Journal of ABORIGINAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Volume 6, Number 2

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Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development

Volume 6, Number 2

Captus Press

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

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Table of Contents

VOLUME 6, ISSUE 2 FALL 2009

The Artist: Keith Nolan ix

Editors' Comments xi

Lessons from Experience

2008 Economic Developer of the Year Award Winners
DELILAH MAH 3

Success of the Unama'ki Economic Benefits Office
OWEN FITZGERALD 12

Lessons from Research

After the Environmental Assessment: A Tale of Development on Attawapiskat Traditional Territory
SUZANNE M. BARNES AND RUBEN J. WALLIN 20

Determinants of Success among Indigenous Enterprise in the Northern Territory of Australia
WILLIAM NIKOLAKIS 25

The State of the Aboriginal Economy

The New Federal Framework for Aboriginal Economic Development: A Review and Call for Responses
ROBERT OPPENHEIMER AND WARREN WEIR 43

Gender Analysis of the New Federal Framework for Aboriginal Development: Discussion Guide and Annexes
FRANCINE WHITEDUCK AND DANA PEEBLES 46

Have We Made Any Progress in the Struggle to Make First Nation Poverty History?: A 40-Year Perspective
WANDA WUTTUNEE AND FRED WIEN 64

THE ARTIST

Keith Nolan

As a member of the Missanabiee Cree First Nation in Ontario, Canada, and living across the country from the wild, northern land where I was raised, a longing grew to document Native culture — the beautiful people memories that I know.

I have lived and travelled across North America — experiencing connection with many First Nations peoples. My artwork tries to share the stories to capture a variety of subjects as they inspire me — through both plain air painting and studio work.

Although I love creating varied art forms, my voice is found best through the medium of oil on canvas. I studied for two years at Grant MacEwan College and with various teachers, including David Leffel at the Art Student's League in New York City.

Along with winning a number of awards, I have been privileged to have my work displayed in the Provincial Museum of Alberta and with the Canada Council for the Arts, as well as with many private corporations and individuals. My paintings have been sold throughout Canada and internationally and have been featured by greeting card companies, and in calendars sold in the United States and Canada.

I seek to embrace life and live each moment as fully as I can. Being able to share my feelings and the life and energy of others through painting is a gift I am so grateful for!

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

ARTIST'S STATEMENT
The Moccasins

Keith Nolan

Moccasins were the original footwear of the First Nations people. The soft-soled shoes enabled them to hunt quietly and to move quickly through the bush. Different tribes made different designs, but they were either one piece or two piece with an apron inserted at the top.

Women made the moccasins out of traditionally tanned moose hide. This hide was scraped, softened, and smoked to protect and waterproof. These moccasins are made in the traditional way.

In my painting of the moccasins, I wish to show the beauty and intricate art work of the traditional footwear for the First Nations people. Not only were they very practical shoes, they were also beautiful testimonies to the skills of their creator. Moccasins were decorated with porcupine quills, and beads, later on; they were sewn with sinew into very detailed designs. The women based their designs from the wild flowers of the bush, improvising to create beautiful art.

In my painting I have one woman's moccasin resting beside one man's moccasin. This is not only to show the difference of the design and of the size between men and women, but also to symbolize that men and women walk together as one, even though they are different.

Editors' Comments

Welcome to the 12th Issue of the *Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development* (JAED), co-published by the Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers (CANDO) and Captus Press. If you are receiving this issue as part of your conference package for CANDO's 16th Annual National Conference and General Meeting, taking place in Enoch, Alberta, welcome!

This issue marks the 10th year of partnership between CANDO and Captus Press in bringing you, our readers, this unique, informative, and interesting journal. Through this journal, we hope to bring together ideas, research, and experience in way that can inform and guide future Aboriginal economic development activities, corporate preparedness and community involvement, and the creation of meaningful and supportive federal and provincial government policy.

To many of our avid readers, the first two sections — Lessons from Experience and Lessons from Research — will be familiar. However, beginning with this issue and carrying forward to future issues, we have added a third thematic section focussing on the current and emerging State of the Aboriginal Economy. It is our hope that readers will not only continue to submit pieces to the first two sections, but that they will also respond to the introductory materials presented on the current State of the Aboriginal Economy in Canada in this issue: a summary of the AFN report, a review of the Federal Framework, and an early response to the Federal Framework by the Native Women's Association of Canada.

It is important that Aboriginal economic development and political leaders who are creating and strengthening their own unique approaches to community and business development bring forward and share ideas and examples how the "new" economy and emerging government policies are impacting their communities — for better or for worse. We look forward to hearing from you!

Editors' Introduction

Warren Weir and Wanda Wuttunee

In this "practical" and "hands-on" section, we publish pieces from the front-line members — trained economic development officers, community corporations, and entrepreneurs, all working in the field of Aboriginal community and economic development. In past issues, the articles in this section have included community-based and leadership case studies and interviews, evaluative commentaries on popular and current approaches and tools of Aboriginal economic development, the advocacy of best-case approaches and solutions — including successful and failed efforts — and the identification of important economic development problems that are in need of solutions. A popular aspect of this section is the overview and profile of various individuals and organizations that have been recognized at previous CANDO conferences and Annual General Meetings.

To start us off, Delilah Mah points out in her article on the 2008 CANDO Economic Development winners that sustainability is at the heart of successful community economic development strategies. Louis Joe Bernard from Nova Scotia is heavily involved with local economic organizations. Strategic planning is his particular strength. Kamloops Indian Band, also a winner, emphasizes partnerships and specializes in Aboriginal leasing and taxation issues. Cree Regional Economic Enterprises Company, with a long history of many successful businesses, has a strong strategic framework that has contributed to its success. The 2008 winners answer a series of questions about their successful economic efforts and invite readers to contact them for further information and ideas.

Next, Fitzgerald's article focuses on the experience of five First Nations in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. Ten years ago the communities had 95% unemployment. Today they have full employment. Leadership insights are shared while their story of encouraging entrepreneurship is laid out. Can all types of business activity co-exist in your community? Is there support for entrepreneurs and how do they fit with community-owned businesses? Are communities able to be successful and place limitations on economic activity? These are some questions you may want to explore further with the people noted in this section.

2008 ECONOMIC DEVELOPER OF THE YEAR AWARD WINNERS

Delilah Mah
CANDO WESTERN EDUCATION & RESEARCH MANAGER

INTRODUCTION

Aboriginal economic development is a journey of sustainability that is founded upon captivating business ventures or entrepreneurship. It could be simply creating employment opportunities, building a sustainable community, facilitating Aboriginal economic development opportunities, or embracing Aboriginal culture and values. Each year CANDO awards the Economic Developer of the Year Award to an individual Economic Development Officer (EDO), a community and an Aboriginal Private Sector Business.

What are the criteria of receiving the Individual Economic Developer of the Year Award? It could be recalling experiences of feeling alienated, or going through many challenges, or simply fretting when the path of economic development seems unclear. It means not quitting and in the end, succeeding.

What are the elements that are considered in earning the Community Economic Developer of the Year Award? It may be moving forward at a steady pace, listening and learning from others or gaining practical expertise along the way. It could involve multitasking, networking, planning, or building long-standing relationships within a variety of sector mentors.

What are the criteria of receiving the Aboriginal Private Sector Business Award? A few prerequisites might be success through investing in education or taking initiative of economic development opportunities. It could be teaching or mentoring aspiring entrepreneurs or knowing when to utilize creativity and determination or it could be discerning when to proceed and when to wait patiently.

The three awards are about honouring and sharing exceptional leaders' journeys as they pave the way for future economic development officers (EDOs). The following are this year's 2008 Economic Developer of the Year Award winners.

LOUIS JOE BERNARD

INDIVIDUAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPER OF THE YEAR AWARD WINNER

Louis Joe is a member of the Mi'kmaq Tribe of Indians residing at We'koqma'q First Nation, Nova Scotia. Louis Joe began his career in economic development when he attended the Yellowquill College located in Portage La Prairie, Manitoba. He was enrolled in the Native Economic Development Program and graduated in 1993 with the Academic Excellence Award.

After graduation Louis Joe secured employment with Aboriginal Business Canada (ABC) as a Development Officer. His responsibilities included the External Delivery Program until December 1993. Following this experience he went on to work with Ulnooweg Development Group Inc., as the Commercial Accounts Manager. After nine and one half years at Ulnooweg Louis Joe decided it was time to move on. He

successfully secured employment with the Union of Nova Scotia Indians as an Economic Development Advisor.

The Union of Nova Scotia Indians (UNSI) is a tribal organization affiliated with the seven bands in Nova Scotia: Membertou, Eskasoni, Pot'lktek, Wagmatcook, We'koqma'q, Indianbrook and Acadia. During these years with Ulnooweg Development Group Inc., Louis Joe became a member with the Institute of Business Consultants (MIBC) and obtained his Small Business Counsellor certification. Louis also received a United Kingdom certificate from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, as a Lands and Trust Officer.

During his time with UNSI Louis Joe earned his Professional Aboriginal Economic Developer (PAED) designation from the Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers (CANDO). In 2008, Louis Joe received the Economic Developer of the Year Award from CANDO. Currently, during the summer months Louis Joe is pursuing a Masters of Business Administration in Community Economic Development (MBA-CED) through Cape Breton University.

His Community

We'koqma'q First Nation is located between 50–350 kilometres from the nearest service centre in Nova Scotia. It has year-round road access. We'koqma'q First Nation was established on January 31,1833 originally called Whycocomagh and was not officially declared a band until 1958. It would not be until June 24, 1958 that We'koqma'q held its first election for Chief and council.

Currently, the community's *Well Being Index* is a product of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada's Research and Analysis Directorate. It was derived from the *2001 Census* and has become recognized as a means of measuring the well being in Canadian communities. The index combines indicators such as income, education, labour force activity and housing conditions into a single number called the CWB score. The CWB scores may fall between zero (0) and one hundred (100) with one hundred being the highest. A score was generated for each community that participated in the *2001 Census* allowing an at a glance look at the relative well being of the communities. Waycobah First Nation received a score of 59, the lowest of the 13 First Nations communities.

His Work Experience

I began working as an Economic Development Advisor for UNSI on October 31, 2002, and I was appointed the member of large in 2003 for the Board of Directors, Nova Scotia Apprenticeship Division. Currently, I am a part of the Mi'kmaq Advisory Board with Maritimes and Northeast Pipelines and the Assembly of Nova Scotia Chiefs. I am also a committee member for Kwilmu'kw Maw-klusuaqn (KMK) Benefits Committee and I represent the Aboriginal organization for Nova Scotia on the Regional Project Management Advisory Committee (RPMAC) and the Project Review Committee (PRC). I am the Nova Scotia Co-Chair for the Atlantic Aboriginal Economic Development Network (AAEDN) and am a member at large for the Unama'ki Economic Benefits Committee.

Aboriginal Economic Development Initiatives

I have initiated the Community Analysis and Assessment for We'koqma'q First Nation, along with the Economic Development Strategic Plan for the Union of Nova Scotia Indians. Also, I coordinated an Atlantic Apprenticeship Trades Strategy for Nova Scotia.

Innovative and Groundbreaking Elements of His Aboriginal Economic Development Initiatives

Since UNSI was started more than 40 years ago, there has not been a strategic plan in place. It was a legal team in Treaty Research and Implementation of Aboriginal and Treaty Rights who conducted the majority of the work. This year Indian and Northern Affairs (INAC) will establish a revised funding mechanism for Tribal Councils — the new and improved *Framework Agreement on Economic* INAC and Aboriginal Business Canada (ABC). Our rebuilding the Aboriginal Economic Development Strategy will lessen the impact of revised funding arrangements from the Federal Government.

Community Challenges

We'koqma'q First Nation's approach to economic development was always reactive not proactive. It clearly needed a change in policy, procedures and practices. The Chief and Council have been struggling to adapt to changes to Chief and Council and re-educating the Council by adopting a vision and mission for the future of the community. It has been a constant struggle; however, change is inevitable and leadership has to take a major role for the community to follow.

Effects of initiatives on surrounding communities Currently, there are no significant changes readily visible.

Partnerships

Currently, partnerships that were formed are working well, for example; Unama'ki Economic Benefits Office is working towards cleaning up the Sydney tar ponds. A recent announcement describes one of our First Nation's companies that will be partnering with another non-native company on a contract worth 14 million dollars.

Contributions to the Field of Aboriginal Economic Development

My contribution to Aboriginal Economic Development has always been to bring awareness to non-native communities and to develop partnerships such as re-building Aboriginal economic development in our communities.

We are willing to develop our capacity to do the work and initiate change for the betterment of our communities. Becoming nationally recognized as an Economic Developer of the Year by CANDO has given me inspiration and courage to say that any First Nation person can accomplish things no matter where they come from and what background especially if you have the desire to succeed.

Advice for Aboriginal Youth

I would have to say, do not be afraid to take a calculated risk. Develop your capacity and take notice of successful partners and finally be aware of your surroundings and look for ways to improve.

KAMLOOPS INDIAN BAND (TK'EMLUPS INDIAN BAND)

COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPER OF THE YEAR AWARD WINNER

Community Profile

The Kamloops Indian Band (Tk'emlups Indian Band — **TIB**) is located in the Southern interior of British Columbia (BC) at the confluence of the North and South Thompson Rivers. The community's reserve is home to about 1/3 of its membership, which totals 1,072. A much larger community — the City of Kamloops (population: 86,000) — occupies the opposite side of the rivers.

The Band is part of a region that is home to 17 other Shuswap Bands. Its 5-hour road market radius includes Vancouver and Seattle or some 6 million people. Archeological records prove the community has occupied its territory for some 10,000 years.

The region's First Nation and non-First Nation communities are constructively integrated. Over 7,000 First Nations live in Kamloops property (8% of the City's population), while 5,000 non-First Nations City of Kamloops residents travel to work on the KIB reserve each day. The city provides fire services to the TIB reserve, while the Band sits on the city's Chamber of Commerce and economic planning boards.

The Band's government consists of one Chief and seven Councillors, organized as a portfolio system. Each politician has a primary and secondary portfolio. The portfolios are (1) Lands Leasing & Taxation; (2) Business Services; (3) Shared Services (Finance, HR and Admin); (4) Knucwentewc (Social Services); (5) Housing Services; (6) Cultural Stewardship; and (7) Planning & Engineering.

Community Business History

The Band's history of family private enterprise — ranching and farming — is documented as far back as 1860. Corporate (Band-owned) business history began in 1964 with the creation of an industrial park that is now home to some 350 tenants. Over time, this initiative spurred on the development of 9 other companies including a forestry company, a gas station, a car wash and a utility company, as well as a host of other business agreements. A second industrial park, an

RV park, a waterfront residential development and a restaurant are other Band-owned businesses currently under development.

Innovation

The Band has made significant contributions to Aboriginal leasing and taxation initiatives. Two national organizations — the First Nations Alliance for Land Management and the First Nation Tax Commission — grew out of the efforts of the Band's Lands Department. Department head Freda Jules and former Chief Manny Jules were instrumental in these developments.

Challenges

The single biggest challenge the Band faces, and continues to face, is the problem (and blessing) of growth. Over the last 4 years staffing levels have almost doubled to some 230 people. Creating the processes by which various departments interact efficiently with each other has proven difficult. In the words of TIB's Human Resource Manager David Leroux, *"we are remodelling an airplane while it is flight."*

After much trial and error, it has been discovered that change management is best addressed by bringing in specialized consultants to deal with very specific problems as required. The process is simple. If an answer to a problem cannot quickly be found on the Internet, or within the community's network, its cost is estimated. If the cost justifies it, an expert is hired.

