Myers, 2004; Hitch, 2006; North-South Institute, 2006). Firstly, IBA outcomes were assessed with explicit reference to the objectives of the IBAs under review. While the authors were unable to identify the exact objectives of each signed IBA owing to confidentiality provisions, general objectives for the suite of IBAs signed in the region in support of the three diamond mines were identified through a prior research exercise (see Galbraith et al., 2007). More exactly, based on a evaluation of

---

[5] While it is acknowledged that the term "participant observation" itself remains "ill-defined" (Evans, 1988: 197) and "difficult to describe" (Hay, 2005: 195), some generalizations can be made. For example, Hay (2005) notes that the goal of participant observation is to develop an understanding through being part of the spontaneity of everyday interactions. Furthermore, he states, it involves strategically placing oneself in situations in which systematic understandings of place are most likely to arise.

FIGURE 2

A schematic of the multi-method approach used to assess IBA effectiveness

Secondary Socio-Economic
Data

Cultural Awareness
and Sensitivity

Cultural Awareness
and Sensitivity

Participant
Observation

Key Informant
Interviews

Community Member
Focus Groups

---

the Environmental Assessment process of the Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board — the agency responsible for the review of the three diamond mines — and the completion of interviews with key informants from Aboriginal organizations and communities, government officials, and consultants in and around Yellowknife, the IBAs identified in Table 1 were identified as having been established in order to (i) ensure adequate "follow-up" to the environmental assessment (EA) process; (ii) build positive relationships and trust between the mine developers and regional Aboriginal communities; (iii) relieve capacity strains in these Aboriginal communities; and (iv) secure local benefits for Aboriginals. With these objectives identified, the assessment of IBA effectiveness was afforded targets against which success could be determined. The second noteworthy aspect of the approach was its explicit identification and use of a pre-IBA baseline against which change, whether attributable to the IBA or not, could be assessed. This was particularly beneficial for the analysis of temporal change based on available socio-economic data.

Organization and Assessment of Secondary Socio-economic Data

In addition to the establishment of IBAs, the three diamond mine developers were required to sign "socio-economic agreements" with the territorial government, with Aboriginal communities as occasional signatories as well. Among other things, these agreements require reporting of various socio-economic conditions for the territories as a whole, Yellowknife, and seven small communities impacted by the diamond mines (e.g., see Government of the Northwest Territories, 2006); these "impacted" communities are all IBA signatories. Data from these annual "Communities and Diamonds" reports were drawn upon and organized in time series format to enable the identification of trends in key socio-economic conditions relevant to the benefit provisions of the signed IBAs. More exactly, indicators pertaining to income, employment, education, and registered businesses were selected. While the researchers were not privy to the specific terms of the signed IBAs, common IBA practice and regional knowledge support the use of these indicators. For example, provisions regarding employment of Aboriginals in a mining project are usually a central focus of IBAs (Sosa & Keenan, 2001) and might include employment target-setting for Aboriginal peoples, preferential hiring policies, and the establishment of apprenticeship and other educational programs (Kennett, 1999a). For these reasons, the socio-economic indicators pertaining to income, employment, and education were chosen. Provi-

FIGURE 3
Average income of taxfilers from 1991–2003
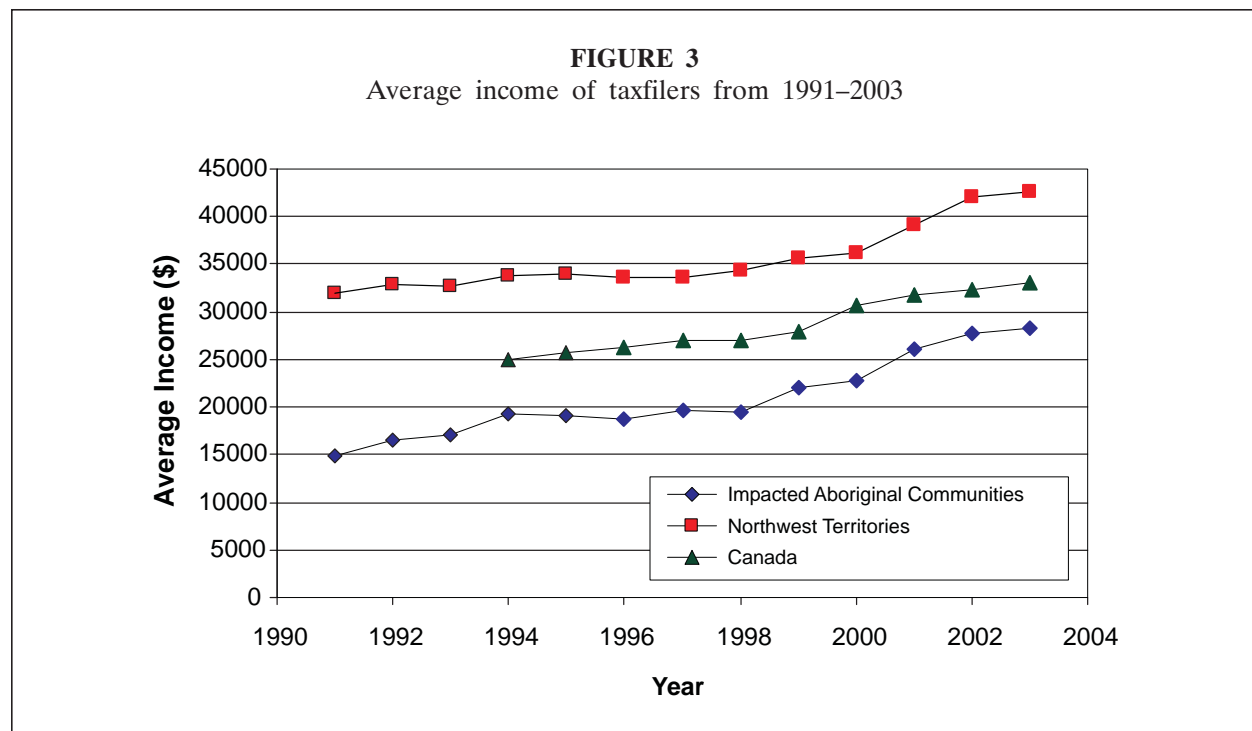
sions for community economic development are often included in an IBA as well, and might include ensuring Aboriginal contracting and sub-contracting opportunities are made available and in target setting for the purchase of mine goods and services from Aboriginal-owned businesses (Kennett, 1999a). For this reason, a further indicator pertaining to registered businesses was chosen, although the income and employment indicators are also relevant here.

Once organized, the data were analyzed for general trends (increasing, decreasing, and no change) and simple inferences were made with respect to the delivery of benefits from the IBAs to the Aboriginal communities. For example, Figure 3 displays changes in average income for the impacted Aboriginal communities, the Northwest Territories, and Canada for the period 1991–2003. A discernable, upward trend can be seen in average income for all three groups during this time, although average income for the impacted Aboriginal communities remained significantly less than that of both Canada and the Northwest Territories. In the impacted Aboriginal communities, average income grew from $14,928 in 1991 to $28,253 in 2003, which

equates to an average annual increase of $961.75 or 6.87%. In comparison, the average annual increase for Canada was somewhat less at $856.48 or 3.21%, and even less for the Northwest Territories at $743.39 or 2.54%. For the impacted Aboriginal communities and Northwest Territories data, it should also be noted that the year 1998 marked the beginning of a period of *continued* income growth. While a general trend of income growth for all the data series exists, a number of fluctuations are evident *prior* to 1998. 1998, interestingly, is when the first diamond mine (i.e., *Ekati*) begun production in the Northwest Territories.

The use of regional secondary socio-economic data in time series format, such as those for income, accomplished a number of goals. For one, it provided evidence of pre-IBA "baseline" socio-economic conditions. Various inferences could then be made regarding the degree to which conditions changed as a result of the IBAs. Finally, it offered a regional scale picture of socio-economic conditions to complement insights garnered from more site-specific assessments via the key informant interviews and focus groups.