Initiatives and Their Impact

It is estimated that the Band contributes some $250 million annually to the regional economy, primarily through its work as an employer, land lord, business operator and tax collector. Through its various initiatives the Band provides direct employment opportunities for not only Kamloops Indian Band members, but also residents of other nearby communities. Its staff includes 26 non-status workers and 54 workers from other Bands.

The Band is by far the largest landlord in the region. The reserve is home to over 370 non–Band-owned businesses, government agencies and NGOs. These organizations employ almost 6,000 people, most of who live off reserve. By providing land for employers, the Band contributes significantly to the City of Kamloops's tax revenues as most of the businesses' employees own a home and shop in Kamloops.

Partnerships

One of the Band's strategic goals is control the management of all government activities within its traditional territory. Consequently, Band representatives sit on many boards and a variety of partnerships have been formed. The following are some of the more interesting ones:

- Participation in a local gold mine, which includes the right of first refusal on mine vendor contracts, and a Band member recruiting (for employment) program.
- Participation in a local mountain sheep management society, which includes the right to operate hunting guide, and license auction services.
- Membership in the local forestry management agency, which includes fibre management, allocation and tenure rights.
- Membership on a local tourism board, which includes promotional opportunities that are used to advertise the Band's Pow Wow, Museum and Ethno-Botanical Garden.

Advice for Youth

Youth trying to start a career in economic development should try to get a summer job working either with a reserve or a municipal Economic Development Officer (EDO). This is the best way to determine if the work really can capture a student's interest — it serves as a reality check.

Following this approach, interested youth should sit down at a table and phone 12 EDOs. The pitch is, *"I am considering pursuing economic development as a career, and need some advice — and you have a reputation for being knowledgeable about the industry"*. Using the word "advice" is essential — people love giving it (come to think of it, even when you don't want it). The youth should then say, *"I was wondering if I could ask you 4 quick questions?"*, and they are in order, as follows:

1. How did you get into the field?
2. What do you like about the work?
3. What do you dislike about the work?
4. What is the starting salary?

The student then says, *"Thank you very much, that was very helpful, and if I come up with another question, would it be ok if I called you?"* They always say yes. The student then writes each EDO a short note thanking them for their time. This is important because, by telephoning, the student has just created 12 possible future job leads and references that need to be nurtured. Statistically speaking, it takes five "prospect touches" to close a big-ticket sale (such as a job); between the phone call and note, the student has already completed two of them. Some of the phone calls might actually cause the youth to be screened for a summer position, so they should be prepared to be able to explain why the work might be interesting to them.

The answers to the telephone questions will either turn the youth off to the industry, which will prevent wasting time chasing a dead end, or will create excitement, which will encourage the youth to pursue training. Two well-known Western Canada EDO programs are at Simon Fraser University and the Nicola Valley Institute. In Eastern Canada, the University of Waterloo also has a respected program, while Cape Breton University actually has a MBA in Economic Development Program.

CREE REGIONAL ECONOMIC ENTERPRISES COMPANY (CREECO)

ABORIGINAL PRIVATE SECTOR BUSINESS AWARD WINNER

CREECO Inc. originates of the James Bay Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA) signed in November 1975. The JBNQA is without precedent in the history of North America in relations between the State and Native peoples. It is a comprehensive Agreement encompassing economic development, employment and training, health and community services, land settlement, education, land transaction, environmental heritage, cultural heritage, recognition of traditional rights and interests, and compensation. There has never been any other agreement like it. The Agreement takes precedence over the Indian Act.

Soon after the JBNQA was signed, the Board of Compensation (BOC) was created. The BOC receives, manages, administers, uses and invests the compensation contemplated under the JBNQA. Cree Regional Economic Enterprises Company (CREECO) is a product of the BOC investments.

The BOC has 21 members — 2 elected members from each of the nine Cree communities for a total of 18 and 3 appointed Cree Regional Authority representatives.

CREECO has 9 Board members, all elected from members of the Board of Compensation.

All BOC and CREECO employees are Cree.

All compensation received from the JBNQA is strategically invested for the collective benefit of the Cree Nation of Quebec. The BOC balances the needs of each community with the need to preserve and grow the capital by establishing an amount on a yearly basis for distribution. Once the amount for distribution has been determined, the board members will vote on the allocation to the various funds:

- Administration Fund
- Community Fund
- Cree Rights Fund
- Major Capital Projects
- Education Fund
- Cree Arts Fund
- Insurance Fund

CREECO is a holding company of the following regional companies:

- Cree Construction & Development Company (established in 1976)
- Air Creebec (established in 1982)
- Valpiro (established in 1988)
- Gestion ADC (established 1996)
- Eeyou Eenou Reality Property Inc.
- CREEADGA

These companies were established to provide long-term benefit to the Cree Nation. CREECO has the mandate and mission to provide services and economic opportunity — employment, training and advancement to the Cree Nation with the ultimate goal of attaining self-sufficiency. All beneficiaries of the JBNQA are shareholders of our CREECO companies.

Our Corporate Structure

See Figure 2.

FIGURE 1

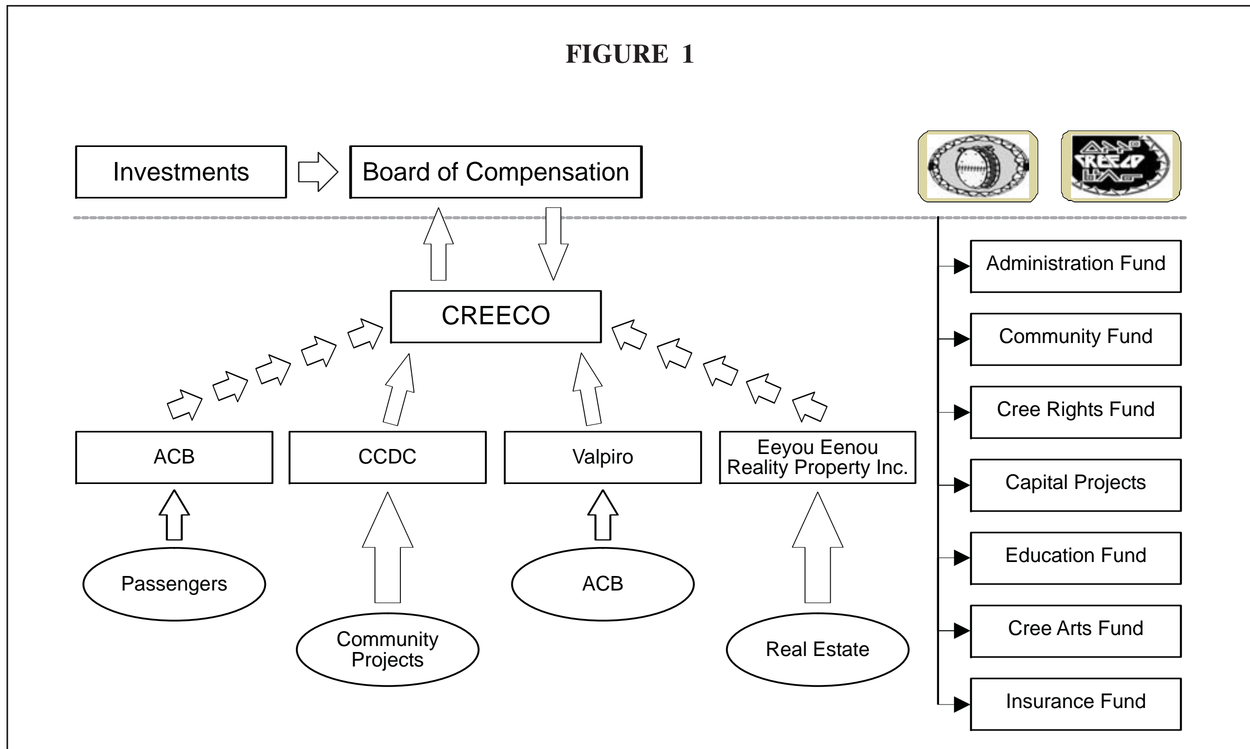
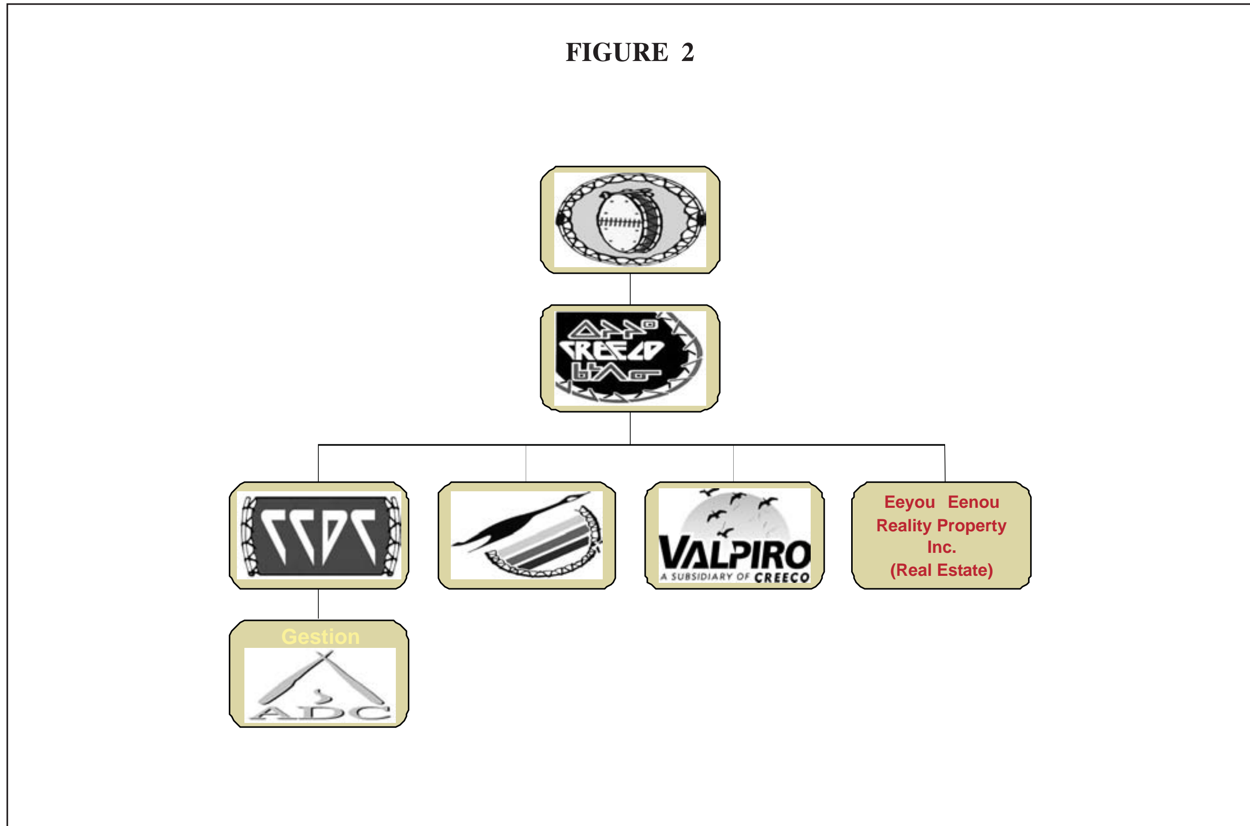


FIGURE 2



Our Companies

Cree Construction and Development Company

Our most senior company, Cree Construction and Development Company (CCDC) was originally created to address the need for housing and infrastructure. Our growing population and increased size of our communities continues to place demands providing CCDC with a wealth of experience — experience that has enabled it to expand its operations outside our territory. The company's mission is to promote local employment and economic development.

Founded in 1976, CCDC has become one of the largest and most successful construction companies in Quebec and was the first native entity to obtain ISO certification in Canada. It is acknowledged as the leader in its industry and region. For over thirty years, our team of project managers, technicians, procurement specialists, administrative and support staff has been delivering projects on time, on budget and at the highest level of quality.

CCDC mainly performs the following activities:

- **Civil Engineering** specializing in roadwork, municipal infrastructures, water and sewage networks, treatment facilities, excavation, earth moving, dikes, dams and other heavy equipment related projects.
- **Environment and Special Projects** managing projects related to crushing, reforestation, tree clearing for roads, power transmission lines, campsite installation and operation, airport maintenance, air traffic control and other environmental projects.
- **Building Works** erecting schools, sports and recreational centres, office and apartment buildings and other industrial and commercial facilities. It also develops turnkey housing programs.
- **Equipment and Road Maintenance** controlling CCDC's equipment fleet and managing over 1000 km of road maintenance contracts.

CCDC operates subsidiaries and participates in joint ventures for the construction of major highways, urban planning, tree pruning, food catering and maintenance for industrial facilities. Over the years, the company developed a strong ability in community planning, construction and management. CCDC's knowledge of the essential ingredients to build an environment where the quality of life is optimized is an added value for large groups of occupants in any particular context. Capability and experience in managing and undertaking major projects in remote and semi-remote areas either directly, through its subsidiaries or in partnership within the Cree territories, across Canada and internationally.

In peak construction period, approximately 700 workers are employed by the CCDC group, 60 of them being assigned to our administrative offices and workshops of Mistissini, Chisasibi, Laval, Nemiscau and Eastmain.

Gestion ADC

Gestion ADC is our catering and janitorial services company. It is the first Cree-owned company to make the PROFIT 100 list. Ranking Canada's Fastest-Growing Companies by five-year revenue growth, the PROFIT 100 profiles the country's most successful growth companies. Gestion ADC is a subsidiary of Cree Construction and Development Company (CCDC).

Gestion ADC achieved revenue growth of 270 per cent in the past five years — 2002 to 2007. The number of employees has jumped from 237 five years ago to 446 today in a company that prides itself on hiring Crees where possible. Today more than 30 per cent of their workforce is Cree. Gestion ADC is presently counting over 325 employees in the catering sector and janitorial services distributed in 16 different locations in the province of Quebec. William MacLeod, President of CCDC, the parent company, says Gestion ADC, has major contracts supplying meals to work camps at the hydro electric projects in the heart of the Cree Nation in the James Bay area of northern Quebec.

"This is an honour we share with every single worker who has ever been on our payroll," says Anthony MacLeod, Director of Gestion ADC. "Without the entrepreneurial foresight of the Cree leadership using money wisely to establish this much-needed business, our success would not have been possible." Gestion ADC was honoured at the 6th annual PROFIT 100 CEO Summit and Awards Dinner on June 17, 2007 in Toronto.

Air Creebec

Air Creebec is our regional airline. Air Creebec's beginnings date back to 1979. In 1980, the Crees were told "Indians don't own airlines". This statement not only did not stop us — it propelled us to move ahead and prove them wrong. Air Creebec was established in June 1982. At that time the Crees owned 51% of the company and Austin Airways owned the remaining 49%. In 1988, the Crees purchased all the airline assets in the largest commercial deal to that date performed by any Native group in Canada, making Air Creebec a wholly owned subsidiary of Creeco.

Air Creebec's primary purpose is to provide safe, reliable, and efficient air transportation within the Eeyou Istchee and beyond. It is acknowledged for its expertise and experience in aviation and in the region we serve. Billy Diamond was Air Creebec's first President (1982–1991). Albert W. Diamond became President 1992 and is still our President. We've grown from 1 plane to 17 planes. We've grown from 14 employees to 270 employees. We fly 130,000 passengers a year, make 15,000 departures a year and fly 4 million air miles a year. The year 2009 marks Air Creebec's 27th Anniversary. I also always think about how the Cree leadership at the time decided to get into aviation by forming a partnership with the owners of Austin Airways. I always felt and continue to feel that this was such an astute decision, in the sense that the Crees had never owned or managed an airline and needed the time to learn.

The decision made by the Cree leadership to get into the aviation industry through a partnership with people who were already in the airline business tells me that the leadership that we had at the time certainly knew what they were doing. It was the Cree leadership that negotiated with the Federal Government to provide the funding that made sure that the airports and other facilities were there in the Cree communities. Imagine how difficult it would have been for our airline, not only to get established, but also to be successful if such a program had not been negotiated. Albert is playing a leading role in the development of Aboriginal business in the country. Economic development groups — Cree and others — respect his views and appreciate his insight. He is sought after as a guest speaker, inside and outside the Cree community. Air Creebec has become the "flagship" of the Crees of Quebec.

Valpiro

Valpiro is our airport services company that not only supports our airline, but also provides services to other lines at the airports we operate from. Valpiro purpose is to provide safe, reliable and timely airport ground transportation services.

CREECO Career Opportunities

In September of 2007, CREECO, upon receiving the mandate from the Cree Nation Regional Government — coordinated a Regional Economic Development Conference within the Cree Nation of Quebec. Among many important results, this event highlighted that the youth segment of our population is our fastest-growing demographic. This generation represents the next big workforce entering the labour market. The issue of youth employment is now elevated and is more emphasized. In order to compete in this market, youth will need to enhance their personal qualifications, achieve higher levels of education, diversifying their knowledge base and by gaining exposure to different fields of expertise. There is a need to create and deliver informative presentations of career information that will create greater awareness and direct and encourage more of our young people towards higher education and specific skills training that will lead to meaningful employment in growth sectors of our workforce. CREECO is aware of this and is doing its part to encourage and increase employment within its ranks — within its subsidiaries: Air Creebec, Valpiro, Cree Construction Development Company and Gestion ADC. For more information please contact Rodney W. Hester, Business Development Coordinator at (418) 745-3931 or visit our website at <www.creeco.ca>.

CONCLUSION

Clearly, economic development involves taking steps forward towards self-sufficiency and when it comes to the accomplishments of Aboriginal peoples it is evident the award winners have strived to contribute to economic development opportunities of all types. By sharing their knowledge of

their journeys, this year's award winners have left a path to follow. Congratulations to the 2008 Economic Developer of the Year Award winners! Thank you for sharing your insight and best practice models!

SUCCESS OF THE UNAMA'KI ECONOMIC BENEFITS OFFICE

Owen Fitzgerald
MBA, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, UNAMA'KI ECONOMIC BENEFITS OFFICE

Below is the speech to National CED Conference at the University of Winnipeg, made on June 4, 2009, by Owen Fitzgerald, Executive Director, Unama'ki Economic Benefits Office, Membertou, First Nation, Nova Scotia.

This is a story of success, the story of a unique collaborative approach to economic development by five first nation communities in Nova Scotia. This economic success resulting from a unique economic partnership between the five first Nation communities in Cape Breton (Unama'ki). Cape Breton is building a strong new economy and the five First Nation communities in Cape Breton are proud to be part of this effort. Unama'ki is the Mi'kmaq word for Cape Breton.

Membertou is the First Nation community that is better known and is one of the five Unama'ki communities. The Unama'ki communities do face some significant challenges including unemployment, poverty and drug and alcohol addiction, often resulting in suicides by young people.

Some 10 years ago, Membertou had 95% unemployment and 95% of its revenue came from government. Today Membertou has full employment, a job for every person that wants to work. Through its economic ventures, Membetou now generates 70% of its own revenue. Membertou now employs about 700 people and 40% of these workers are non-Aboriginal.

This success is because of strong leadership. Leadership that is transparent and accountable. Leadership that understands business and is open to partnerships.

About 10 years ago, the Cape Breton economy was in free fall, with the closure of our steel plant and coal mines. At one time, 5,000 people worked in the steel plant and some 20,000 worked in the coal mines. In reality, the Mi'kmaq people were not part of this industrial age.

Now Cape Breton is building a strong new economy and the five First Nation communities in Cape Breton are now proud to be part of this effort. Today, the President of the Sydney and Area Chamber of Commerce (completed two-year term as president on May 20) works in Membertou as the Executive Director of the Unama'ki Economic Benefits Office.

It was strong aboriginal leadership that recognized the importance of taking a business approach to pursuing economic opportunities. They recognized the importance of partnerships with business and the importance of education. They also recognized the need for a business

For more information about the Unama'ki Economic Benefits Office, visit <www.unamaki.ca>.

office to do follow-up and make sure good intent became reality. This is an important point.

Over the years, there have been several agreements or MOUs between Industry, governments and First Nation Communities. There was good intent, but almost without exception, when you looked back a couple of years later, there was little or no tangible results for First Nation communities.

The Economic Benefits Office was established to ensure the details of these agreements are met. Now we have another agreement, a protocol agreement or MOU was signed on October 28, 2005 by the Unama'ki chiefs and the federal and provincial governments.

The aim was to identify how Unama'ki communities could have meaningful participation in the $400 million Sydney Tar Ponds Cleanup project. These Tar Ponds are the legacy of 100 years of Steel Making and 300 years of coal mining in Cape Breton. All parties committed to developing a unique, made in Unama'ki, Aboriginal procurement strategy.

In January 2007, representatives of the five Cape Breton First Nation communities met to discuss how they might be successful in having meaningful participation in the Tar Ponds Cleanup. From this meeting the group began a unique economic partnership.

They established a Steering Committee, made up of two to three representatives from each Unama'ki community. Other Aboriginal organizations are also represented on the Steering Committee, including Ulnooweg Development Corporation and METS, a First Nation training organization. This very dynamic committee is extremely active, meeting at least once a month, rotating between the five communities for its meetings. This committee is made up of and driven by the Mi'kmaq people of Unama'ki, not government.

The goal is to maximize the near-term economic benefits for Unama'ki communities, meaning jobs and contracts. The steering committee also aimed to expand the long-term expertise and economic capacity of Unama'ki communities and businesses. The immediate opportunity that drove this initiative was the $400 Million Sydney Tar Ponds Cleanup Project.

The Unama'ki Economic Benefits Steering Committee developed a proposal to establish an office to support their efforts. The proposal called for the provincial and federal governments to partner with Cape Breton's five First Nation communities in establishing the Unama'ki Economic Benefits Office. Unama'ki Economic Benefits Office opened in Membertou in July 2007.

This is an amazing story, an amazing story of success and of real community economic development. It is also a story of personal growth, because I grew up just a mile from Membertou and until a few years ago, seldom, if ever visited this reserve and never before has the president of the Chamber of Commerce worked for a First Nation community.

About four years ago I was asked to help set up an Entrepreneur Centre in Membertou and then this opportunity presented itself and I was asked to head this Economic Benefits Office. Now I have learned about a new culture, a new history and I have made many new friends. There are challenges, but my job is extremely rewarding and I am I feel the people truly appreciate the effort I put into the job and into building a stronger economic foundation for the Unama'ki communities.

My passion is in helping my community build a new economy and this First Nation community is part of my community. I operated my own business in downtown Sydney for about 25 years. But when our steel and coal industries shut down some 10 years ago, I knew I had to change if I was going to survive and certainly Cape Breton had to change if it was going to survive. I decided to go back to school and finally completed my business degree and then found myself in a masters program, completing my MBA in Community Economic Development at Cape Breton University.

Two conclusions that came form my studies were that, to build a stronger community and stronger economy, you first need to build a stronger individual. I also found that often people involved in Community Economic Development, focus too much on the social side and not enough on the business side of development. The danger with this, is that often, worthwhile projects are short lived and just are not built upon a strong business foundation. They just aren't sustainable. The holistic approach is important.

I consider myself very fortunate to be involved in my community's economic development, from a macro level, with the Chamber

of Commerce and from more of a micro level, in my work with the local First Nation communities.

I would like to take the credit for the great success our office has had, but the truth is, the communities have taken ownership of this effort and the many representatives on the Steering Committee, are very committed and engaged in this process and have provided strong leadership. This effort is driven by the communities, by this steering committee. The Steering Committee provides our office with its direction. Our office simply acts on this direction.

In May 2009 I attended a speech in Halifax by President Bill Clinton and he pointed out how it is important what we do and the amount of money that will be invested, but the most important and difficult question is, "HOW YOU WILL DO IT!"

Let me provide some of the how, and provide some detail of what our office does and how our office has evolved and why it has been successful to date.

The office acts as a liaison between the aboriginal communities, both aboriginal and non-aboriginal businesses, and the Sydney Tar Ponds Agency. This is a massive project. One statistic the Tar Ponds agency provided us really stood out. They will need 21,000 truck loads of gravel and this is just one of many such needs.

The office also facilitates partnerships and collaboration, thereby creating jobs, experience and expanded capacity. It also undertook an assessment of assets and capabilities within the five communities and an assessment of the needs of the Sydney Tar Ponds Cleanup project. The office also provides guidance and organizes training to ensure Unama'ki businesses are successful with their proposals and bids.

We don't claim to be experts on all this, but our office will bring in experts, engineers, estimators and the such, to conduct these workshops. Efforts center around information sharing within the communities, liaison between Unama'ki companies and the STPA and providing support for companies and workers. Quite simply, the primary objective is getting contracts and jobs for Unama'ki communities.

The Economic Benefits Office continues to work on a database that is in effect an Inventory of community assets, or asset mapping. The Economic Benefits Office is collecting data on employment, education, and businesses in the Unama'ki communities. Good data is required to make good decisions. Some 1,600 individuals have been entered, as well as most businesses in the Unama'ki communities

After years of planning and negotiation, in October 2007, the Unama'ki Economic Benefits Office helped secure an agreement for the first Nova Scotia Aboriginal set-aside. It was for the cleanup of the Cooling Pond, a contract that involved the Stabilization and Solidification process (S&S) and was valued at $5 million. The contract was successfully completed in April 2008, and employed 22 aboriginals for six months.

The Economic Benefits Office negotiated an agreement where by, in order to bid on a set-aside, a company had to be at least 51% Aboriginal owned and commit to 75% of employees being Aboriginal. Aboriginal participation on the Cooling Pond project was 85%.

We know that because our agreement with the Tar Ponds Agency, required that they provide monthly employment reports. This monitoring or holding people accountable is important and helps in accounting for success. If it isn't working, you want to know early on so you can correct the problem.

Three Aboriginal Construction Companies won the tender to work on the Cooling Pond.

Here is a quote from the President of the STPA,

> The Cooling Pond project is a clear success. Without question this is largely attributable to the aboriginal contractors working on the project....

More than 300 members of the Unama'ki communities have participated in the many information and training workshops this past year. The Economic Benefits Office continues to conduct job fairs and workshops to provide the most current and detailed information on the Tar Ponds Cleanup project. Some workshops also provided expert information on issues such as bid bonds, financing and preparing a business plan.

Our Office has hosted workshops with a representative of Canadian Executive Services Organization (CESO), a retired engineer, speaking on preparing a bid to a major construction tender as well as on the issue of bid bonds.

Other workshops were put on with Public Works Government Services Canada, on how to use MERX, the governments online tendering system. The Unama'ki Economic Benefits Office and the Nova Scotia Department of Transportation and Public Works also hosted job fairs in several Unama'ki communities in 2008.

The office is now promoting the success of the Aboriginal construction companies at the Tar Ponds Cleanup, hoping to encourage large non-aboriginal companies to partner with aboriginal companies or hire aboriginals that now have the skills and experience in working on a major environmental remediation project that uses the unique stabilization and solidification process.

The Economic Benefits Office has since negotiated additional Tar Ponds set-asides. On Sept.25, 2008, the provincial and federal government signed a new Unama'ki Procurement Strategy in Eskasoni that includes a total of over $19 million in Aboriginal Set-Asides that will see significant and long-term participation by Aboriginals in the Sydney Tar Ponds Cleanup project.

This agreement builds upon the success of the Cooling Pond project and with a long-term commitment, allows the Unama'ki communities to plan and train for these opportunities. A long-term commitment is key. This took months of negotiation, before all parties recognized the importance of a long-term commitment so the communities could plan and train for success.

Membertou Chief Terry Paul said, "This is a great start to ensuring aboriginal participation in this $400 million cleanup project and a great opportunity for local Aboriginals to demonstrate their abilities and build experience and capacity. This is positive, not just for the Cape Breton First Nation communities, but for all Cape Breton, he said, "This is just the beginning, as we build upon this success."

"One major outcome of the first Nova Scotia Aboriginal Set-Aside, is that these companies don't just have hope, they now have confidence and a growing determination to succeed."

On March 7, 2009, the most significant contract to date in the $400 million cleanup of the Sydney Tar Ponds and Cokes Ovens was awarded a First Nations Company in Membertou, NS. MB2 Construction was successful with a bid of $37.6 million to build a complex water diversion system to allow the movement of millions of gallons of water daily around the tar ponds in preparation for the solidification and stabilization of both beginning later this year.

The Honourable Peter MacKay, Minister of Defence and Nova Scotia Minister of Justice, Cecil Clarke, were in Membertou to announce the contract. The contract was award to a joint venture involving MB2 Excavation and Construction Ltd. of Membertou and Beaver Marine Ltd. of Port Hawkesbury. The contract is in addition to an earlier agreed upon $19 million in Aboriginal set asides and it is important to note that this $37 million contract was not a set-aside and was won by an Aboriginal company in a bidding process that was open to any construction company.

Chief Terrance Paul of Membertou said, "This is HUGE! Building on the earlier successful solidification and stabilization of the Cooling Pond, MB2 Excavation and Construction jointly bid this project outside the set-aside framework and won. This is an important milestone for First Nations companies in respect of the cleanup."

"We are building on the success of the Cooling Pond remediation project, said Robin Googoo, President of MB2 Construction. "We were one of the first companies in eastern Canada to gain hands on experience in stabilization and solidification. That gave us confidence and allowed us to build capacity in preparation for this new contract."

Chief Paul went on to say, "Our people and our companies are gaining valuable experience and building important business relationships. Now we are seeing the fruits of this hard work."

This is positive, not just for the Cape Breton First Nation communities, but for all Cape Breton. And this is just the beginning," said Chief Paul, "We need to be successful in business if we are to be self sufficient and have self determination."

The Economic Benefits Office, recognizing the importance of training, developed a detailed training program. At a press conference in Membertou on July 28, 2008, the Federal Government announced a multi-year, multi-million dollar training program, for the Unama'ki communities. This is part of the National Aboriginal Skills Employment Partnership, or ASEP. The focus of this program is to tie training to indus-

try needs and this ASEP project is the first ever in Nova Scotia, and only the second in the Maritimes.

"To ensure maximum participation by members of the Unama'ki communities and to build upon the recent success of Unama'ki construction companies working on the Tar Ponds Cleanup project, training is required," said Chief Terrance Paul.

Some significant local construction projects and this unique economic partnership between the Five First Nation communities presented this opportunity to respond to a request for proposals from the federal government for the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership.

The Unama'ki Economic Benefits Office, on behalf of the five First Nation communities in Cape Breton, prepared a long-term training proposal in response to this RFP. This program provides several million new training dollars for the Unama'ki communities over the next four years.

Through this collaborative approach, this multi-year initiative expects to create and retain up to 150 full-time jobs for local Aboriginal people in the construction industry and commits to construction industry related training and training upgrading for 500 local aboriginals.

The local First Nation communities are now considered an integral part of the local economy and the local business community, with Membertou taking a leadership role. They are now an active member of the local Chamber of Commerce. The steering committee is now exploring the possibility of establishing a Mi'kmaq Chamber of Commerce and in June 2009, the Executive Director of the Economic Benefits Office and Tracy Menge, a member of the steering committee meet with the chair of the Aboriginal Chamber of Commerce in Winnipeg.