Key Informant Interviews

Key informant interviews were conducted in an effort to elicit responses pertaining to IBA effectiveness from people in an "expert" position to comment on such. Included in this category were people who dealt with any or all of the three diamond mine IBAs or their deliverables on a regular basis, be they administrators from Aboriginal signatory communities, government officials or consultants. In all, 32 key informants were interviewed over two three-month field seasons — the first in Yellowknife and the surrounding region in the summer of 2006, and the second in Kugluktuk in the summer of 2007 (see Figure 1). Using a semi-structured interview format, key informants were asked to: refute or confirm the objectives of the region's various IBAs as identified by Galbraith et al. (2007), and offer additional objectives if necessary; provide judgment on the degree to which these objectives had, to date, been met; and make recommendations as to how IBAs could be improved in the future.

Once again, the explicit identification of IBA objectives aimed to direct the assessment to cover just those issues, such as follow-up to Environmental Assessment (EA) processes and the delivery of benefits, on which the region's IBAs were supposed to deliver. Table 2 provides a sample of the questions asked of, and responses received from, the key informants.

For the key informant interviews, data analysis was accomplished through a form of associative analysis, where the researcher looks for patterns, replication and linkages in the data set (GSRU, 2004). This is similar to Patton's (1990) *interpretative approach*, which emphasizes the role of patterns, categories, and basic descriptive units. Associative analysis thus uses the associations or patterns found in the data to enrich understanding of the phenomenon in question, and not to display differences or associations quantitatively (GSRU, 2004). Associations in the interview data set were sought to see, for example, if general themes emerged amongst the key informant group or if dissenting views existed. Categorization of interview responses was also necessary in some instances, such as when respondents were asked to confirm IBA objectives and comment on the degree to which those objectives were being met. In the case of the latter, "yes" (the objective is being met), "no" (the objective is not being met), and "partially" (the objective is partially being met) were the categories employed. Used this way, associative analysis provided improved understanding of IBA effectiveness.

Community-Based Focus Groups

Community-based focus groups were also conducted in an effort to elicit responses pertaining to IBA effectiveness from those who directly experience IBA outcomes in an Aboriginal community. Meetings were organized in two northern Aboriginal communities: Dettah in 2006; and Kugluktuk in 2007 (see Figure 1). Residents of Dettah are members of the Yellowknives Dene First Nation (YKDFN), a signatory group to all three of the IBAs of study in this research. Dettah is a small community of 247 people (Statistics Canada, 2007a), located approximately 27 kilometers from the city of Yellowknife. Residents of Kugluktuk are members of the Kitikmeot Inuit Association, a signatory group to two of the IBAs of study in this research. Kugluktuk is a community of 1,302 (Statistics Canada, 2007b) and is located above the Arctic Circle, 597 kilometres northeast of Yellowknife, Northwest Territories.

TABLE 2
Sample of the questions asked of, and responses received from, key informants

Sample Key Informant Question	Sample Key Informant Response
Do you feel that IBAs have built positive relationships and trust between the mine developers and impacted communities?	We have good working relationships, until it comes to money.
	I never had good relationships with [the mining companies]. They're ripping off First Nations.

Participants were recruited by hired research assistants from the respective communities, who at times also acted as translators. The hiring of assistants from the communities saved the "outside" researcher insurmountable time and effort, as the assistants were all long-time residents who could easily facilitate the recruitment of participants, including the identification of elders. An elder, it should be noted, is not simply any older Aboriginal person; Ellerby (2005) argued that an elder is an Aboriginal person who makes a life commitment to the health and well-being of his or her community. In addition to elders, the focus group meetings involved, where possible, youth, adults, and mine workers. In all cases, the participants had no role in the development or implementation of an IBA.

While the focus groups participants were not asked to confirm, refute, or identify additional IBA objectives, in every other way the questions asked during the meetings mirrored those posed to key informants. In other words, the questions posed to participants implicitly related to IBA objectives in order to enable them, or even compel them, to reflect on the degree to which the IBAs accomplishing what they were supposed to accomplish; further, where possible, a temporal dimension was included in the questions to try to identify changes over the pre- to post-IBA implementation period. Table 3 provides a sample of the questions asked of, and comments expressed in, the focus groups.

As with the key informant interviews, data analysis for the focus groups was accomplished through associative analysis. Associations in the focus group data sets were looked for to see, for example, if general themes emerged in and among the groups, or if dissenting views existed. Used this way, associative analysis provided improved understanding of IBA effectiveness.

Additional Considerations

Perhaps most importantly, the research approach described above was conducted with intercultural awareness and sensitivity in mind. Given an aim of assessing the effectiveness of IBAs from an *Aboriginal* perspective, it was necessary to first develop an awareness of relevant Aboriginal histories, customs and world views. To this end, familiarization with the various Aboriginal groups involved in the study, Dene, Métis and Inuit, was a critical task. Published materials, discussions with other Aboriginal-focused researchers and professionals, and local Aboriginal residents all provided insight. Sensitivity was often also employed when speaking with Aboriginal interview respondents, especially when discussing historical or culturally sensitive issues. Furthermore, consent was obtained from each interview participant and each was made aware of options for confidentiality and withdrawing from the study.

To the greatest extent possible, community members were also involved in the research process itself. In Kugluktuk, summer students working for the local Hunters and Trappers Organization were employed to help recruit interview respondents and aid in the individual interviews. This not only helped the students develop research skills, but provided the researcher with the added benefit of increased local context. Agreements were also made to return research results to a permanent spot in the community and for the researcher to present findings in a public, community-based forum.

Relationship building was also an important component of the research. While the field-based components of the research occurred in two three-month periods, the first months were devoted largely to introductions and network-building. This was done partly in effort to further familiarize the author with the context to the research, and partly to develop relationships

---

TABLE 3
Sample of the questions asked of, and comments expressed in, the focus groups

Sample Focus Group Question	Sample Focus Group Comment
Do you feel like [the company] respects you? Has this always been the case?	We're not being treated well with the IBA [the mining companies] now meet with us. It's good now.

with local Aboriginal peoples. Active involvement in the community especially helped facilitate the building of these relationships, and was critical for gaining additional insights via participant observation. Some especially beneficial insights came through volunteering with a First Nation's IBA Implementation Office, helping coach a local sports team, and attending various community events. Indeed, the experience of the author is that the more actively involved one is in everyday community activities, the more likely one is to secure insights.

DOING IT BETTER

While the research strategy presented here delivered important and novel insights with respect to the effectiveness of a suite of IBAs in one region of the Northwest Territories, it is evident that improvements in research design are possible and necessary. For example, while the identification and use of IBA objectives based on the work of Galbraith et al. (2007) offered an explicit basis for determining IBA effectiveness, these identified objectives were highly generic. Agreement-specific and community-specific assessments should also be conducted, ideally based on knowledge of the precise provisions of the specific IBA to enable a more precise characterization of effectiveness. Not only would such an effort undoubtedly reveal variation in the degree to which Aboriginal signatories deem their IBA to be successful, but would also help to identify specific variables that appear to influence IBA outcomes (e.g., presence/absence of a settled land claim, community/corporate leadership differences, presence of past IBAs in a community, etc.), which is a research need suggested by Galbraith et al. (2007).

In terms of data sources and collection methods, future efforts to identify IBA effectiveness should expand efforts to incorporate voices and opinions from IBA-signatory communities through a variety of forums. In the case of focus groups, efforts should be made to capture the demographic diversity found within the community of study. For example, a combination of elder, youth, mine employed, non-mine workers, and female focus groups might ideally capture the diversity of community views and opinions. Additionally, given the need to measure change over time, efforts should be made to regularly monitor socio-economic conditions in IBA-signatory communities, ideally in advance of the community signing an IBA and using indicators that are meaningful and relevant to community members (e.g., see MVEIRB, 2006).