The Tar Pond project is still a critical part of this economic development effort. It is providing valuable experience and helping build capacity and expertise and perhaps most importantly, it allowed our office to broaden its horizons and explore other economic opportunities and partnerships.

We are focusing on our strengths and constantly looking for new opportunities and we are now training people for these new opportunities. One such opportunity is with DEVCO, the federal crown corporation responsible for remediation of all the old mine sites

Xstrata, perhaps the world's largest mining company, is doing exploration work into possibly opening a new, modern coal mine in Cape Breton. This could be a $300 million project

New Page Pulp Mill in Port Hawkesbury hosted our Steering Committee for a briefing and tour last June. This is another opportunity. When we go to a company like this, we seek a detailed breakdown of their workforce and the skills they need and what job openings they are projecting in the near future.

In November 2008 our Steering Committee met with senior management for the proposed new Container Terminal for the Port of Sydney. This is a $200 million project. In April 2009, two staff from our office, including myself, visited the new container terminal in Prince Rupert, BC. The purpose was to better understand the social and economic impact that such a development might have on our community and to better understand the employment opportunities. Again, we prepared a detailed report on our findings from this visit.

Our Steering Committee is interested in more than just labour jobs or construction jobs, they want our office to seek ways to engage more young aboriginals in the field of science and build business management expertise. You need a vision, and our Steering Committee has a vision. We are exploring opportunities to partner with Cape Breton University in R&D, especially in the area energy and environmental sustainability. Energy and environmental sustainability are of huge importance to the whole world, making it a great opportunity, especially because of our local experience with environmental remediation and with our huge energy reserves.

The Immediate Opportunity is the huge coal reserves under the coastline of Cape Breton, some 150 billion tons of coal. This is a bigger energy reserve than the Alberta Tar Sands. In fact, the sixth largest energy reserve in the world. We want to be part of the R&D into innovative ways to extract the energy from this coal, not by conventional mining. We're talking about mining the energy, in a way that turns one of the dirtiest energy sources, into one of the cleanest energy sources.

Perhaps one day there will be an Aboriginal Clean Energy Centre in a Cape Breton First Nation community, one focused on clean coal. Perhaps through research and development, we could build internal expertise in clean energy, especially clean coal technology, thereby becoming leaders and partners and gain a seat at the boardroom tables, where decisions are made and opportunities identified. This is an idea, but perhaps one day it will be a reality.

Our office has had considerable success and impact in less than 24 months of operation. But the reality is, we are in a severe global economic recession. Efforts of the Economic Benefits Office are now more challenging and more critical. Expectations have to be realistic and the focus is now on planning to ensure the Unama'ki communities are in a strong position when we come out of this recession.

In the January 2009 Federal Budget the federal government committed to spending billions of dollars on infrastructure, both to stimulate the economy and provide long-term economic benefit. This presents a new opportunity that we are exploring.

All this requires that our office builds its own capacity. A year ago there was just two of us in the office. As the steering committee identified a need, we sought a way to fund the position and searched for a qualified person to fill the position.

I am the only non-aboriginal in the office. Our office now has a staff of six full time employees, including. Myself as Executive Director, an ASEP Training Coordinator, a Procurement-Community Business Liaison Officer, an Administrative Assistant, a Training Support-Job Coach Officer and a Manager of the Membertou Entrepreneur Centre.

To better serve and to better engage the other Unama'ki communities, earlier this year the Economic Benefits Office opened satellite offices in two of the other communities. Careful management of the office budget helped make this possible. Also, two of the new employees were from these other communities and that made it more practical to establish these satellite offices. This is helping us better engage and better service the other communities.

There are challenges. It's almost impossible for an Aboriginal to secure a bid bond, basically because of section 89 of the Indian Act. It is a challenge for small construction companies to now prepare successful bids on multi-million dollar tenders. It is still a challenge in Negotiating Positive Partnerships. There are still companies and people out there that will intimidate and take advantage of someone just learning. It is a challenge to build a strong business history so the business will be considered when bidding on large contracts and so banks will give them credit.

We also need to encourage and support more people to open their own construction companies to tap into the opportunities. The reality is we just have a handful today, but that is more than we had just a couple of years ago.

It is also a reality that few Mi'kmaq kids study science and engineering, few are involved in R&D and few are in senior management positions in business.

But we have made progress in the last two years, significant progress, and as Chief Terry Paul said, we're just getting started.

The economic benefits office also puts great effort into communication. The office keeps an updated web site to share information and sends out a newsletter to the communities on a bi-monthly basis. The office issues regular press releases to local and Mi'kmaq media on its activities.

In April 2009, we launched a 22 minute video documentary, telling a story of success, the story of Mi'kmaq involvement in the Sydney Tar Ponds Cleanup project. The Video is called, "*Experienced, Capable, Ready*," our story of success. This video was produced by a local Aboriginal company, WCCTV in Wagmatcook First Nation.

Success of the Unama'ki Economic Benefits Office, is do to its strong business approach to economic development, strong engagement of the communities in its steering committee, strong communication, effective partnering efforts with government and industry and a strong training program that is tied to industry needs. This is just the beginning!

Editors' Introduction

Warren Weir and Wanda Wuttunee

In this second section — Lessons from Research — budding and well-established professors and academic researchers contribute theoretical and peer-reviewed articles to assist with the ongoing description, analysis, and evaluation of various aspects of Aboriginal economic and business development in Canada. Over the years, we have also seen the discussion expanded geographically. We now receive and share research on Indigenous communities and their economic and business development and advancement from individuals researching and writing around the world. As globalization is an unstoppable economic phenomenon, we will present in this section content that will add to and inform the ideas presented in the Canadian context.

In this issue we find two intriguing pieces. The first, by Barnes and Wallin, not only provides an overview of developing and approving impact benefit agreements (IBAs) when formalizing partnership agreements between Aboriginal communities and corporate entities, but also highlights the importance of ensuring that the IBAs are sustained through community-based monitoring, consultation, evaluation, and — if need be — conflict resolution. The second paper, by Nikolakis, explores ways in which Indigenous communities can ensure, and predict, whether their enterprises are and will be successful or not. The author, based on extensive research in Northern Australia, identifies four categories of factors he believes are instrumental in the success of Indigenous enterprise development. He concludes that the development of successful Indigenous enterprise depends fundamentally on business survival supported by Indigenous community values.

AFTER THE ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT
A Tale of Development on Attawapiskat Traditional Territory

Suzanne M. Barnes
ATTAWAPISKAT FIRST NATION

Ruben J. Wallin
DE BEERS CANADA

The federal Environmental Assessment (EA) for De Beers' Victor Project received approval in August 2005. In June of that same year, Attawapiskat First Nation had agreed to the development by passing the Impact Benefit Agreement (IBA) in a vote (85.5%) in favour of the IBA and the mine development. Since that time, there has been some work looking at the EA process (Bowie, 2007) and former Assembly of First Nations National Chief, Phil Fontaine in a speech to the Prospectors and Developers Association, on October 12, 2007, said that the De Beers/Attawapiskat model was what development should look like; however, no one has looked at or even widely publicised what has happened since the IBA and EA were approved. With construction completed and the mine officially opened in July 2008, how has development proceeded since the EA? The EA was not the end of Attawapiskat's involvement in Victor but only the beginning. Chapter 7 — the environmental chapter of the IBA — has been fully implemented for over two years. This paper will document the processes and procedures that have been put in place to ensure Attawapiskat First Nation continues to be involved, consulted and accommodated as the mine operates.

BACKGROUND

The De Beers Victor Project is located on Attawapiskat First Nation traditional lands, approximately 90 km west of the community of Attawapiskat and 500 km north of Timmins, on the James Bay lowlands in Ontario. The federal Environmental Assessment (EA) for De Beers' Victor Project received approval in August 2005. In June of that same year, Attawapiskat First Nation had agreed to the development by passing the Impact Benefit Agreement (IBA) in a vote (85.5%) in favour of the IBA and the mine development. Since that time, there has been

This article is an updated version of a presentation given at the Kiskisiwin: Remembering Stories & Histories Conference, University College of the North in Thompson, Manitoba, May 12–14, 2008.

some work looking at the EA process (Bowie, 2007) and Assembly of First Nations National Chief, Phil Fontaine in a speech to the Prospectors and Developers Association, on October 12, 2007, said that the De Beers/Attawapiskat model was what development should look like; however, no one has looked at or even widely publicised what has happened since the IBA and EA were approved. It is important to note that Attawapiskat First Nation had several mechanisms in place to ensure a successful development occurred on their lands:

- an IBA in place before construction began;
- access to the raw environmental data;
- independent review of the data, reports, and permit applications;
- a seat at the permitting table throughout construction and development; and
- a mechanism in place through the IBA to deal with unanticipated environmental effects.

It is believed that these mechanisms have been a key factor in the success of the "Working Together" partnership between the Attawapiskat First Nation and De Beers.

AFTER THE ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT

Chapter 7 — the environmental chapter of the IBA — has been fully implemented for over two years. The processes and procedures that have been put in place to ensure Attawapiskat First Nation continues to be involved, consulted and accommodated as the mine operates are outlined and discussed in the following sections.

Consultation

Consultation has not finished with the completion and sign-off of the environmental assessment, but it has changed. Part of the IBA agreement with De Beers outlined the environmental consultation process. This process included the formation of the Environmental Management Committee (EMC) with a requirement to meet monthly through construction and every two months through operations. Also, at least one community meeting a year is required to be held; although over 20 have been held since the approval of the EA. The Traditional Ecological Knowledge Committee (TEK Committee) has also been involved throughout construction, as well as periodic briefings to Chief and Council. Between September 2005 and May 2008, 64 meetings have been held with the community/TEK Committee, EMC and Chief and Council. There have been many more meetings and conference calls between De Beers, Attawapiskat First Nation Director of Lands and Resources, as well as various government agencies and non-governmental organizations.

The Federal and Provincial governments and De Beers have agreed to all permits being reviewed by Attawapiskat First Nation. No permit is issued without a letter of support from Attawapiskat First Nation. The review process includes information sharing and input from a number of sources: the EMC, Chief and Council, the Community, the TEK Committee, consultants working on the community's behalf and De Beers. This review process is lead by the Attawapiskat First Nation Director of Lands and Resources.

Environmental Management Committee (EMC)

The Environmental Management Committee is a requirement of the IBA. The terms of reference are contained in the IBA. It consists of the Attawapiskat First Nation Director of Lands and Resources (DLR), two Attawapiskat First Nation community members, the Safety, Health and Environment Manager (SHE Manager) for Victor Mine and two De Beers staff members (at this time those members are the Senior Environmental Co-ordinator, and the Technical Services Manager). The SHE Manager and the DLR alternate chair/secretary duties. Meetings have been held monthly since February 2006, with only three meetings missed due to scheduling difficulties and the traditional goose hunt in April. The committee has worked together in a spirit of cooperation and good faith with a view of making the best decision possible. It is considered by some the most successful part of the IBA. The committee reviews permits, environmental incidents, environmental and heritage resources reports, the results of environmental monitoring programs, and makes recommendations regarding environmental issues or concerns related to the mine.

Chief and Council

Chief and Council are briefed as time permits. The Chief and Council agenda is often full and getting time on the agenda is challenging; however; since the elections held in July 2007 the new Chief and Council have decided to schedule special meetings to be briefed on project-related information and other issues. The Chief is copied on all letters sent regarding permit-related issues. The Chief also receives copies of meeting summaries from community and TEK Committee meetings.

Community

Community meetings are held regularly as needed. Through the construction phase there have been approximately twenty meetings held since the environmental assessment was completed and permitting for construction began. The project community channel on the local cable television service has also been utilised to provide information to the community. A community newsletter and website are also proposed, although they have not been fully implemented at this time (May 2008).

Traditional Ecological Knowledge Committee (TEK Committee)

The Traditional Ecological Knowledge Committee was formed as part of the environmental assessment work but existed in other forms before this; it was originally a steering committee developed to guide/inform exploration around the Victor Project. It was originally thought the committee may have served its purpose, particularly since it is not mentioned in the IBA; however, it became apparent early in the construction phase that this committee was a valuable piece of the community's continued involvement in the Victor Project. Meetings have been held regularly, as needed through construction. TEK continued to be collected, on a focused basis, to assist with environmental issues and programs during the operation of Victor Mine.

Mining Monitor

The Mining Monitor is the "eyes and ears" of Attawapiskat First Nation at the Victor Project site. This position works observing the environmental staff, taking samples, participating in the environmental management and generally ensuring that the community's concerns and interests are respected. The Monitor files reports to the DLR and senior Victor environmental staff after each rotation. These reports are also reviewed by the EMC and he makes periodic reports at meetings in the community. The Monitor's roles and responsibilities are outlined in the IBA. The Monitor has access to the entire site and any environmental reports.

Conflict Resolution

The conflict resolution process is set out in the IBA. In general terms, the steps are as follows:

- Any EMC member may commence the Environmental Dispute Resolution process by providing written notice to the EMC Chairperson
- The EMC has 30 days to find a resolution to the Environmental Dispute
- If the EMC cannot find a resolution to the dispute, the matter would typically be referred to the Chief and the General Manager of the Company, who would do one of the following:
  - Resolve the dispute;
  - Refer the dispute back to the EMC for further consideration with appropriate direction; or
  - In the case of a complex technical issue, refer the matter to an independent environmental arbitrator.

In all cases, the intent is to resolve the dispute within 30 days.

A list of independent environmental arbitrators was agreed upon by Attawapiskat First Nation and De Beers following the signing of the IBA, but prior to the occurrence of any environmental disputes. As a result, any disputes should be resolved in a transparent and unbiased manner. Decisions of an arbitrator are considered to be final and binding upon both the Attawapiskat First Nation and De Beers. Costs associated with an arbitrator are shared between Attawapiskat First Nation and De Beers.

Follow-up Program Agreement (FUPA)

The Follow-up Program Agreement is a result of the environmental assessment. It covers moni-

toring that may not be part of any permit issued in the construction or operation of the mine but that has been agreed to as part of the EA. At this time Attawapiskat First Nation, the Federal Government and De Beers are signatories to the agreement. It covers the following areas of study:

- Atmospheric Systems (air quality and climate)
- Surface Water Systems (water quality, creek and river flows, and fish habitats)
- Groundwater Systems
- Terrestrial Systems (wetlands and wildlife)
- Malfunctions and Accidents
- Traditional Pursuits, Values and Skills
- Heritage Resources
- Environmental Health
- Socio-economic (business, employment, training).

It also requires the formation of a number of committees to over see this work. Community participation in these committees and monitoring programs is vital to its success.

The FUPA is envisioned to be a "living program", and thus will change over time based upon the results of the various monitoring programs and recommendation from the committees. Ultimately the intent is to ensure that concerns of Attawapiskat First Nation are addressed and that the environment is protected.

DISCUSSION

To date, the implementation of Chapter 7 of the IBA has gone well and Attawapiskat First Nation and De Beers have worked together to ensure permits and environmental programs are good for both groups. However, there will be challenges in the future.

Continuing to engage the community in the consultation process will be a challenge due to the amount of environmental permits and programs associated with the project. Meetings are regularly planned to keep the community informed and copies of the presentations are often played on the project community channel, through the local cable service; however, meeting turnout can be small at times and complaints that people don't know what is going on occur and these can be frustrating. Meetings are translated and translated summaries of the material are often available. It is not perfect but everyone involved continues to work at keeping the community informed.

Also, community participation in the FUPA may be a problem as funding is not available on an ongoing basis; it must be secured each year. Funding for the research is available so the monitoring will occur. In addition, the anticipated evolution of the FUPA programs, based upon monitoring data, could create misunderstandings if the changes are not clearly and effectively communicated.

CONCLUSIONS/ RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The structure and conditions in Chapter 7 of the IBA are appropriate for both Attawapiskat First Nation and De Beers and provided a solid and realistic platform for implementation of the agreement.
2. The implementation of the Chapter 7 has been successful because both Attawapiskat First Nation and De Beers have been committed, via the EMC, to working together to make the best decision possible for the community and the project. Attawapiskat First Nation and De Beers have honoured the commitments in Chapter 7.
3. Despite the on-going challenges, the EMC has been able to establish and maintain channels of communication with Chief and Council, the community, the TEK committee, the company, and various government agencies and non-governmental organizations. Although it takes an enormous amount of energy, it is clear that effective communication is fundamental to the success of the implementation of Chapter 7.
4. Sufficient funding has been provided via the IBA to allow the operation of the EMC (including hiring the DLR), the establishment of a Mining Monitor position at the Victor Mine site, allow of independent environmental arbitrators, translation services, and miscellaneous studies and programs required to effectively implement Chapter 7.
5. Funding needs to be made available from the Federal Government for community participation in FUPA.

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DETERMINANTS OF SUCCESS AMONG INDIGENOUS ENTERPRISE IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORY OF AUSTRALIA

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this research is on Indigenous enterprise development (IED) in the Northern Territory of Australia, much of it on inalienable and communal Indigenous land. Indigenous enterprise development is said to be different from other forms of enterprise development because of the legal rights of Indigenous peoples and because of particular cultural attributes, which are found to shape notions of success and approaches to development. A total of fifty six in-depth, face-to-face interviews were conducted with experts or opinion leaders on IED in the region.

The findings in this research emphasize that certain cultural attributes may act to constrain successful enterprise development, but can be integrated into an enterprise through changes in enterprise structure, or practice, to support successful economic outcomes. Four categories of factors that support the development of successful Indigenous enterprise are identified: developing business acumen, integrating culture within the enterprise, separating business from community politics, and greater independence from government. While definitions of success varied across the region there were common objectives for Indigenous enterprise, such as eliminating welfare dependency and maintaining a link to land. Ultimately, success for Indigenous enterprise was deemed to be business survival, but in ways that are congruent with each Indigenous community's values.

INTRODUCTION

In Australia, economic development and wealth creation are seen as a strategic priority in addressing Indigenous disadvantage (SCRGSP, 2005; 2007). Enterprise development is a key component of this and after four decades of government economic and enterprise development initiatives, Indigenous Australians continue to suffer a widening economic disadvantage and often function outside the mainstream economy (Foley, 2000; 2003; 2006; IBR, 2003; SCRGSP, 2005; 2007). This research brings understanding to those Indigenous enterprise development

efforts, at a communal and individual level, within the context of a unique land rights regime in the Northern Territory, where Indigenous people represent a large segment of the population and own half the land base under inalienable communal title (NLC, 2007). It is in this context that Indigenous Australians are in the deepest socio-economic disadvantage (Hughes and Warin, 2005; SCRGSP, 2007). Also, policymakers are faced with complex economic development challenges with the existence of significant structural and economic constraints to market involvement (Altman, 2001).

The barriers to Indigenous enterprise development are numerous and well documented in the literature (Altman, 2001; Kinfu and Taylor, 2003; Young, 1995). However, definitions of success and factors that contribute to success in the Australian Indigenous context are not well articulated in academic research (Evans, 2006; Foley, 2000; 2003; Hindle and Lansdowne, 2005). The absence of literature on success prevents guidance in research efforts and benchmarking to support enterprise development. This research represents the most recent scholarly study to understand notions of success and factors that contribute to success for Indigenous enterprise development in this region. This research offers a contribution to existing knowledge and literature on Indigenous economic development and entrepreneurship, as well as offering potential tools to policymakers and practitioners.

METHODOLOGY

The research reviews literature in an international and domestic context on Indigenous economic development and Indigenous entrepreneurship, as well as internal and external documents of relevant institutions, and news sources. These data sources are triangulated with in depth face to face interviews conducted with opinion leaders and experts, using a purposive and snowball method to select participants. Fifty six participants were interviewed using a semi-structured format, representing a variety of interest groups in the Northern Territory of opinion leaders as identified by Hindle and Lansdowne (2005) such as those in government, community, business, politics and academia. In total 62.5% of those interviewed were Indigenous. Using a snowball approach, the researcher proceeded with data collection until no potential participants or new data emerged, which is when the research was concluded (Douglas, 2003; Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

The literature emphasizes the use of tested methods of qualitative inquiry, in particular in-depth interviews, in understanding the burgeoning fields of Indigenous economic development and entrepreneurship (Hindle and Lansdowne, 2005; Foley, 2000; 2003). Qualitative inquiry is effective in bringing meaning and understanding to complex phenomena, particularly in emerging fields like Indigenous enterprise development, which are rooted in dynamic social systems (Lofland and Lofland, 1984). This method provides the most effective way to delve into meanings and values such as those socio-cultural values of Indigenous peoples (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Foley, 2000). Qualitative data offers in depth analysis of phenomena through the use of quotations, a thorough description of events, relationships and observed behaviours (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Patton, 1991). Importantly, it enables an illumination of links between behaviour with values and culture, and the literature has indicated that cultural and social norms, heritage, and community are seen as important in the study of Indigenous economic development and entrepreneurship (Hindle and Lansdowne, 2005; Jorgensen and Taylor, 2000; Peredo and Chrisman, 2006).

Interview Format

The data collection commenced in August 2004 and was finalized in March 2007, with the subsequent analysis concluded in July 2007. Two interviews were conducted with most participants and interviews ranged from 30 minutes to 3 hours. A time frame of 30 minutes to 1 hour was adhered to in most cases to avoid fatigue as suggested by Silverman (2001), however, some participants wanted more time to discuss issues in the research that were important to them. In some instances interpreters were used and a set of interview questions was tailored to Indigenous people with English as a second language. Most interviews were one-on-one and face-to-face, however, sometimes participants requested to bring a friend or a family member to the interview. Anonymity and non attribution were assured to participants and confidentiality was

important to participants given the sensitive nature of some of the issues raised. Interviews were conducted in the homes of most Indigenous people involved in enterprise and community leadership, and for those involved in government or other agencies the interviews were conducted at their offices. Where possible, a second round, and sometimes third round of interviews were undertaken with some participants to refine issues, test preliminary findings and to understand the impact of changes to the policy and institutional environment on enterprise development. As per the University of South Australia's ethical code of conduct for human research, the usual steps were taken in terms of providing information briefs, copies of transcripts as well assurances of anonymity and non attribution, as well as secure possession of interview transcripts. The consent of the research participant was obtained formally in most cases through signing an interview consent form, however, some Indigenous participants preferred to give verbal consent. The tape recording of interviews was not used to ensure participants were comfortable in speaking frankly. The researcher was particularly sensitive in interviews with Indigenous participants given the language and cultural differences and there was a pre existing trust through previous work in the region, as well as the use of personal introductions (Foley, 2000).

The research design sought to create reciprocity in the researcher-researched relationship through a participatory research design, avoiding the problem of 'drive-by research' where Indigenous people provide knowledge to researchers but get little benefit in return as research findings are inaccessible, or unrelated to their social problems (Smith, 2002). The research findings were taken back to participants to clarify emerging issues then finally compared to the literature, increasing validity, reliability and credibility of findings (Auberbach and Silverstein, 2003; Miles and Huberman, 1994). This flexible, semi-structured, open-ended design allowed themes to emerge. Each theme was then capable of being investigated more thoroughly as they became more important to the study (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Orlikowski, 2002; Silverman, 2001). There were four stages to data analysis: an *emergent phase* where findings were tentatively drawn; a *confirmatory stage* where findings were proved or disproved; a *cross case analysis stage* where patterns and relationships were discerned from the second confirmatory stage; and, then finally these generalizations where tested *with theory or existing knowledge on the topic*. Coding and categories developed during the analysis of data were verified by an independent researcher and findings were tested in the field with participants to increase reliability and validity (Auberbach and Silverstein, 2003; Miles and Huberman, 1994).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Background

Much of the literature on Indigenous enterprise development focuses on barriers, particularly in the context of the Northern Territory of Australia (Altman, 2001; IBR, 2003; Evans, 2006). In the context of the Northern Territory, there has been little work done which identifies how Indigenous enterprise defines success or factors that determine success for Indigenous enterprise, this study seeks to fill this gap. Anderson et al. (2004) identify two important questions in terms of Indigenous enterprise development: (i) defining and developing measures for success, and (ii) identifying the factors that contribute to success as defined by Indigenous people. Understanding guidelines to success assists policy makers in creating policy and initiatives which support both potential and existing enterprise, and resources can be used by bureaucracies more efficiently and effectively (Henrekson and Roine, 2006).

There have been identified two general forms for indigenous organizations. One is communal socio-economic and legal structures, and, utilization and ownership of resources and property (Peredo and Anderson, 2006). The second type provides the kinship bases for economic and social organization in indigenous communities (Dana et al., 2005; Peredo and Anderson, 2006). Foley (2000; 2003; 2006) identifies an Indigenous entrepreneurship approach in Australia and that the idea and determinants of success diverge according to the nature of business ownership, therefore success is likely to mean different things for a community business enterprises than for an individual Indigenous entrepreneur (Foley, 2000; 2003; 2006). A review of literature on success and determinants of success for Indige-

nous enterprise in a domestic and international context follows.

What Is Success?

For Indigenous enterprise there has been no commonly accepted definition of success developed in the Australian context (Arthur, 1999). Foley (2000) has explored success for Australian Indigenous entrepreneurs, and this includes contributing factors such as a need for achievement and a desire to provide for family. Smith (2006) identifies that First Nations in Canada view success in terms of the level of legal and political jurisdiction derived from enterprise, as well as the number of community members employed, and success it is emphasized is not primarily profit based. Examples of objectives sought from communal Indigenous enterprise could include asserting greater control over traditional lands, rebuilding the social fabric of communities and severing dependence on governments and welfare (Anderson et al., 2005; Anderson et al., 2006; Pearson, 2000; Peredo et al., 2004; Peredo and Chrisman, 2006; Smith, 2006). Success also varies from stakeholder to stakeholder, for example government may see Indigenous business development as key for addressing Indigenous disadvantage (Duncan, 2003), but government may measure success in terms of loan repayments to government funding programs (Arthur, 1999). In general, shareholder value or growth may not be the primary aim for an indigenous business. Therefore, standard measures and benchmarks of success may not necessarily apply to an indigenous business as they may place a greater emphasis on social value or in sharing among kin, sometimes even usurping profit motives (Peredo et al., 2004; Wuttunee, 2004).

Factors for Success

In terms of determinants of success for Indigenous enterprise in an Australian context, there have been various non-academic efforts, such as the Indigenous Business Review (2003) report to the then Federal Minister for Indigenous Affairs. While the IBR report did not explain the importance of patterns or test findings against theory in a rigorous way, it did show factors which contribute to success included a need for achievement, a strong work ethic, a structural separation of social and commercial issues, and greater independence from Government. There are also broader scholarly efforts in Australia to understand those attributes that support success for urban Indigenous entrepreneurs (Foley, 2000; 2003). The discussion on the failure of Indigenous enterprise development in the Northern Territory is generally couched in terms of themes such as a lack of capacity among Indigenous people, archaic land rights legislation, the need for socio-cultural change, inalienable land title, a shift away from communalism, or the need for greater interaction with the mainstream (Howson, 2005; Hughes and Warin, 2005). Altman (2001) identifies structural, historical and geographical constraints to the establishment of enterprise in the Northern Territory. A policy report entitled 'Removing the Welfare Shackles' released by the Australian Minister for Aboriginal Affairs in March 1998 (Herron, 1998) relates enterprise failure to the conflict of commerce and culture and it asserted that successful businesses must be based purely on commercial rather than cultural imperatives. However, international findings offer that acculturation can have negative implications on business development and success (Jorgensen and Taylor, 2000). Some research shows that at a grassroots level development projects are more successful when they reflect local customary practices (Escobar, 1995).

It is generally agreed that culture plays a unique role in economic success for Indigenous entrepreneurs, with both positive and negative ramifications possible. Hindle and Lansdowne (2005) claim that important to success are an integration of heritage, with a balance of culture and business capacity, and they also underscore the significance of accountability to stakeholders and autonomy to business success — they do not articulate a separation of business and politics. However, Hindle et al. (2005) offer that success is influenced by stable and good leadership, and boards separated from changes in government, emphasizing a separation of business and political functions. Peredo and Chrisman (2006) found that organizational form is important, as are creating social norms as tools for business success. This illustrates the importance of community in success for Indigenous enterprise, as well as the significance of social capital and networks. Schaper (1999) underscores differences in

approaches between Indigenous Australians, who have kinship obligations, while non-Indigenous Australians believe in individual rights. The basic operating unit for Aboriginal Australians is society, whilst for non Aboriginal Australians it is the individual. Anderson et al. (2004), Peredo and Chrisman (2006) and Hindle and Lansdowne (2005) emphasize the importance of kinship to Indigenous economic development as a support network. While Foley (2000) found that Indigenous cultural networks serve to constrain Australian Indigenous entrepreneurs. Foley (2003) argues that the network and success nexus for Australian Indigenous entrepreneurs was significant. Foley (2003) argues that cultural networks are often not conducive to business in an Indigenous context, finding that successful entrepreneurs had to diminish their cultural bonds. However, in community businesses Evans (2006) puts forward a convincing case for the inclusion of community elders on a council to provide oversight for a project.

There are a variety of structural options which have been determined as contributing to success in the Australian Indigenous economic context. Indigenous enterprise has been characterized as placing a higher importance on employment (Peredo and Chrisman, 2006; Wuttunee, 2004). The IBR (2003) found that employment should not influence business decisions, reflecting a profit-maximizing approach to enterprise, arguing that "employment subsidies may artificially make a business that is unsustainable viable in the short-term" (p. 26). Importantly, the IBR (2003) states that "there is a large incidence of failure amongst these [large] businesses and this is the biggest area of confusion between business and social principles, often leading to the commencement or ongoing support of non viable businesses" (p. 99). Arthur (1999) determines that commercial and social goals should be more clearly distinguished within Indigenous businesses, and found that small businesses in an Indigenous context have more likelihood of success as compared to communal structures as there is more incentive to make the business work. Young (1995) argued that cross cultural barriers result in inappropriate government policy, and 'assimilationist ethnocentrism' within an inflexible bureaucracy reduces the potential for enterprise development. The IBR (2003) pointed to an objective bureaucracy administering enterprise funding programs and effective leadership in the community as improving the chances for success**.** The IBR (2003) argued that those businesses that are tied to a particular resource or opportunity are more likely to be a successful, as well as those Indigenous businesses with a link to private sector to access expertise and mentorship. In relation to funding options, Nagy (1996) argues that innovative approaches such as debt/equity or more customized lending to Indigenous people involved in enterprise on communal land can alleviate the challenging economic conditions.