Wherever future IBA effectiveness assessments are undertaken, via whatever methods, researchers would be well served to consider the following. Intercultural research can present a number of difficulties for "outside" researchers; acceptance by a community can be difficult to achieve, as can the building of successful relationships. Hence, it is evident that a researcher must be willing to devote considerable time to the research process. Developing relationships, building trust, and familiarizing oneself with the context of the research requires a significant commitment. Indeed, the three-month field seasons this researcher spent in two communities should be considered a *minimum* amount of time needed for successful field seasons. Even still, individuals with surprising personal and/or political motivations can present difficulties, as can unexpected events in the community; one's flexibility and determination to solve issues as they arise can go a long way towards smoothing the research process.

More practically, in many northern Aboriginal communities the use of a translator will be necessary; this is especially true when working with Aboriginal elders. Elders need additional special consideration in the research process, bearing in mind the important role they play in many Aboriginal societies. In this regard, Ellerby's (2005) guide to working with Aboriginal elders is very useful. When making use of a translator, one may also have to avoid the use of too many technical terms, as some of these terms may not have an equivalent in the language you are translating into. At the very least, be prepared to describe technical terms and concepts in different, simplified manners. Research will also often require formal approvals, be it from regional research licensing boards or individual communities. Sufficient time should be allowed for this. Finally, for research permitting and other reasons, a researcher should be prepared to discuss how the information they are gathering will be used in the future (i.e., where it will be published and presented, where copies of reports will be stored, etc.) and how the research will benefit the community.

While the above suggestions were developed in the specific context of assessing IBA effectiveness, their relevance obviously extends to broader research efforts involving Aboriginal communities. As well documented in Weir and Wuttunee (2004), it is an ongoing challenge to make Aboriginal-focused research more participatory. The above described research exercise may constitute a vast improvement over the marginalizing and deceitful research practices of old; however, it too could have been more inclusive. To achieve such a goal takes huge commitment as initial invitations may go unnoticed, or be declined due to a lack of time, certain suspicions, or just other priorities. Research that starts with a partnership and enables Aboriginal communities to identify their research needs, develop plans to meet those needs, and builds capacity to execute those plans is clearly the model to aspire to.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As IBAs grow in popularity and become *de facto* requirements for mineral developments in jurisdictions like the Canadian North, the need to assess their effectiveness will also grow. The challenge lies in building research partnerships with affected Aboriginal communities, developing appropriate evaluative measures, and in overcoming technical matters such as the confidential nature of agreements. While limited research has been conducted on IBA effectiveness, the need for a refined evaluative procedure was nevertheless identified. The research strategy presented herein complements these previous studies but differs in its approach. As none of these past studies sought to systematically assess effectiveness relative to a pre-IBA baseline condition or to explicit IBA objectives, the research approach as described in section three provides a novel and arguably more rigorous means of assessing IBA effectiveness; additionally, the research benefited from its use of multiple data collection methods, the application of which generated results that could be triangulated to ensure some consistency of findings.

Nevertheless, methodological deficiencies were evident especially with respect to the necessary use of generic IBA objectives against which the effectiveness of a suite of IBAs was assessed, and the modest incorporation of community

voices and opinions. These deficiencies can and should be addressed through future research in order to facilitate enhanced understanding of an increasingly common and potentially powerful governance tool in northern, Aboriginal settings.

REFERENCES

Arctic Climate Impact Assessment, 2004. *Impacts of a Warming Arctic — Arctic Climate Impact Assessment*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS). 2002. *Guidelines for ethical research in indigenous studies*. <http://www.aiatsis.gov.au/research_program/grants/grants_assets/ethics_guidelines.pdf>. Accessed on March 26, 2006.

Baxter, J., and J. Eyles. 1997. Evaluating qualitative research in social geography: establishing 'rigour' in interview analysis. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 22: 505–25.

Bone, R. 2003. *The Geography of the Canadian North: Issues and Challenges*, 2nd Edition. Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press.

Brant-Castellano, M. 2004. Ethics of Aboriginal research. *Journal of Aboriginal Health*, 1(1): 98–114.

Brislin, R., and T. Yoshida. 1994. *Intercultural Communication Training: An Introduction*. London, UK: SAGE Publications.

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). 2007. Review board rejects proposed uranium exploration in Thelon Basin. May 9, 2007. Found at <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/north/story/2007/05/09/nwt-urenergy.html>

Couch, W. 2002. Strategic resolution of policy, environmental and socio-economic impacts in Canadian arctic diamond mining: BHP's NWT diamond project. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 20(4): 265–78.

Dodd, C. 1998. *Dynamics of Intercultural Communication*, 5th Edition. New York, N.Y.: McGraw Hill.

Dreyer, D., and H. Myers. 2004. *Impact and Benefits Agreements: Do the Ross River Dena Benefit From Mineral Projects?* Final Report. Prince George, B.C.: University of Northern British Columbia, Northern Land Use Institute.

Ellerby, J. 2005. *Working with Indigenous Elders*, 3rd Edition. Winnipeg, Man.: Aboriginal Issues Press.

Evans, M. 1988. Participant observation: The researcher as research tool. In J. Eyles and D.M. Smith (eds.), *Qualitative Methods in Human Geography*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Fidler, C., and Hitch, M. 2007. Impact and Benefit Agreements: A Contentious Issue for Environmental and Aboriginal Justice. *Environments Journal*, 35(2): 49–69.

Galbraith, L. 2005. *Understanding the Need for Supraregulatory Agreements in Environmental Assessment: An Evaluation from the Northwest Territories, Canada*. M.A. Thesis. Vancouver, B.C.: Simon Fraser University, Department of Geography.

Galbraith, L., and B. Bradshaw. 2005. "Towards a Supraregulatory Approach for Environmental Assessment in the Mackenzie Valley, NWT, Canada". Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Association of Impact Assessment, Boston, Massachusetts, May 31–June 3.

Galbraith, L., B. Bradshaw, and M. Rutherford. 2007. Towards a new supraregulatory approach to environmental assessment in Northern Canada. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 25(1): 27–41.

Gallois, C., and V. Callan. 1997. *Communication and Culture: A Guide for Practice*. New York, N.Y.: Wiley.

Government Social Research Unit (GSRU). 2004. Chapter 8: Qualitative research and evaluation: how do you know why (and how) something works. In *The Magenta Book: Guidance Notes for Policy Evaluation and Analysis*. Available at <www.gsr.gov.uk/downloads/magenta_book/Chap_8_Magenta.pdf>. Accessed on December 28, 2006.

Hay, I. 2005. *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*. Toronto, Ont.: Oxford.

Hitch, M. 2005. *Impact and Benefit Agreements and the Political Ecology of Mineral Development in Nunavut*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Waterloo, Ont.: University of Waterloo, Department of Geography.

Hogwood, B., and L. Gunn. 1984. *Policy Analysis for the Real World*. Toronto, Ont.: Oxford University Press.

Hutchison, S. 1985. Perspectives: Field research in neonatal intensive care unit. *Topics in Clinical Nursing*, 7(2): 24–28.

International Council on Metals and the Environment (ICME). 1999. *Mining and Indigenous Peoples: Case Studies*. Ottawa, Ont.: International Council on Metals and the Environment.

ITK and NRI. 2007. *Negotiating Research Relationships with Inuit Communities: A Guide for Researchers*. edited by Scot Nickels, Jamal Shirley, and Gita Laidler, 38 pp. Ottawa and Iqaluit: Inuit TapiriitKanatami and Nunavut Research Institute.

Jacobs, D. 2006. "Consulting and Accommodating First Nations in Canada: A Duty that Reaps Benefits". Paper presented to the National Claims Research Workshop, October 7, 2002. Last Revision: October 2006. Available at <http://www.bkejwanong.com/benefits.html>.

Johnson, N. 1984. Sex, colour, and rites of passage in ethnographic research. *Human Organization*, 43(2): 108–20.

Keeping, J. 1997. *Assurance of Benefits to Local Communities: The Law Applicable in the Northwest Territories*. Calgary, Alta.: Canadian Institute of Resource Law.

Keeping, J. 2000. The legal and constitutional basis for benefits agreements: A summary. *Northern Perspectives*, 25(4).