The factors for success for Indigenous enterprise have been more widely explored in Canada and the US. Cornell (2005) found that for First Nations business to be successful there must be: a clearness of business objectives; a functional and successful method for dealing with the separation of politics and business within the enterprise; the strategic direction, as well the efficacy and make-up of board of directors is crucial. Also important are impartial dispute resolution systems and communication with the local community and other stakeholders on the business operations and performance. Galbraith and Stiles (2003) see the political endowments opened to Indigenous people as key to success and the ability of tribes to act politically to leverage opportunities is important. This highlights the political nature of Indigenous enterprise development efforts, but the literature reflects that political influence must be carefully managed (Trosper et al., 2008). Trosper et al. (2008) found that profitable enterprises are instrumental for achieving a range of community goals in the context of First Nations forestry enterprises in Canada, and it was seen as necessary to be profitable for the business to meet a range of sociocultural objectives. Trosper et al. (2008) identified factors important to profitability such as controlling the influence of political decisions on day to day business decisions through boards of directors separate from political institutions. This was identified as a challenge in many First Nation communities given human capital constraints. However, it was crucial to have clear and distinct roles for political and business officials. Trosper et al. (2008) found that the use of traditional leaders, such as elders, in formal roles had the effect of reducing profitability, and those communities with stable institutional envi-

ronments and rules were more likely to establish profitable enterprises. In summation, the findings from the literature indicate the complexity of Indigenous economic endeavours, and that flexibility and innovation are key to cultivating success.

Discussion

The findings in this research emphasize that while success is defined in many ways by participants, there are commonalities on specific issues, such as survival, community employment and sustainability. In addition to these definitions of success, the study identified four general factors for success, these are: integrating certain cultural attributes, developing business acumen, separating community politics from business, and achieving greater independence from government (particularly around funding).

What Is Success for Indigenous Enterprise?

The definition of enterprise success varies among the diverse range of Indigenous enterprises in the study region. Some common themes emerged in the research in terms of defining success for Indigenous enterprise regardless of their ownership structure, such as the achievement of economic self-sufficiency and overcoming welfare dependency. The research found that enterprise development in the region is both an objective and a process to meet a range of socio-economic goals. The continuing link to land, protection of the environment, as well as the preservation and maintenance of sacred sites and intergenerational benefit, were central features in defining success for Indigenous enterprise. The nature of the enterprise as well as the type of ownership structure has an important influence in how an enterprise determines success. For example, it was found that Indigenous entrepreneurs saw success as providing a future for their family, reflecting the findings of Foley (2000), whilst for community enterprise there were a range of broad mixed commercial and social objectives to be funded through enterprise income.

It was found that developing a single definition of enterprise success was challenging, therefore, the study sought to develop an understanding of the different objectives that when achieved constitute success. A common theme in describing enterprise success among participants was the importance of looking after 'community'. An Indigenous community councillor articulates that a successful enterprise is one that "*doesn't wreck sacred sites, employs local people, Aboriginal mob [and] puts money into the community.*" The study found that the tension between social and commercial outcomes in an Indigenous enterprise is significant, particularly given the social problems in many towns and communities. As described by an Indigenous Community Chairperson, "*It doesn't matter about profit. Job is the most important thing, not having to go the city. There are lots of unemployed people, need to get people working, so they get healthy and fit.*" This trade-off is important in the literature on Indigenous enterprise and in this study the prioritization of these objectives is highlighted as an important debate for improving the chances for success. Some participants argued that profit maximization should not be sought, but rather more important is full employment and capacity building to alleviate social problems in communities. Under this perspective, a business would be a success if it developed capacity but was not profitable, as a community business manager argues, "*Profit in enterprise should be secondary to the jobs and capacity building from being involved in enterprise.*" Achieving tangible social outcomes was viewed by a number of participants as an important strategic priority, more important than profit maximization. A non-Indigenous government participant reflects that "*if you have enterprise that is established to get your brothers off the grog, or to move people to outstations to escape domestic violence all it should have to do is break even....*" These mixed commercial and non commercial objectives in collective structures reflect the findings of Peredo and Chrisman (2006), Peredo et al. (2004) and Smith (2006) in an international context, which underscore this as a distinguishing feature of Indigenous enterprise efforts.

Conversely, a number of participants identified success in enterprise primarily by the level of profit the business generates, from which social outcomes follow. A partner with a major accounting firm articulates, "*I'd probably have to start from a formal position that is 'business is business,' run on business lines. It needs to be run as a business, they fail if they aren't run as a busi-*

ness, but income can be used for social aims. When you marry the social and commercial that's the time they fail...." Several participants argued that by pursuing full employment and not profit maximization, objectives within the enterprise become confused and shortages in cash restrict growth — increasing the risk of failure. A number of Indigenous participants did not see profit as a priority compared to potential social outcomes. However, the research emphasizes that a business must be profitable to receive funding and support from government, confirming the findings of Arthur (1999). The study identified that government indicators of success in supporting enterprise development are primarily profit driven and aimed at integrating Indigenous people into the broader Australian polity, through employment, and reductions in socio-economic inequality. This tension between maximizing community employment and profit maximizing reflects a divide in participants' views on success. There are those participants who argue that a strong social responsibility exists, and those who view profit maximization as key in meeting the objectives of Indigenous people.

Several participants supported a clear delineation between social and commercial objectives in the enterprise, like that underscored by the IBR (2003), and that contributions to social programs be sourced solely from dividends. This debate is influenced by the level of social dysfunction present in many of the communities in the region, where eradicating welfare dependency and the associated social problems is of utmost significance to stakeholders. The research revealed that commercial objectives become absorbed into broader social and political objectives such as improving health, gaining economic independence, reducing dependency on government and non-Indigenous people. Ultimately, it was viewed that survival was an important indicator for success in Indigenous enterprise. An accountant for a major firm identifies that "*it's very hard for business to be established for Aboriginal people. Anything that survives more than 2 or 3 years is really a success*", though in itself this was not a sufficient definition of success. Also crucial is community benefit (which can often be difficult to define) and involvement. A community executive officer articulates, "*Success, yeah sure it's about profit, survival is success, but you have to do it in a way that is proper way with countrymen, with old people. If you don't do it that way then you'll find yourself ostracized from your people and to me that's a fate worse than death.*" To achieve success in enterprise, it is generally seen in the research that it must be consistent with the particular norms and values of the community.

Therefore, the research in this context largely supports the findings in an international context of Cornell (2005), Peredo and Chrisman (2006) Trosper et al. (2008), as well as in Australia with Arthur (1999), that identified the tension between employment and profitability in determining success for Indigenous enterprise. The research found that dealing effectively with competing commercial and social prerogatives in enterprise is an important factor of success for Indigenous business. This point underscores the interrelationships between ideas and measures of success, barriers to, and factors contributing to success for Indigenous enterprise. However, the research highlights that allowing social prerogatives to influence commercial decision making in Indigenous enterprise can be seen to lead to failure, confirming the findings of Cornell (2005) in the North American context

Factors for Success

There were identified in the research four categories of factors that contribute to success for Indigenous enterprise on communal Indigenous land in the Northern Territory:

1. Separating Business from Community Politics
2. Integrating Culture
3. Business Acumen
4. Greater Independence from Government Funding

Factor for Success: Separating Business from Community Politics

The research underscores the importance of group cohesion to communal business success, and that managers must shelter business decisions from political interference. This is often challenging given the human capital deficiencies in many Indigenous communities across the region where managers and directors may sit in various commercial, social and political roles. A charter may support a separation of political and business

functions. Also important is broad and patient consultation across diverse stakeholder groups, by a leader who has two way skills, that is the ability to effectively operate in the Western and Indigenous realms. Involvement of elders and the community are also crucial to overcoming suspicion and maintaining stability in the enterprise, as was illustrated by Evans (2006).

The research found that high levels of social conflict and suspicion in many Indigenous communities restrict successful enterprise development activity. This conflict reduces consensus and strategic orientation among decision makers, as well as diminishes the potential for investment into communities. Conflict may emerge from a number of sources, for example where communities in the region are populated by heterogeneous Indigenous groups pushed together, as well as legislation that prescribes divisive tests for Indigenous identity. Participants emphasized that overcoming conflict is crucial. One Indigenous CEO describes what is required: "*[the a]bility to put historical conflicts, suspicions and competitiveness aside [between clans and families], this is the biggest barrier. Create an environment of trust. Identify a direction across the community through strategic plans. You have to tap into the 'Element' group, a section of the community who support goals constructively [they] should be encouraged.*" Overcoming conflict requires a focus on developing positive relationships throughout the community and establishing a common ground and a shared direction.

A lack of awareness of the western system can cause suspicion and, potentially, conflict. The research found that when making important decisions, patient consultation that broadly engages in local language is important to overcome suspicion and bridge understanding. Leadership can support this, particularly a *two-ways* leader, as reflected in the work of Hindle and Lansdowne (2005) who suggest that for success a business must combine cultural knowledge and business acumen. As a business consultant suggests, "*... they [leaders] have to please people in two worlds, they have stakeholders in the community and to the government, [and] in fact it might be three or four government departments. So you have to be a master of your own culture so you get the license to operate on your country as well the tools to operate a business.*" Therefore, the ability of a leader to effectively bridge both Western and Indigenous cultures and create understanding among stakeholders is important to success.

The level of consultation is important for all major decisions made by the enterprise, particularly those involving land. Notably, the time frame for engagement may not always fit with commercial realities. This confirms the findings in a North American context of Cornell (2005), who finds that a communication strategy is essential to success. This point is particularly important culturally as there are social sanctions that may lead to conflict and community division if protocols are ignored. Risks may include cutting oneself off from kinship, as one government business development manager describes: "*You must be accountable to those who have a stake through family and ceremony and have a say and affiliation with land, you can't stomp on them ... you run the risk of separating yourself from ceremony and kin, you're treated as a white fella.*" Other effects include reduced community support for the enterprise and low employee morale, leading to high staff turnover.

The research emphasizes that it is important to involve elders in governance in a symbolic way, supporting professionals on an executive board. This helps increase transparency and legitimacy in the community, avoiding the potential for conflict by improving understanding of cultural protocols. These two bodies, it was argued, should operate independently to ensure transparency but must remain effective and pragmatic to ensure success. A business consultant describes how it can be achieved, "*You can separate elders from strategists and professionals by having an operational board and a strategy board which have short and long-term time frames respectively in the formulation and implementation of decisions. The operational and strategy boards must be kept separate but are equally respected.*" Although Trosper et al. (2008) found that elders' involvement in business decision making was found to reduce profitability for First Nations forestry businesses, this research emphasizes that elders are important for maintaining community support for the enterprise, ensuring long-term survival (which may be a trade-off for reduced profitability), as was put forward by Evans (2006).

The research found that where Indigenous people have an active stake in an enterprise in their community they are more likely to support it and perceive it a success. The level of Indige-

nous involvement in enterprise has historically not been meaningful, as an Indigenous academic conveys, "*Aboriginal people are only used as labour. There is not enough incentive to make enterprise work.*" Therefore, businesses that enable Indigenous people to participate in a meaningful way are seen to encourage further enterprise development, improve employee morale and support capacity building efforts. According to a senior bureaucrat, "*Passive investment to me is really no ownership. In those situations people are less likely to be proactive in protecting the resources.... It's valuable to be inclusive in business enterprises.*" This confirms the findings of Peredo and Chrisman (2006) who offer that community participation is important to the long-term success of community business enterprises. However, community involvement is impeded in the Northern Territory by the level of social dysfunction present in many communities, as one senior Indigenous bureaucrat underscores, "*safe communities are crucial, look at [Z], all the sad and bad stuff that goes on there. Cultural practices have all but ceased, there is no economic activity.*" Therefore, the enterprise may be inhibited in involving the community in the enterprise in a meaningful way where there is dysfunction. This in turn will hinder efforts to overcome suspicion and conflict and its pernicious effect on enterprise. Important is a holistic approach which aims to improve social as well as economic outcomes simultaneously in a carefully managed way, improving the chances for enterprise success. Further research is required on this issue; a sociological analysis of barriers to Indigenous community involvement in enterprise is warranted.

FACTOR FOR SUCCESS: INTEGRATING CULTURE

Integrating culture is important to the success and sustainability of the enterprise. Some cultural practices may work against enterprise and smaller structures may be unable to integrate these, and as Foley (2000) argues some cultural practices may have a negative effect on entrepreneurs. However, this research finds that in community enterprise, integrating culture is crucial for long-term success, confirming the findings in an international context of Peredo and Chrisman (2006).

This research confirms the findings of Foley (2000) that certain Indigenous socio-cultural norms were identified to be at odds with the development of a successful enterprise. Participants suggested that Indigenous cultures in the Northern Territory must adapt and develop Western values like professionalism to succeed in enterprise. A senior Indigenous political figure and entrepreneur elaborates that in terms of Indigenous enterprise he has observed in the region, "*Accountability is a foreign concept, it is not easily accepted. The elders control the process at the end of the day.... There is no cultural aspect to enterprise at all.... An effective example of a sound Aboriginal enterprise is [XY], there are no cultural aspects at all to this business, it is purely a non-indigenous structure, there are Aboriginal managers and staff but they have been employed purely on competence, and it works.*" This research does not confirm the work of Herron (1998), who found that Indigenous culture should be excluded from an enterprise for success. It was found that Indigenous people involved in enterprise development should adopt only those Western values required to run a successful enterprise, for instance, values and norms such as professionalism and reliability. A government enterprise program manager states that "*[i]f you have responsibility you don't want to turn your back on culture. You have to put culture here and work there. You have to be professional, Western culture requires you to be. I mean if you have a tour booked and you don't pick the people up then they are going to be angry, they will tell everyone not to go on your tour.*" Important at an operational level is to manage the norms and values that work against the success of enterprise through protocols that reduce their negative impact.

Reforms such as the use of job pools and controlling time off for ceremony are important in balancing success with employee morale. A fluid, team approach to Indigenous enterprise is important to success for community enterprise, as requiring Indigenous staff to disengage from cultural responsibilities is challenging according to participants. As a non Indigenous business consultant argues, "*You can't lock people in for work that will just embarrass people like that. You have to have a job pool, that way you can rotate people. You need a team approach to enterprise, just like football, you apply the same concepts to community business.... The business approach*

should be fluid. It should be as flexible as possible whilst being professional to be a success...." The research identified several examples where attempting to exclude culture has worked against the success of enterprise. However, at the same time practices such as people attending ceremonies or funerals have impacts on the enterprise, particularly when Indigenous employees are away from work frequently and for extended periods of time. An academic argues that "*... you must act within the restraints of plans. Sorry business ["funerals"], if selective in attending this, instead of carte blanche, businesses are more successful*." As described in the work of Hindle and Lansdowne (2005), cultural heritage is important to success for Indigenous enterprise, and it is important to match this with business acumen. Therefore, integrating culture at an operational level within enterprise requires a unique approach that balances the needs of enterprise and the community. This integration is generally only viable in larger, communal structures.

Some participants highlighted that a challenge in larger communal enterprises is the competing demands of commercial and socio-cultural imperatives for resources at a board level. An Indigenous community enterprise CEO argues, "*You must keep the social and commercial separate. Governing committee members, one or two, should be on each arm's board to eradicate suspicion, like with us, we are arguably the most successful Aboriginal organisation up here at the moment, so we kept [C Inc] separate from the social arm of the Nation. We have to create information flow between these two arms to maintain transparency. Money earned can only be reinvested in the business, not distributed as dividends.*" Separating social and commercial functions at a governance level reduces the pressure of social demands on the decision making of an enterprise, allowing for growth, and confirming the findings of Cornell (2005). However, the level of social dysfunction in communities requires some level of enterprise support for social objectives in the community. This is important in maintaining community support which is central to defining success. Therefore, the research underscores that there must be clarity between social and commercial aims within an Indigenous enterprise for success. As illustrated earlier, involving elders at governance level in a symbolic role is important in maintaining community support, and can help the enterprise in navigating cultural protocols (Evans, 2006).

At an operational level, pressures in the kinship system to provide free goods or for the use of company assets, which is exacerbated by the level of socio-economic disadvantage in many Indigenous communities, can be avoided by creating rules and practices within the enterprise that work with culture, a senior Indigenous bureaucrat elaborates that "*[k]inship can be adaptable, there is a store at X, and they have set it up so that you don't get served by family members, they have it so certain skin doesn't serve other skin.*[1] *It's fairly simple to say you can divorce yourself from culture, but you can't switch off.*" As well as the enterprise adapting, the community must also adjust to certain practices, and a community wide education process to achieve this is seen as important. A senior bureaucrat argues that "*There needs to be an education process, you can't accept something until you understand it.... Before some white people ran it [a community store], the community didn't know what was going on. Now people feel ownership of it, now they are beginning to understand why they can't give free food to their family or friends. People now had to balance the till, people have responsibility and it shows ... within 6 months they turned a profit, within 12 months they were making a profit of $150,000, this is compared to a loss $150,000 the year before. They had to really change the knowledge and culture of the community.*" Clearly, facilitating a greater understanding of the inner workings of economic endeavours can only support business success.

This study found that Indigenous culture need not be excluded as argued by Herron (1998), but can potentially offer Indigenous enterprise a competitive advantage in terms of differentiation, particularly in the tourism or arts sectors. A non-Indigenous senior bureaucrat articulates that in terms of enterprise success "*[You] need [a] match between cultural rhythms and employment. Match the competitive advantage*

[1] The skin system is a classificatory system of kin relations beyond immediate family.

of culture and community, with business outcome.... [A] Sustainable business is born of mechanisms and processes which allow people to maintain culture and country, it is a unique and competitive advantage, need to find ways to use in business context...." Participants found that through developing business models that integrate Indigenous culture, the potential for business success may be improved. The research emphasizes the importance of building a business around cultural norms and values, combined with a community-wide education process to encourage adaptation in the community to enterprise.

Factor for Success: Building Business Acumen

The research highlights a limited business experience and knowledge among Indigenous people in the Northern Territory which further entrenches dependency on non-Indigenous agents, supporting the findings of Young (1995). While a non-Indigenous agent with unique cross cultural skills and business acumen can help overcome human capital deficiencies in the short-term, over the long-term, for success, there must be the ability for Indigenous people in the community to develop the skills to manage the enterprise. A knowledge transfer can occur through innovations in the development of business plans and financial statements through the use, for example, of colours, and pictures. These innovations empower the community to press for accountability and may over the long-term develop human capital.

English is often a second, third or fourth language in parts of the study region, with many Indigenous people having little formal Western education. There is little market activity in many of these regions and consequently among the Indigenous population there is little business experience and capacity. Participants emphasized that these factors restrict the scope of development opportunities that can be pursued, further entrenching dependency on outsiders and government. Addressing this important area is crucial for promoting successful enterprise development. According to an Indigenous academic, "*...people lack education and confidence ... you get the white fella to do this and that and you just sit down. If people are going to better communities they must develop.*" Therefore there is a reliance on non-Indigenous agents to bridge this lack of understanding, particularly in administration and financial management, as reflected by a senior non-Indigenous bureaucrat: "*Things haven't changed, where we talked about management, usually where there's an indigenous and non-Indigenous person that works well, usually it's the non-Indigenous person handling all the administrative side and going after the funding, they really run the numbers and what have you.*" This work supports Hindle and Lansdowne (2005) who argue that for success there must be a combination of cultural knowledge and business acumen. The research affirms that non-Indigenous agents, who have unique cross cultural skills, as well as business management expertise, play an important role in determining success for Indigenous enterprise. Foley (2000) raised this as an issue to explore, in particular the importance of a non-Indigenous spouse to Indigenous entrepreneurs success, which was found in several cases.

Therefore, important to building success in enterprise is a non-Indigenous agent, this agent is generally able to engage the mainstream system as well as having financial management skills. Several participants argued that the non-Indigenous agent's ability and expertise are a unique combination that goes beyond managerial skills. Non-Indigenous agents have to overcome cross cultural barriers and work in a range of challenging roles, as well as being an effective manager. Cross cultural training may support better outcomes in this area. A business consultant describes, "*I like to think about non-Indigenous people working with indigenous communities in terms of the 4 M's, the Missionary, the Misfit, the Madman and the Mercenary.... You need the resolve of a missionary, you need to be a madman to deal with the chaos in communities, you need to be a misfit to deal with the different types of groups and behaviours, and you need to be a mercenary to do get the job done for money.*" The research found developing long lasting relationships with non-Indigenous agents was found to be both a factor for success but at the same time a risk over the medium to long-term that must be managed. This reliance can create instability if there is staff turnover, particularly in remote areas, as stated by an Indigenous leader: "*[It's] about Aboriginal people doing things, it's not about bringing in white fellas to do this. You*

must build peoples skills and knowledge, businesses must be built on this premise. It's the key to sustainability. The research highlights that there must be a focus on improving the community's understanding of financial management and compliance issues. This reduces any potential fraud or any downtime if there is turnover of non-Indigenous staff.

Using visual aides in business and strategic plans, as well when producing financial statements and budget reports, is crucial in generating learning outcomes in the community and supporting community participation in the enterprise — this can improve accountability. These innovations have allowed Indigenous stakeholders to press for accountability. A non-Indigenous senior bureaucrat describes, "*You should have your business plan up on the wall, showing the financial status. [R] Health Board showed bar charts, each budget broken down into green, red, yellow, representing budget, committed and invoices paid. This helps show people what they can do and what they can spend.... You have to have mastery and empowerment: two words, until you understand something and master it only then do you perform best ... Accountants have control if there is no ownership, that's critical....*" Therefore, innovations in business practice allow for improvements in governance and accountability, encouraging Indigenous ownership and management of the enterprise. This also has the added benefit of facilitating greater community engagement in enterprise helping overcome suspicion.

Factor for Success: Greater Independence from Government Funding

The institutional framework within which Indigenous people residing on Indigenous land in the Northern Territory operate increases the complexity, time, and resources required to establish an enterprise. The research found that institutions and programs supporting Indigenous enterprise development are inflexible and do not encourage innovation or adaptation to meet the challenging economic, and social conditions as identified in the region by Altman (2001). In agreement with Pearson (2000) is research which confirms that the institutional framework for Indigenous affairs is based on a welfare platform that entrenches welfare dependency and constrains individual initiative. Government led Indigenous business support programs are constrained by red tape and are risk averse, leading to frustration and low morale among Indigenous applicants for business funding. As the IBR (2003) and Hindle and Lansdowne (2005) found, those projects that are tied to the private sector, for example through a joint venture, generally have a greater chance of success through access to sufficient funding and attracting expertise to the enterprise.

Inalienable land title in the Northern Territory generally limits enterprise funding to government programs. As opportunities to access private funding are reduced so too is the risk tolerance. The research found that those enterprises that access alternative sources of funding are more successful than those reliant on government support. As a senior policy advisor asserts, "*People like [K] at [J] who is probably the wealthiest Aboriginal bloke in Australia did it without government support. I don't think many people can make it purely on government programs, they are fairly restrictive and constrain individuals, [and] there is a lot of red tape and reporting.*" It was argued that relying on government programs constrained the success of enterprise through significant bureaucratic process and reporting burden. This imposed delays and costs on Indigenous enterprise that do not fit with commercial realities. However, at the same time, the level of poverty in many communities underscores the need for government support, and participants emphasized that development may be even more constrained without government involvement. Social dysfunction in communities is a more pressing issue for communities and enterprise development is often not pursued. An executive officer of a community association describes, "*...in my experience if government does not support Aboriginal business development then it will fall over, because on communities people aren't interested in establishing businesses, they have more immediate social problems that need to be addressed....*" This study highlights that innovations in business support are required to reduce the reliance on government business programs which are characterized by risk aversion, administrative burden and red tape.

Supporting joint ventures is important in the research to avoid a reliance on government funding, as well as bringing valuable expertise to the

business arrangement. This finding confirms the work of Hindle and Lansdowne (2005) and the IBR (2003) in Australia, as well as Trosper et al. (2008) in Canada, who offer that joint venture or partnership arrangements are potentially more successful. Essentially, a partnership arrangement helps reduce the level of government involvement in an enterprise and this removes the red tape and administrative burden that comes with government support — improving the chances of success.

The research emphasizes that tenure reform is unlikely to improve access to private capital for Indigenous enterprise, for much of the land awarded to Indigenous people in the Northern Territory generally has a greater cultural importance than commercial value. What is required are innovative approaches to funding Indigenous enterprise on communal land like that described by Nagy (1996) such as debt/equity lending or more customized lending to Indigenous people to meet the challenging economic conditions present in the region.

CONCLUSION

In defining success, enterprise development is both an objective and a process to achieve a range of socio-economic goals such as achieving economic self-sufficiency, capacity building and ending welfare dependency in the community. The research highlights that participants defined success in different ways — success for community business is different to success for individual enterprises, at the same time differences of opinion exist among participants on the importance and prioritization of profitability versus maximising community employment. It is also emphasized that separating social and commercial objectives is a key to success, at the same time community perception is important in defining success. The enterprise must actively support programs to overcome the level of dysfunction in communities to allow community members the ability to meaningfully participate in the enterprise, allaying any suspicion and potential conflict. It was also found that that simply participating in the enterprise development process was widely regarded as a success in itself. Ultimately, enterprise survival in a way that is culturally acceptable is fundamental to defining success.

The factors contributing to success for Indigenous enterprise include obtaining business acumen, integrating culture, separating business from community politics and greater independence from government funding. First, in terms of obtaining business acumen, Indigenous groups are reliant on outsiders such as non-Indigenous people and the agent generally has unique skills. Important to this relationship for enterprise success over the medium to long-term is using innovative ways to facilitate knowledge transfer and mentoring to build capacity. Secondly, integrating culture is essential for success over the long-term to maintain community support and employee morale, and can also be used as an advantage to differentiate products. Importantly, an education process is required to encourage adaptation in norms and values to support enterprise success. Separating social and commercial functions, and implementing operational practices to circumvent any cultural practices that work against the survival of the enterprise is crucial.

Thirdly, it is crucial to develop a structure that separates community politics from the business to ensure enterprise stability. A charter is an important tool for decision makers who sit in both commercial and political roles in the community. A 'two ways' leader who can operate and communicate in both cultures can facilitate change, and it is crucial to undertake broad and patient consultation with all Indigenous stakeholders when making important decisions (particularly around land). Good governance is also essential to avoid conflict, through transparent and effective boards, which must be seen as legitimate by the community. Community involvement is important in overcoming and managing conflict. A working executive board should make business decisions in consultation with a board of elders. Social dysfunction in communities may constrain meaningful participation in enterprise, so it is important for the enterprise to support social objectives, in ways consistent with research findings to enhance community participation. Finally, it is apparent from the research that those businesses *not* reliant on government support are more likely to succeed — which may result from the expertise, capital and market networks the industry partner brings to the arrangement. Promoting joint ventures with industry and establishing innovative business support programs

will be important to encouraging successful Indigenous enterprise development in the region.

Future research could broaden the scope of the study into another jurisdiction, or a survey methodology could be utilised to validate the findings from this research. Also, understanding the institutional and sociological impediments to Indigenous involvement in enterprise could provide important information to support improved outcomes.

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Editors' Introduction

Warren Weir and Wanda Wuttunee

Two significant documents on Aboriginal economy were released in this past year. The Assembly of First Nations presented their report on *The State of the First Nation Economy and the Struggle to Make Poverty History* in March. The report was prepared for the AFN Inter-Nation Trade and Economic Summit by the Assembly of First Nations Make Poverty History Expert Advisory Committee. And in June this year, the Canadian Federal Government announced its new *Framework on Aboriginal Economic Development*. Both documents require a response from the general public, Aboriginal organizations, communities and their leaders, and educational and other think-tanks, as well as corporate, government, and civil groups. To start this process in our own way, for CANDO, we have added this new section, the State of the Aboriginal Economy.

To open up the discussion, Oppenheimer and Weir introduce and review the Federal Government of Canada's newly introduced Federal Framework for Aboriginal Economic Development. Their brief paper provides the conceptual framework upon which the government will build future policies and programs. The Framework is replacing the Canadian Aboriginal Economic Development Strategy (CAEDS), which was released in 1989. As such, it is important that the new Framework be understood and ideas for improving its implementation be shared. The authors conclude the paper with several introductory questions about the Framework with the intent to initiate further discussion on the Framework and to stimulate ideas for this new section in the subsequent issues of this Journal.

The next piece included in this section is an early response by the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) to the initial consultations facilitated by the Federal government on the "New Framework". In "Gender Analysis of the New Federal Framework for Aboriginal Development: Discussion Guide and Annexes", Whiteduck and Peebles, representing the NWAC, share concerns of gender equity in both the consultation approach facilitated by the government representatives and the need for vigilance regarding the ways in which Aboriginal men and women are addressed, categorized, researched, evaluated, and essentially recognized under the new framework.

Last, we present an important look at the question, *Have We Made Any Progress in the Struggle to Make First Nation Poverty History?: A 40-Year Perspective*. In their summary of the larger AFN report, Wuttunee and Wien use the Wahbung vision as a beginning point to provide a contemporary profile of First Nation poverty and document in detail changes in population, business and institutional development, labour force participation, employment, income, education, and various health and social characteristics. Twelve conclusions set out the highlights of this research, ranging from the importance of service organizations, the role of the Supreme Court, and the Constitution.

THE NEW FEDERAL FRAMEWORK FOR ABORIGINAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

A Review and Call for Responses

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The federal government has introduced what it describes as a “new and vastly improved”[1] Federal Framework for Aboriginal Economic Development (FFAED). It is expected to “bring fundamental change” in the way the federal government will support Aboriginal economic development in the years to come. The new framework focuses upon opportunities and being responsive to new and changing conditions in the economy in order to leverage partnerships and achieve results. It anticipates enhanced business leadership skills and training, more access to Aboriginal-owned resources, as well as increased coordination among federal departments and agencies in implementing FFAED and the programs that are expected to be generated from it.

The National Aboriginal Economic Development Board[2] is expected to play an increased role in the implementation of the FFAED as it did in developing it. The new Framework establishes two broad sets of expectations as they apply to government and to “Aboriginal Canadians”.

On the government end, FFAED is expected to tighten a whole-of-government approach to realize government priorities. This entails linking partnerships, which would be driven by economic opportunities. The Framework would further define the role of the federal government in Aboriginal economic development by focusing on results and accountability. The objectives of the Framework are to communicate the federal approach, to guide the development of programs, and to act as a comprehensive assessment tool.

On the “Aboriginal Canadians” side, the new Framework expects to capture the full extent of the Aboriginal economy through ongoing engagement and co-ordination. The objective is to increase Aboriginal people’s economic development by enhancing self-reliance and being more responsive to opportunities.

The new Framework intends to address many issues. These include current barriers in the legal and regulatory environment, accessing resources, limitations affecting labour participation in the private sector, infrastructure and

[1] <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ai/mr/spch/2009/spch000000372-eng.asp>

[2] All members of the NAEDB are appointed by the Governor in Council. The NAEDB is created by the federal government, and it reports to the federal government. The NAEDB Web site: <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ai/arp/app/lor/nae-eng.asp>

communications, access to commercial capital, capacity deficits in businesses, Aboriginal leadership, and shortage of professional expertise in institutions. The Framework plans to accomplish these changes by putting to work the whole-of-government response for Aboriginal economic development.