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

Kennett, S. 1999b. *Issues and Options for a Policy on Impact and Benefit Agreements for the Northern Territories*. Calgary, Alta.: Canadian Institute of Resource Law.

Kennett, S. 2003. Research Associate. Canadian Institute of Resources Law, Calgary. Personal communication. July 11.

Kitchin, R., and N. Tate. 2000. *Conducting Research in Human Geography: Theory, Methodology and Practice*. Toronto, Ont.: Prentice Hall.

Klein, H., J. Donihee, and G. Stewart. 2004. "Environmental impact assessment and impact and benefit agreements: Creative tension or conflict?" Paper presented at the 24th annual conference for the International Association for Impact Assessment, Vancouver, British Columbia, 2004.

Kowalsky, L., M. Verhoef, W. Thurston, and G. Rutherford. 1996. Guidelines for entry into an Aboriginal community. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 16(2): 267–82.

Letendre, A., and V. Caine. 2004. Shifting from reading to questioning: Some thoughts around ethics, research, and Aboriginal peoples. *Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health*, 2(2): 1–31.

MacFarlane, K.E., S.P. Goff, and D. Irwin. 2007. *2007 Northwest Territories Mineral Exploration Overview*. 16 pp. Northwest Territories Geoscience Office.

Mining Association of Canada. 2007. *Facts and Figures, 2007 Ottawa: Mining Association of Canada*. Available at <www.mining.ca>.

MVEIRB. 2006. *Raising the Bar for Socio-economic Impact Assessment*. Available at <http://www.mveirb.nt.ca/documents/guidelines/socioeconomic_impact/2006_workshop/SEIA_Workshop_Report_May_29_2006.pdf>.

Natural Resources Canada (NRCAN). 2006. Canadian Minerals Yearbook, 2005. Available at <http://www.nrcan.gc.ca/mms/cmy/content/2005/04.pdf>. Accessed on April 9, 2008.

Natural Resources Canada (NRCAN). 2007a. Preliminary Estimate of the Mineral Production of Canada, by Province, 2007. Available at <http://mmsd1.mms.nrcan.gc.ca/mmsd/production/2007/web07p.pdf>. Accessed on April 9, 2008.

Natural Resources Canada (NRCAN). 2007b. Canadian Minerals Yearbook, 2006. Available at <http://www.nrcan.gc.ca/mms/cmy/content/2006/01.pdf>. Accessed on April 9, 2008.

North-South Institute. 2006. *"Dealing Full Force": Lutsel K'e Dene First Nation's Experience Negotiating with Mining Companies*. Available at <http://www.nsi-ins.ca/english/pdf/Full_Force_Eng.pdf>. Accessed on March 7, 2006.

O'Faircheallaigh, C. 1999. Making social impact assessment count: A negotiation-based approach for indigenous peoples. *Society and Natural Resources*, 12(1): 63–80.

O'Faircheallaigh, C. 2000. An Australian perspective on impact and benefit agreements. *Northern Perspectives*, 25(4).

O'Faircheallaigh, C. 2002. *A New Approach to Policy Evaluation: Mining and Indigenous People*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

O'Faircheallaigh, C. 2004. Evaluating agreements between indigenous peoples and resource developers. In M. Langton, M. Tehan, L. Palmer, and K. Shain (eds.), *Honour Among Nations? Treaties and Agreements with Indigenous Peoples*, pp. 303–28. Melbourne, AU: Melbourne University Press.

O'Faircheallaigh C., 2006, Mining Agreements and Aboriginal Economic Development in Australia and Canada, *Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development*, 5(1): 74–91.

O'Faircheallaigh, C. 2006. Professor of Political Science, Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia, Personal communication, Nov. 6.

O'Faircheallaigh, C., and T. Corbett. 2005. Indigenous participation in environmental management of mining projects: The role of negotiated agreements. *Environmental Politics*, 14(5): 629–47.

O'Reilly, K. 2000. Impact and benefit agreements: Tools for sustainable development? *Northern Perspectives*, 25(4).

O'Reilly, K, and E. Eacott. 2000. Aboriginal peoples and impact and benefit agreement: Summary of the report of a national workshop. *Northern Perspectives*, 25(4).

Page, R. 1986. *Northern Development: The Canadian Dilemma*. Toronto, Ont.: McClelland and Stewart.

Patton, M. 1987. *How to Use Qualitative Methods in Evaluation*. London, UK: SAGE Publications.

Patton, M. 1990. *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods* (2nd Edition). London, England: SAGE Publications.

Pawson, R., and N. Tilley. 1997. *Realistic Evaluation*. London, England: SAGE Publications.

Public Policy Forum. 2005. *Sharing in the Benefits of Resource Developments: A Study of First Nations-Industry Impact Benefits Agreements*. Ottawa, Ont.: Public Policy Forum.

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). 1996. *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*. Ottawa, Ont.: Canada Communications Group.

Sarbaugh, L.E. 1988. *Intercultural Communication*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books.

Schnarch, B. 2004. Ownership, control, access, and possession (OCAP) or self-determination applied to research: A critical analysis of contemporary First Nations research and some options for First Nations communities. *Journal of Aboriginal Health*, 1(1): 80–95.

Smith, H. 1981. *Strategies of Social Research*. Toronto, Ont.: Prentice Hall.

Sosa, I., and K. Keenan. 2001. *Impact Benefit Agreements between Aboriginal Communities and Mining Companies: Their Use in Canada*. Unpublished Research Paper. Available at <http://www.cela.ca/international/IBAeng.pdf>. Accessed on September 10, 2005.

Statistics Canada. 2007a. Detah, Northwest Territories (table). 2006 Community Profiles. 2006 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 92-591-XWE. Ottawa. Released March 13, 2007. Available at <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census06/data/profiles/community/Index.cfm?Lang=E>. Accessed April 10, 2007.

Statistics Canada. 2007b. Kugluktuk, Nunavut (table). 2006 Community Profiles. 2006 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 92-591-XWE. Ottawa. Released March 13, 2007. Available at <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census06/data/profiles/community/Index.cfm?Lang=E>. Accessed April 10, 2007.

Tri-Council Policy Statement (TCPS). 2005. *Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*. Ottawa, Ont.: Public Works and Government Services.

Weijer, C., G. Goldsand, and J. Esekiel. 1999. Protecting communities in research: current guidelines and limits of extrapolation. *Nature Genetics*, 23: 275–80.

Weir, W., and W. Wuttunee. 2004. Respectful research in Aboriginal communities and institutions in Canada. In B. Fairbairn and N. Russell (eds.), *Co-operative membership and globalization: new directions in research and practice*. Saskatoon,

Sask.: Centre for the Study of Co-operatives, University of Saskatchewan.

Winchester, H. 2005. Qualitative research and its place in human geography. In I. Hay (ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, 2nd Edition, pp. 3–18. Toronto, Ont.: Oxford University Press.

Wolfe, W. 2001. "Socio-economic impact agreements in Canada: 1990–2001". Paper presented at the Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada annual meeting, Toronto, Ontario, March 13.

Concluding Thoughts

. . . .

David Newhouse

JAED FOUNDING EDITOR AND EDITORIAL COMMITTEE MEMBER

Post-Colonial Optimism: The news is not good. The news is good. I find it difficult to make sense of the activities that are all around us. We watch and listen to the apology for the residential schools, the second apology in a decade; We read reports on the lack of potable water in First Nations communities across the country; We listen to the music of the JUNO Aboriginal music award winners; We listen to our national leaders lambast the government for their inaction on economic development, training, education, treaty rights, self government and health; We access traditional healers through Aboriginal-controlled health care centres; We use Indigenous Knowledge in our everyday work lives alongside the knowledge we gained in colleges and universities. We watch as Aboriginal peoples move into urban centres looking for better lives; as others move to reserve communities to escape from urban poverty and violence. Indians become Aboriginal and First Nations and Indigenous and Métis and Inuit. Cree become Neyaw; MicMac become Mik'maq; Eskimo become Inuit; Blackfoot become Siksika; Ojibway become Anishnaabe (or Anishnabeq or Anishnawbe).

Study after study documents the difficult living conditions that many of our brothers and sisters face: racism and prejudice, low incomes, poor education that doesn't provide the skills necessary to work in a rapidly changing economy, poor physical and mental health, poor housing, to list just a few of the many indicators that measure and report on our lives. When examined over a lengthy

period of time, there is a distinct worsening of social and economic conditions. There is no shortage of explanations for this phenomenon. They are all correct in some way or another.

The statistics however do not tell the whole story; What they are not able to do is to illuminate the spirit and ethos of the people they report on. It is here that I find a case for optimism: the increase in the number of small businesses indicates a reawakening of the entrepreneurial spirit among Aboriginal peoples; the increase in the number of Aboriginal artists, writers, film-makers is a reawakening of the Indigenous imagination; the move to use Indigenous Knowledge as a central informing aspect of daily life, both at home and work is a reawakening of the Indigenous mind; and the Aboriginal governance movement is bringing aboriginal lives back under aboriginal stewardship. The healing movement represents a desire to deal with the mental and physical effects of colonialism. Our political leaders work long and hard to overcome the political legacy of colonialism and to create places of dignity and respect for us within Canada.

As Aboriginal peoples, we are now aware of colonialism and its legacy. We are determined to do something about it and in collaboration with many non-Aboriginal peoples, are working to ensure that colonization does not happen again. We are imbued with what I call a "post-colonial consciousness." Anger at past actions is channelled into concrete effort by individuals, community and political leaders, Aboriginal organizations and governments as well as many allies outside our communities and territories.

This journal, by showcasing CANDO economic development award winners and the lessons from experience, illustrates 'post-colonial consciousness' in action. The work of economic development officers directed at improving the quality of Aboriginal lives is the type of practical, direct action that is necessary and important if improvements are to take place. It also makes an important contribution to the development of a post-colonial Canada by bringing Aboriginal peoples into the economic life of the country in significant ways, helping to end the century and a half of marginalization since Confederation.

Animating the work of economic development officers is a vision of Aboriginal life; one that sees Aboriginal peoples as self determining, confident, assertive, prideful, respected, able to share in the wealth that this land now represents, and participating in meaningful ways in the economic life of the country and above all, able to pursue their own dreams as best they can. This is also post-colonial consciousness in action.

80

I see this vision everywhere in Aboriginal country today, in the everyday work of business people, Aboriginal community leaders and politicians, students, teachers, nurses, and artists to name only a few. Post-colonial consciousness and its effects are not yet captured by the statistics. Its effects are only starting to be felt within our communities. I am optimistic that the next decade will see real improvements in the quality of Aboriginal lives. Our journal editors and editorial committee members will continue to promote, document, and share these efforts and the improvements they bring.

Silent Snow: The Slow Poisoning of the Arctic
by Marla Cone

*Dances With Dependency: Indigenous Success
Through Self-Reliance*
by Calvin Helin

*Gambling with the Future: The Evolution of Aboriginal
Gaming in Canada*
by Yale D. Belanger

BOOK REVIEW

Silent Snow: The Slow Poisoning of the Arctic
Marla Cone
New York: Grove Press, 2005; ISBN 0-8021-1797-X; Cloth; 256 pp; $29.95

. . . .

Martin Whittles
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF ANTHROPOLOGY
THOMPSON RIVERS UNIVERSITY*

For Arctic Aboriginal people, the colonialism that often accompanied the arrival of outsiders into their traditional territories came in many forms beyond an extensive struggle for economic hegemony, including non-Native attempts at political, religious and ideological, linguistic, and cultural domination. However, centuries of contact have not fundamentally altered the fact that the capital, technology, and political authority that continue to fuel economic development in the Fourth World Arctic resides squarely in the First World. Following the near extinction of fur stocks and whale pods due to non-Aboriginal avarice in the decades following initial contact, the Arctic has more recently become an industrial wilderness where the pursuit of non-renewable resources has loomed an ever larger prize for energy-hungry southern markets. The search for diamonds in the Central Arctic, hydrocarbon extraction in Alaska, a generation of heavy metal mining at Nanisivik (Baffin Island), oil and gas exploration in the Beaufort Sea, and pipeline schemes slated for the Mackenzie River valley, are examples of the persistence of colonial resolve and an overall lack of respect for the Arctic and the Aboriginal people who live there. As with the collapse of earlier renewable

resource–based economic booms, one can only assume that when the current non-renewable resource gold rush ends, the rapacity of the First World will once again retreat, abandoning a diminished and exploited Arctic to its original, alienated inhabitants.

In *Silent Snow*, environmental journalist Marla Cone describes the most chilling First World legacy yet to affect the Aboriginal Arctic. Taking readers on a personal journey across the one-fifth of the global landscape that is the circumpolar region, she illuminates how the Arctic has become a toxic sink for a witch's brew of chemical toxins that have been carried to the region on wind and waves, finally and forever deposited in the air, water, and in the flesh of living animals. In the far northern latitudes, industrial contaminants invade the region as hitchhikers from the south on ocean currents and prevailing winds — climatic patterns that are changing at ten times the current global rate. North of 60, contamination takes the form of surging concentrations of the most pernicious industrial cocktails imaginable appearing throughout the natural world. Mercury, insecticides, pesticides (DDT and others), perfluorinated acids (used in the manufacture of Scotchgard and Tef-

*Martin Whittles is Associate Professor of Anthropology, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Thompson Rivers University, Kamloops, British Columbia.

lon), mirex, dieldrin, and Persistent Organic Pollutants (POPs) are but a few of 200 toxins currently present in Arctic air, water, soil (permafrost), and finally, animals. As airborne and oceanic stowaways, contaminants traveling from Europe, Russia, and North America often terminate and persist in staggering concentrations through a process known as bioaccumulation, a contamination pyramid that can multiply concentrations by double digit magnitudes as they pass upwards through the regional food chain from microbial phytoplankton, to fish, to marine mammals, and finally to circumpolar Aboriginal people. Spanning a total of three continents and eight countries, nobody is immune: pan-Arctic Inuit, the Yupik and Aleuts in Alaska, and the Chukchi, Nenets and others in eastern Siberia, Dene and Métis in Canada, and the Saami of Northern Europe are all affected. As a result Cone explains, High Arctic polar bears are increasingly showing signs of chemical contamination, skewed sex hormones, and the outward appearance of both male and female sex organs that combine to imperil reproduction and depress populations. Fish stocks have become thoroughly contaminated with a combination of pesticides in dizzying concentrations, and seals currently carry appalling amounts of PCBs in their blubber. The results of persistent and escalating contamination in circumpolar human populations include lowered birth weights, human breast milk dangerously tainted with mercury, suppressed immune systems, elevated rates of genetic mutation, scrambled hormone balances, depressed brain development, and neurological impairment.

As Cone describes it, Arctic contaminant loading is a new and perverse variety (not to mention consequence) of globalization; contaminants know no boundaries, need no passports. Yet like epidemics of the past — perhaps as the infested blankets of the 21st century? — they are vandalizing Aboriginal economies and lifeways. They are gravely imperiling customary Arctic economies by undercutting the renewable resource base, squashing some species and making almost all others too poisonous to consume in traditional — in some case, minimal — quantities. In a region where between one-third and one-half of daily human nutritive energy is derived from the harvest of fish, birds, marine and terrestrial mammals, the very country food

(Peqqinnartoq, or *healthy food*, in Greenlandic) that has sustained millennia of Aboriginal peoples is now being recognized as so loaded with the so-called Dirty Dozen of foreign contaminants as to be avoided, only to be replaced with imported, less nutritious, painfully expensive, and culturally sterile foodstuffs. Neither quaint, nor culturally static, Arctic economies are singularly hunting endeavors, where harvesting is at once a materially productive venture, a cultural birthright, part of a spiritual conversation with the supernatural, a marker of ethnic identity, and a moral test of the hunter's skill and generosity. As one Greenlandic elder put it, "contaminants do not affect our souls, avoiding our foods from fear does" (p. 113).

As a result, the economic consequences have been staggering, as throughout the region, subsistence hunting has been curtailed as family economic self-sufficiency is further destabilized. As former Inuit Circumpolar Conference president Sheila Watt-Cloutier remarks, hunting is, "not just food on our plates. It's a way of life" (p. 52). Nursing mothers are challenged (most loudly by non-Aboriginal outsiders who claim to understand the problem) to reduce or discontinue breast feeding infants, while hunting and fishing — the traditional remit of men and boys — has been rendered unnecessary, if not out rightly lethal, further compromising the traditional gendered Aboriginal economy. Indeed, the Arctic without polar bears is "like the plains without buffalo" (p. 79). The corruption of what amounts to the shortest and most fragile food chain on the planet has fed a greater reliance on the cash economy, declining quality of life standards, and community out-migration by those who have been literally starved off their land. Traditional feasting economies that have celebrated the harvesting of marine mammals of all sizes for millennia have been demoralized — after all, who wants to share, let alone consume, contaminated meat, even if such avoidance risks offending the generosity inherent in the enduring and powerful spirits of the very creatures who have sacrificed themselves to feed hungry humans? In the Arctic, hunting, and the concomitant sharing and consumption of meat is much more than economic: imperiling hunting imperils the cosmos.

Even the cash-intensive new-era renewable resource economies, including sport fishing and

trophy hunt guiding have been undercut by Northern contamination, while Arctic eco-tourism (now a contradiction of terms?) has surely suffered. Clearly, romantic non-Aboriginal perceptions of the presumed idyllic Arctic are being challenged and cognitively, albeit reluctantly, replaced by the messy spectre of a less-than-pristine wilderness, a Love Canal of the North. That being said, what tourist wants to visit a place where they believe the staple is *sukkunartuq* — an Inuktitut term for something that damages, destroys, or results in an undesirable outcome?

The future, Cone advises is discouraging. As regional contamination increases, the symptomatic and cultural effects magnify in successive generations of fauna and humans, and the wider situation can only continue to deteriorate. *Silent Snow* paints a depressing picture as it raises issues of grave importance to circumpolar Aboriginal people and the rest of us. Thankfully, Cone is wise enough to avoid proffering simple or glib solutions to what will undoubtedly escalate as an economic and cultural catastrophe. Another issue that she avoids is one of escalating First World stigma associated with a part of the world that Cone identifies as many more times polluted (according to some indicators) than the industrial south. How do Aboriginal people feel about being perceived by those who live in the myopic, safely urban, and self-righteous southern latitudes as mere toxic victims, struggling to survive in a poisoned part of the world? While Cone counts among her informants many Aboriginal community leaders, hunters, fishers, and Elders, some readers may be left unsure as to just how people feel about deteriorating (and perhaps incomplete or incorrect) southern views of their homeland.

Despite the obvious strengths of *Silent Snow*, Cone is prone to taking geographical, historical, and ethnographic liberties throughout. She confuses Nunanvut and Nunavik, conflates culture and latitude by assuming that the father north one travels, the more traditional Aboriginal economic systems (and culture in general) are to be found, and she seems to forget that the majority of circumpolar people now reside in communities best defined as urban. Moreover, throughout the book she often presents her informants as passive, if not fatalistic, bystanders to their fate, ignoring that Aboriginal people of the circumpolar region have long assumed and asserted more control of their lives, their communities, and their homelands than Core admits. All things considered, however, *Silent Snow* is for Arctic Aboriginal people — not to mention the rest of us — what Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* was 45 years ago: a passionate and enlightened call to seek effective solutions before it is too late.

BOOK REVIEW

Dances With Dependency: Indigenous Success Through Self-Reliance
Calvin Helin
Vancouver: Orca Spirit Publishing & Communications Inc., 2006
ISBN 0-97821-07-0; 313 pp; $34.95

....

Yale D. Belanger
DEPARTMENT OF NATIVE AMERICAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF LETHBRIDGE

Much has been written in recent years of the federal government's continued financing of Indian Affairs. With an estimated annual budget hovering around $9 billion, critics argue that unchecked largesse forces Aboriginal peoples' dependency on federal handouts. The sooner the public trough is closed, maintain groups such as the Canadian Taxpayers Federation, the sooner Aboriginal people can reclaim their economic, political, and social dignity. In response, the Assembly of First Nations and other national watchdog groups stress that an inept Indian and Northern Affairs bureaucracy is to blame; having mismanaged what is arguably Canada's constitutional legacy to ensure Aboriginal peoples' continued financial protection and social development. Proper financial management, they counter, combined with mothballing Indian Affairs will provide the foundation needed to promote effective and sustainable economic growth.

Somewhere in the middle of these two extremes falls Calvin Helin, author of the provocative book *Dances With Dependency: Indigenous Success Through Self-Reliance*. But don't let the light-hearted title of the book mislead you — the author strategically indicts all parties he believes compromise Aboriginal economic aspirations and social progress. One of his primary targets is Aboriginal leaders who consciously choose to remain dependent upon federal funds instead of seeking out innovative economic development strategies. The reason: promoting economic independence by challenging communities to become healthier through individual achievement and personal advancement puts these leaders' secure, well-paying, federally-sponsored jobs at risk. In his opinion, the Indian Affairs system, the operations of which have changed little since its 1880 establishment, spawns political and economic elites in Aboriginal communities. These individuals in turn promote continued reliance upon federal funding initiatives for their own financial security and political advancement.

A lawyer, businessman, and son of a hereditary Tsimshian chief from the northern B.C. community of Lax Kwalaams (Port Simpson), Helin also denounces those leaders who resist integrating their communities into the surrounding regional and provincial economies for fear of corrupting their culture. In response he quoted one leader as saying he would "prefer economic integration to starvation."

Aboriginal leaders are not Helin's only target, however. The author insists that Canadian officials preserve Constitutionally-entrenched Aboriginal rights while also ensuring treaty protected resources remain in First Nation's hands, issues that are generally beyond the scope of public policy makers but occasionally come under political fire. He also aggressively advocates for

Aboriginal control of local economic development, which can be achieved by removing these communities from a federal funding structure that has historically done little to promote and ensure Aboriginal economic well-being.

Helin tackles these and other difficult issues with empathy that could only be proffered by someone who has faced similar issues first hand. But unlike many of his peers, he has little sympathy for those who make a habit of consistently revisiting the troubled and turbulent history of Aboriginal-non-Native interaction. Establishing the necessary political and economic relationships needed to confront contemporary issues is tricky enough without the spectre of historic misdeeds guiding our relationships, leading Helin to conclude that obsessing about past injustices makes it impossible to promote future economic progress.

Helin is at his best when discussing what he describes as the demographic tsunami soon to hit Canada, the brunt of which will slam the prairies. This not only sets the context for his overall argument, it is a unique interpretation of anticipated statistical trends. Specifically, he demonstrates that unprecedented Aboriginal population growth combined with increased baby-boomer retirement rates could lead to a demographic tsunami — too few replacement workers leading to economic stagnation that in turn leaves limited funds available for the social programming many Aboriginal people remain reliant upon. Such a trend if left unchecked could irreparably harm the Canadian economy.

In a typical "taking lemons and making lemonade" approach, Helin suggests that the parallel surge in the number of workforce age Aboriginals is advantageous in two ways. First, these individuals once trained are perfect replacements for retiring baby-boomers. Second, the related increase in Aboriginal employment rates will likely offset existing social programming costs thereby easing the pressure being exerted on the various federal agencies currently responsible for Aboriginal financial affairs. A third advantage he fails to identify is the potential for integrated workforces to breed cultural sensitivity and positive community relationships.

Such optimistic pronouncements suggest that *Dances With Dependency* is not a doomsday book, and it should not be mistaken as one. In addition to identifying systemic inadequacies, Helin has also taken the time to offer simple solutions aimed at improving economic development and, in turn, Aboriginal self-sufficiency. Take, for example, his suggestion that big business consult Aboriginal communities prior to resource exploration. Evidence shows that straightforward gestures by corporate leaders go a long way toward fostering positive business relationships with Aboriginal leaders and their communities — goodwill tends to break down cultural barriers leading to positive and profitable enterprises.

If there was a negative aspect to this book it was Helin's sweeping generalizations that cast all Aboriginal leaders as naïve at best and at worst corrupt. This is a difficult pitfall to overcome. Nationally there are a number of First Nations communities that have overcome tremendous odds only to become regional and, in certain cases, provincial business leaders. Unfortunately, he only briefly mentions a handful of these examples. This is however not enough to recommend against a stimulating read destined to send shock waves through a number of Aboriginal communities nationally.

The question we must ask at this point is simply this, Is Helin's assessment correct? I believe his general appraisal of reserve economics and the existing barriers to success to be accurate. And his description of the demographic tsunami is convincing enough to force us to question why we see so few Aboriginal people occupying well-paying jobs in Canadian society, especially after taking into consideration ever increasing Aboriginal university and college graduation rates. No matter how innovative the efforts devoted to ending the Dances with Dependency, until similar barriers are eradicated establishing true economic development and community well-being will remain, as Helin argues, dependent upon the will of outsiders with little vested interest in Aboriginal development.

BOOK REVIEW

Gambling with the Future:
The Evolution of Aboriginal Gaming in Canada
Yale D. Belanger
Saskatoon: Purich Publishing Ltd., 2006; ISBN 1-895830-28-1; 232 pp; $31.00

. . . .

Kathryn R.L. Rand

FLOYD B. SPERRY PROFESSOR AND ASSOCIATE DEAN FOR ACADEMIC AFFAIRS
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA SCHOOL OF LAW

Indian gaming[1] is an outright phenomenon by any measure in the United States. The subject of landmark U.S. Supreme Court decisions, groundbreaking federal legislation, and intense public debate, tribal gaming has developed into a $25 billion industry in little more than two decades. For the more than 220 tribes that operate some 400 gaming establishments, there is no doubt that Indian gaming has changed lives in the United States.

Though tribal gaming exists in Canada, where it is known as First Nations gaming or Aboriginal gaming, the dozen or so First Nations casinos scattered across five provinces[2] are a far cry from the U.S. Indian gaming industry (Lazarus, 2006; Lipton, n.d.). Yet, as Yale Belanger, an assistant professor of Native American Studies at the University of Lethbridge,

describes it in *Gambling with the Future*, Aboriginal gaming in Canada shares many similarities with tribal gaming in the United States.

The most notable similarity is the impetus for Indian gaming. First Nations, like tribes in the United States, conceived of gaming as a means of alleviating the dire socioeconomic conditions that shaped the daily lives of many Indians, especially those living on reserves (or reservations, as tribal lands are called in the United States) (see, e.g., Rhodes, 2007). High levels of poverty and unemployment on reserves were the by-products of patterns of colonization and federal assimilationist policies paralleling, in large part, those in the United States (see Light & Rand, 2005: 25–35, 98–99). Having failed to solve the so-called "Indian problem," the federal governments in Canada and the United States

---

Kathryn R.L. Rand is Floyd B. Sperry Professor and Associate Dean for Academic Affairs at the University of North Dakota School of Law. She is the co-director of the Institute for the Study of Tribal Gaming Law and Policy, and the co-author of Indian Gaming and Tribal Sovereignty: The Casino Compromise (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2005) and Indian Gaming Law and Policy (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2006). Rand also writes a blog on Indian gaming issues, Indian Gaming Today, at <http://indiangamingtoday.com>.

[1] "Indian gaming" is a legal term that is firmly imbedded in the mainstream lexicon in the United States I use Indian gaming and tribal gaming interchangeably to refer to gaming conducted by American Indian tribes in the United States and First Nations in Canada.

[2] For an up-to-date list of casino and racino facilities in Canada by province, see Rhys Stevens, *Canada Casinos*, available through the Alberta Gaming Research Institute Web site, <http://www.abgaminginstitute.ualberta.ca/>.

encouraged tribal self-sufficiency. But with few on-reserve opportunities for economic development, tribal options to provide jobs to their members and raise revenue for government services were limited. Like tribes in the United States, First Nations looked to gaming, possibly as "a last-ditch effort at generating the revenue necessary for reserve economic development" (Belanger: 56).

In the late 1980s, as First Nations lobbied for reserve-based gaming, the U.S. Supreme Court decided *California v. Cabazon Band of Mission Indians* (480 U.S. 202 (1987)). The Court recognized tribal authority to regulate on-reservation gaming operations free of state interference. As such, the Court's decision very much was rooted in tribal sovereignty and tribes' unique status in the American political system.

The Cabazon Band operated a bingo parlor on its reservation. Because the high-stakes bingo games offered by the tribe violated California's stringent regulation of bingo, state officials threatened to close the Band's bingo hall. California's theory was that although states generally have no authority over tribes under U.S. law, Congress had provided that California law applied to tribes through Public Law 280 (Act of August 15, 1953, ch. 505, 67 Stat. 588–590), a termination-era federal statute that gave certain states jurisdiction over tribes within the state's borders. Pub. L. 280 gave states a broad grant of criminal jurisdiction, but only a limited grant of civil jurisdiction. In an earlier case, *Bryan v. Itasca County* (426 U.S. 373 (1976)), the Supreme Court had ruled that Pub. L. 280's grant of civil jurisdiction was not a broad authority for states to regulate tribes generally, as that "would result in the destruction of tribal institutions and values" (*Cabazon*: 208).

"In light of the fact that California permits a substantial amount of gambling activity, including bingo, and actually promotes gambling through its state lottery," the *Cabazon* Court reasoned, "we must conclude that California regulates rather than prohibits gambling in general and bingo in particular" (ibid.: 210–11). As a result, California could not impose its laws on tribal gaming operations.

While the peculiarities of Pub. L. 280 were at the heart of the *Cabazon* case, the Court's reasoning reflected the long-recognized political

and legal status of tribes under U.S. law (see Light & Rand, 2005: 17–37). On the heels of the *Cabazon* decision, Congress's passage of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988 (IGRA) (25 U.S.C. §§ 2701–21) codified tribes' right to conduct gaming, and at the same time limited it by requiring a tribal-state compact for casino-style gaming (see Light & Rand, 2005: 35–37). Nevertheless, Congress intended IGRA to promote strong tribal governments along with reservation economic development and tribal self-sufficiency (25 U.S.C. § 2702).

Cabazon and IGRA opened the door to Indian gaming as it exists in the United States, setting the stage for the explosion of the industry and for continuing controversy (see Light, 2007). In contrast, the status of First Nations as governments and their right to conduct gaming have taken a very different direction under Canadian law.

During what Professor I. Nelson Rose has labeled the "third wave" of gambling policy (Rose, 1999), legalized gambling took hold in both the United States and Canada. In 1985, Canada's federal Criminal Code was amended to give provincial governments authority to conduct and regulate gambling, including lotteries and casino-style gaming (Belanger: 52). Soon after, the Shawanaga First Nation in Ontario asserted a sovereign right to conduct gaming on its reserve (ibid.: 84–85).

Like the Cabazon Band, the Shawanaga opened a modest high-stakes bingo hall on its reserve. Like California authorities, the Ontario Provincial Police charged Shawanaga Chief Howard Pamajewon and former Chief Howard Jones with violating the province's gambling regulations (ibid.: 85–86). Both were convicted, leading to the landmark Canadian Supreme Court case of *R. v. Pamajewon* ([1996] 2 S.C.R. 821).

Canada's Constitution Act of 1982 recognizes certain "Aboriginal rights" tied to the traditions and customs of First Nations. To qualify as an Aboriginal right, the activity must be "a defining feature of the culture in question" (ibid., quoting *R. v. Van der Peet*, [1996] 2 S.C.R. 507). Quoting the lower court opinion, the *Pamajewon* Court opined that "commercial lotteries such as bingo are a twentieth century phenomena and nothing of the kind existed amongst Aboriginal peoples and was never part of the

means by which those societies were traditionally sustained or socialized" (ibid.). Gambling, the Court held, simply was not an integral part of the distinctive culture of the Shawanaga (ibid.; Belanger: 87–88).[3]

As a result of *Pamajewon*, First Nations do not have a recognized Aboriginal right to conduct gaming on their reserves, unless a First Nation can show that gaming is a defining feature of its distinctive culture. Without such a finding, though, First Nations may operate casinos only with a provincial license and in accordance with provincial regulations (e.g., Lipton, n.d.).[4]

The limited conception of First Nations' Aboriginal right to conduct gaming is of both legal and practical significance. Legally, it is a fundamental distinction between U.S. and Canadian tribal gaming law; practically, it explains in large part the very different tribal gaming industries in the United States and Canada. The relatively limited growth of First Nations gaming under provincial control arguably proves the point Representative Morris Udall (D-Ariz.) made during the legislative debate over IGRA. Referencing arguments for state regulation of Indian gaming in the United States, he said, "Conferring state jurisdiction over tribal governments and their gaming activities would not insure [sic] a 'level playing field,' but would guarantee that Indian tribes could not gamble at all" (H.R. Rep. No. 488, 99th Cong., 2d Sess. 29 (1986) (supplemental views of Rep. Morris Udall (D-Ariz.))).

Clearly written and accessible to a general audience, *Gambling with the Future* sets out the circumstances giving rise to Aboriginal gaming in detail, providing a very useful introduction to those unfamiliar with Canadian gambling law and policy or First Nations. Belanger utilizes in-depth case studies of First Nations gaming in Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Alberta to provide detailed descriptions of Aboriginal peoples' experience with both gaming and provincial control. Throughout, Belanger discusses the efforts of First Nations leaders to assert the right of self-determination and self-government.

Although the scholarly and practical literature on Indian gaming in the United States is steadily growing, it remains an understudied area of law and policy. There is an even greater dearth of scholarly attention paid to Aboriginal gaming in Canada: "Had First Nations leaders interested in pursuing reserve casinos approached their investigation the same way Canadian academics have pursued the study of First Nations gaming," writes Belanger, "the industry would never have emerged" (Belanger: 168). As Belanger concludes, the lack of scholarly research hinders the development of effective tribal gaming policy, as sound public policymaking requires quality information to answer a number of salient questions regarding tribal gaming's socioeconomic effects and "best practices" for the industry (ibid.: 173).[5] Toward that end, *Gambling with the Future* is a much-needed overview of the legal, political, and socioeconomic issues surrounding First Nations gaming in Canada.

REFERENCES

Lazarus, Morden C., Edwin D. Monzon, and Richard B. Wodnicki. 2006. "The Mohawks of Kahnawá:ke and the Case for an Aboriginal Right to Gaming Under the Canada Constitution Act, 1982." *Gaming Law Review* 10(4): 369–78.

---

[3] "In fact," the Chief Justice's opinion stated, "the only evidence presented at either trial dealing with the question of the importance of gambling was that [a witness] who testified ... with regards to the importance and prevalence of gaming in Ojibwa culture. While [the] evidence does demonstrate that the Ojibwa gambled, it does not demonstrate that gambling was of central

significance to the Ojibwa people.... [or] the extent to which this gambling was the subject of regulation by the Ojibwa community. His account is of informal gambling activities taking place on a small scale; he does not describe large-scale activities, subject to community regulation, of the sort at issue in this appeal" (*Pamajewon*).

[4] Lazarus, Monzon, & Wodnicki (2006: 376) point out that "[t]he Supreme Court of Canada did not rule that the Ojibwa and Eagle Lake First Nations do not have the aboriginal right to conduct and regulate gaming but, rather, it found that the evidence presented was insufficient to support the existence of such a right." They go on to make a convincing case that there is evidence supporting an Aboriginal right to conduct gaming for the Mohawks of Kahnawá:ke.

[5] The same certainly can be said in the United States, where "[p]olicymakers at all levels are neither fully cognizant of nor acting upon sufficient and complete information about legalized gambling generally and Indian gaming specifically" (Rand & Light, 2006: 441).

Light, Steven Andrew. 2007. "Opening the Door to Indian Gaming: 20 Years Later." *Indian Gaming Magazine* (April).

Light, Steven Andrew, and Kathryn R.L. Rand. 2005. *Indian Gaming and Tribal Sovereignty: The Casino Compromise*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Lipton, Michael D. n.d. "First Nations Gaming in Canada." Available at <http://www.gaming lawmasters.com/jurisdictions/canada/FNG.htm>.

Rand, Kathryn R.L. and Steve Andrew Light. 2006. "How Congress Can and Should 'Fix' the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act: Recommendations for Law and Policy Reform." *Virginia Journal of Social Policy & the Law* 13(3): 396–473.

Rhodes, Veronica. 2007. "First Nations Gaming: Thriving After a Rocky Start." *Regina Leader-Post* (May 5).

Rose, I. Nelson. 1999. "Gambling and the Law: Pivotal Dates." Available at http://www.gambling andthelaw.com/dates.html.

Cases, Statutes, and Government Reports

Bryan v. Itasca County, 426 U.S. 373 (1976).

California v. Cabazon Band of Mission Indians. 480 U.S. 202 (1987).

H.R. Rep. No. 488, 99th Cong., 2d Sess. 29 (1986).

Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988, 25 U.S.C. §§ 2701–21 (2001).

R. v. Pamajewon, (1996) 2 S.C.R. 821.

Public Law 280, Act of August 15, 1953, ch. 505, 67 Stat. 588–590 (codified as amended at 18 U.S.C. § 1162, 28 U.S.C. § 1360, and other scattered sections in Titles 18 and 28, United States Code (2000)).

R. v. Van der Peet, (1996) 2 S.C.R. 507.

Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development

Call for Papers
Volume 6, Issue 2

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

Volume 6, Issue 2 of JAED will be published in September 2009 in preparation for the CANDO 16th Annual National Conference and AGM (Edmonton, Alberta).

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

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 2 is March 31, 2009. If your paper does not make the cut for this issue, or needs extra work, it will be considered for publication in Volume 7, Issue 1. The deadline for receipt of submissions for Issue 6.2, tentatively scheduled to be published **September 2009**. Should you require further information please contact Lisa Harviel, CANDO Executive and Administrative Services Coordinator at 1-800-463-9300 or lharvie@edo.ca.

It is important that the content in the Journal hold meaning for practitioners in the field of Aboriginal community economic development. Beginning with the next issue of JAED, we will ensure that all publications include content that is understandable, accessible, and useful for practising EDOs. For example, interviews and case studies in the "Lessons from Experience" section could provide practical tips on the advancement of Aboriginal economic development on a day-to-day basis. Articles in the "Lessons from Research" section might profile best practices and ways to implement the author's findings and recommendations. The "Book Review" section could highlight innovative ways to promote economic change and growth in Aboriginal communities, organizations, or businesses. The "Toolkits" section might outline the steps required to promote sustainable corporate relations, viable business partnerships, or projects advanced through government procurement programs.

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is important that the content in the Journal hold meaning for practitioners in the field of Aboriginal community economic development. Beginning with the next issue of JAED, we will ensure that all publications include content that is understandable, accessible, and useful for practising EDOs. For example, interviews and case studies in the "Lessons from Experience" section could provide practical tips on the advancement of Aboriginal economic development on a day-to-day basis. Articles in the "Lessons from Research" section might profile best practices and ways to implement the author's findings and recommendations. The "Book Review" section could highlight innovative ways to promote economic change and growth in Aboriginal communities, organizations, or businesses. The "Toolkits" section might outline the steps required to promote sustainable corporate relations, viable business partnerships, or projects advanced through government procurement programs.

CANDO is pleased to announce the 16th Annual National Conference and AGM will be co-hosted with Enoch Cree Nation at the River Cree Resort and Casino, Enoch, Alberta, in October 2009.

RIVER CREE
RESORT AND CASINO
ENOCH, ALBERTA