In the wake of the new FFAED, programs will be redesigned and new programs might be developed to meet with the new framework requirements. The new approach will move interventions and programs from untargeted equity-based programming to targeted investments for opportunities in Aboriginal resources. The new FFAED will link to the private sector, which will drive investments, lending, and major projects. The aim is to increase Aboriginal business competitiveness against non-Aboriginal private sectors by providing a "level playing field". This is to be achieved through greater discipline, more of a focus on financial levers, and more effective actions in developing Aboriginal human capital in the domains of education, social assistance, and labour markets.

These measures would define the role of the federal government based on its constitutional and fiduciary obligations, on good public policy, and on strong partnerships. The Framework perceives the key enablers of these undertakings in terms of opportunity-ready communities, good governance, return on investment, and viability of businesses and skilled labour to interact with the mainstream economy to capitalize on major opportunities and resources owned or controlled by Aboriginal peoples.

Other guiding principles of the new Framework include flexibility, cultural sensitivity, and sustainability. The whole of the Government of Canada's Framework vision is to ensure that "Aboriginal Canadians" enjoy the same opportunities for employment, income, and wealth creation as other Canadians.

The government has committed to invest $200 million on accessing commercial capital, promoting Aboriginal procurement, increasing Aboriginal participation in resource development, and accelerating economic use of lands owned or controlled by Aboriginal peoples.[3] The government has already allocated $70 million over two years for measures supporting the new framework.

The new Framework was elaborated through a literature review, "engagement sessions", and numerous bilateral and multilateral meetings. The resulting information, including those from the National Aboriginal Economic Development Board led by Chief Clarence Louie, served as inputs into the Framework's design. The new Framework was initially published in 2008 and formally introduced by Minister Strahl of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) in June 2009.

Two of the questions that the new Framework raises are as follows:

1. What is new in the new FFAED that was not determined and achievable through the Canadian Aboriginal Economic Development Strategy of 1989 (CAEDS)?
2. What happened to the government-to-government relationship in the FFAED so that First Nations, Inuit, and Métis will effectively govern their economy?

We will briefly discuss but not fully answer these questions here. This is intended to bring attention to the new Framework and to initiate discussions on its design and implementation.

There are expectations that FFAED will assist in resolving some of the ongoing issues First Nations, Inuit, and Métis are facing in realizing their economic self-determination and autonomy. The FFAED has presented itself as a positive effort by the government to modernize CAEDS and to address its challenges.

Despite its stated good intentions and limited consultations, the new Framework is based upon serving the political platform of the government. In response to this it could be argued that the role of the government is to govern. A counter response to this could be that government cannot govern effectively and cannot do it all by itself without the formal and meaningful participation of those Aboriginal institutions invested with the responsibility to govern and develop the Aboriginal economy. The Framework may have been developed with some level of consen-

[3] <http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ecd/ffaed1-eng.asp#chp1>

sus by decision-makers within the government and by selected stakeholders. However, the process did not include many of those who govern themselves.

If any substantive, sustainable change is to be accomplished by the Framework, then it is critical that there be a substantial level of buy-in by those who would implement it. To achieve buy-in by those who should be brought into the process, it is often critical that they believe they are an integral part of it. An alternative way of achieving buy-in and obtaining the needed support for implementation is for those affected by a new approach (in this case the new Framework) to clearly understood how they would benefit from it. Have these objectives been sufficiently explained in the new Framework? Hopefully, future action will be taken to demonstrate that the new Framework will significantly facilitate Aboriginal economic development. More collaboration in the implementation of the Framework may help to achieve this goal.

Additional aspects of FFAED that should be addressed include the following:

(a) What are the implications of moving from "untargeted" to "economic opportunities for Aboriginal resources"? Funding for economic opportunities in the new Framework is proposal-based, while the current Community Economic Development Program (CEDP) is a core funding process, which allows decision making at the community level. The proposal-based programs appear to be subject to a decision-making process controlled by the government and away from the Aboriginal authorities. What are the funding implications for the employment of economic development staff under community-based institutions? How will a community be able to implement this?

(b) What happens with communities that have limited access to economic opportunities because of their small population and remoteness or limited access to the resources that the mainstream economy is looking for?

(c) What kind of structure does INAC need to deliver services and programs? What kind of economic development structures are needed for Aboriginal economic development at the local, regional, and national levels?

(d) What are the potential costs and benefits of expanding eligibility to funding to include all Aboriginal people, notwithstanding their place of residence — whether on reserve or elsewhere? This may double the potential Aboriginal clientele. What are the implications of this on the actual financial resources available for economic development?

The impact of the FFAED is yet to be seen. We hope this article will bring attention to this new Framework and generate further discussion on its design and implementation.

GENDER ANALYSIS OF THE NEW FEDERAL FRAMEWORK FOR ABORIGINAL DEVELOPMENT
Discussion Guide and Annexes

Francine Whiteduck and Dana Peebles
NATIVE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION OF CANADA

INTRODUCTION

Published in 2008, the "New Federal Framework for Aboriginal Economic Development" was designed to both outline the federal government's approach to Aboriginal economic development and to solicit feedback and input from diverse Aboriginal communities and stakeholders across Canada regarding the framework. The Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) commissioned a review of the framework from a gender perspective. The assessment that follows provides this analysis, as well as recommendations regarding how the new Federal Framework for Aboriginal Economic Development (FFAED) could be made more gender-sensitive and responsive to the specific needs and priorities of Aboriginal women.

These recommendations and analysis focus on ways that the FFAED can serve as a strategy and instrument that can be used by Aboriginal men and women and the federal government to help restore economic and social balance in Aboriginal communities, as well as to recognize the significant contribution of women to Canada's economy and to their communities. The report also analyzes why an investment in women leads to a solid return to both community and family and explains the need for increased recognition of Aboriginal women's roles as change agents in their communities. Finally, it outlines ways in which the FFAED can integrate a gender-sensitive, cultural approach to economic development and demonstrates the value-added benefits of using a gender analysis to inform programming decisions.

Key finding of the analysis offer the following conclusion:

- Aboriginal women and men experience different conditions in life and as a consequence women will have significantly different access than men to the resources and benefits offered by the Framework.
- The three spheres for development (Activation, Base, and Climate) proposed in the Framework should be strengthened to be more inclusive of women.
- Research and analysis on existing structures is necessary to formulate the foundation for understanding how women are impacted by economic development.
- Revisions to policies, strategies and options that gave rise to the Framework can help establish a culturally-based, gender sensitive approach.

Key Concerns

The gender-based analysis conducted raises several serious concerns:

1. The Framework is almost completely gender-blind. It only mentions a need to pay attention to gender issues in one sentence and does not make any other attempt to disaggregate or identify if there are any significantly different issues and priorities for Aboriginal women and men.
2. The Framework focuses heavily on economic development built on a foundation of natural resource and energy sector development. This focus, due to the strong predominance of male employment and ownership in those sectors, therefore heavily skews federal attention, support and benefits in the Framework for Aboriginal men.
3. The Framework has overlooked the importance of the creative economy in building sustainable jobs in Canada and of the existing and potential role of Aboriginal women and men in this sector.
4. The Framework outlines a long list of barriers and obstacles to economic development within Aboriginal communities. However, there is no analysis of whether these factors affect Aboriginal men and women differently or any recognition of the fact that most of these barriers and obstacles are significantly greater for Aboriginal women than men.
5. The guiding principles outlined also fail to take into account the different socio-economic conditions affecting Aboriginal women and men and as posited would serve to maintain the existing socio-economic division between them.
6. One of the Framework's guiding principles is the need for this economic development to be culturally sensitive in nature. However, on the surface, the Framework appears to ignore one of the greatest assets within Aboriginal communities, that of, Aboriginal culture itself. Within this context, it is also important to understand and recognize that Aboriginal women often play a strong role as keepers of tradition and passing on traditional, indigenous knowledge. This needs to be recognized as one of the cornerstones of the Framework, as does the importance of Aboriginal sense of identity in approaches to developing the economy.
7. The Framework also fails to differentiate between the different needs and economies found in Aboriginal communities in Southern and Northern Canada and of the different roles that Aboriginal women and men play in these economies.

This being said, the Framework does provide a foundation on which it should be possible to build effective economic development for Aboriginal peoples. To do this it will need to incorporate the results of a basic gender analysis in its approaches. Related recommendations and analysis follow in the subsequent sections, and pages.

Gender-Based Analysis

It is quite surprising that the Framework is gender-blind as Canada has an official policy requiring all of its policies, programs and legislation to be informed by a prior gender analysis (refer to *Setting the Stage for the Next Century, The Federal Plan for Gender Equality* presented to the 4th UN World Conference on Women).

Status of Women Canada defines gender-based analysis (GBA) as follows:

> a tool for understanding social [and economic] processes and for responding with informed, effective and equitable options for policies, programs and legislation that addresses the needs of all Canadians.
>
> GBA recognizes that treating women and men identically will not ensure similar outcomes because women and men occupy different socio-economic statuses and experience different living conditions. GBA views women in relation to men in society rather than in isolation, that has meant at times the marginalization of women's realities in public policy development.

There are multiple approaches to gender-based analysis that institutions can take depending upon the context. In this instance given that the focus of the "New Federal Framework for Aboriginal Economic Development" is predominantly economic, the gender analysis methodology selected for this analysis focuses on an assessment of Aboriginal women and men's access to and control over the resources they need to be able to support themselves and their families and to live as full citizens within their communities.

The Access and Control Framework is essentially economic in nature. One underlying premise is that gender inequality, in addition to being inequitable and unfair, is also a form of economic inefficiency, and that, policies, programs, and projects will be more effective if they ensure more balanced gender equality. The Access and Control Framework is based on an analysis of the division of labour by sex in the reproductive, productive, and community spheres of the economy and on an analysis of the differential access that women and men have to the resources and benefits involved in the economic development process.

A detailed outline of this gender-based analysis framework can be found in Annex 1.

Definition of Terms

In the context of this analysis economic development is understood to mean:

> The growth of the means by which Aboriginal women and men support themselves and their families in ways that respect their cultural traditions and close relationship to the land and environment, as well as their respective roles and contributions to its stewardship and to each other.

Throughout this analysis there also are three key terms used to describe the approach needed for economic development for Aboriginal men and women.

The first is that this economic development needs to be *gender-sensitive*, meaning that any approach to economic development needs to be based on and informed by a sound understanding and prior analysis of the differences between Aboriginal women and men's socio-economic conditions and challenges in life and in the economy, and the nature of their respective contributions to the economy. It means not assuming that any action, policy or approach will have the same impact on women and men. It requires all analysis to disaggregate data by sex to help determine and recognize these different challenges and contributions, as opposed to making generic statements that aggregate the entire Aboriginal population (i.e, referring always to Aboriginal peoples instead of Aboriginal women and men).

The second is *gender-equitable*. This refers to the process of treating Aboriginal women and men fairly so that any government policies and programming ensures that both sexes benefit equally from this support. Due to the very different socio-economic conditions facing Aboriginal men and women, sometimes this will mean treating them differently to address the different priorities, needs and situation of each sex. It also sometimes means that there is a need for sex-specific programming in some areas in order to address historic sex-based economic disadvantages for both sexes.

The third is the term *culturally-sensitive*. This refers to the need for any economic development support that targets Aboriginal men and women to be based on an understanding of and respect for the diverse Aboriginal cultural relationship with the land and the environment and not to assume that Aboriginal businesses will always operate on all of the same principles and approaches found in businesses in the non-aboriginal population. It also means understanding and recognizing that Aboriginal men and women often have different cultural views of business and economic development. These cultural viewpoints also differ from nation to nation.

DISCUSSION OF THE GENDER-BASED ANALYSIS OF THE NEW FEDERAL FRAMEWORK FOR ABORIGINAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

This analysis reviews each of the main sections of the Framework from a gender perspective, using different elements of the GBA methodology outlined above. The sections reviewed include the following:

- Guiding Principles
- Context
- Dimensions of Economic Development
- Discussion Questions
- Prior Research on Aboriginal Economic Development

Guiding Principles

The proposed guiding principles that would define the Framework are not presently gender-sensitive, but could be made so with some edit-

ing and a slight shift in approach. Currently although the Guiding Principles note that the Framework should be flexible with regard to "the different conditions, gender issues, regional needs and important economic issues of First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples" this is actually the only reference to gender in the entire document.

To make this part of the Framework gender-sensitive the document could consider using the following language:

- **Flexible**, respectful and responsive to the different conditions, gender issues, regional needs and important economic issues of First Nations, Inuit and Métis *women and men*.

  Rationale: if the principles are not explicitly disaggregated by men and women, there is limited or no accountability to assess all of the factors outlined by sex and to determine where the significant gender issues lie.

- **Opportunity-based** to enable Aboriginal *men and women* to assess their individual and collective assets, capacities *and priorities*, and realize their *respective* potential to be economically self-sufficient, focusing investments where opportunities exist, *and where they have access to the assets needed to develop these opportunities*.

  Rationale: Aboriginal women often have significantly different access to the assets needed to be able to develop new economic opportunities than do Aboriginal men. They also have different types of assets, not all of which are financial in nature. This would need to be taken into account in the development of programs to support the development of new economic opportunities.

- **Market-driven**, with measurable returns on investment, and accountable, results-based objectives to ensure the best possible outcomes for Aboriginal *women and men*, communities, government and industry *from both an economic and social, cultural perspective*.

  Rationale: How Aboriginal women and men measure returns on investments may not be solely from a financial perspective. Men and women also will often have different economic and social priorities and definitions of what defines a best possible outcome for themselves, their families and their communities, as well as a different perspective from government and industry.

- **Coordinated** across all federal departments and agencies, including *gender and culturally sensitive* policy development, program design and implementation and service delivery to ensure a focused "whole-of-government" approach for maximum effectiveness;

  Rationale: By stating explicitly that this policy development, program design, implementation and service delivery should be gender and culturally sensitive it places greater onus on the government to conduct the prior gender and cultural analysis needed to ensure that their policies, program and services are meeting the needs of women.

- **Partnership-based** to promote effective relationships among Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal businesses *owned by men and women*; and include all levels of governments and institutions; to share risks, leverage private sector capital, and enter into joint ventures.

  Rationale: There is a need to support increased understanding of different cultural approaches to business among Aboriginal and non-aboriginal business owners, e.g., different approaches and beliefs about the commercialization of indigenous knowledge.

  There is also considerable research that demonstrates that male and female entrepreneurs often build their businesses and partnerships using different approaches. These differences need to be taken into account in the development of partnership programs. For example, a number of different research studies show that the gender specific characteristics exhibited by many women-owned businesses include the following:

  1. A strong commitment to their local community, particularly in terms of sourcing and employment.
  2. A perception of themselves as being at the centre of their business organization with teams and working groups emanating from that central position, rather than developing rigid hierarchical structures in which they are positioned at the top.

3. A strong commitment to a vision that encompasses both their private and business lives. This means that they constantly strive to develop sustainable business with manageable growth rather than aiming for immediate high growth and overtrading.
4. A focus upon the personal relationship aspects of business contacts, which supports long-term ambitions, (which include high turnover and profitability).
5. A tendency to develop contacts through active networking, which they perceive as a rich business resource.
6. A pattern of growing their business through a range of relationship alliances that frequently enable the creation of more businesses and trade. This results in slower growth of women run businesses, as measured traditionally by increased number of employees, but it also generally fosters much more sustainable growth (Muir, 2002).

- **Culturally-sensitive** and environmentally sustainable to see economic development as a means of promoting and preserving Aboriginal cultures, *women and men's different roles in this process* and their deep relationship/respect for the environment.

  Rationale: As Aboriginal women and men often play different roles in their communities and depending upon their context also may have different roles and responsibilities within their families, they also generally will play different roles with regard to promotion and preservation of Aboriginal cultures and the environment, e.g., if it is men who are primarily responsible for hunting/trapping and women for dressing and preparing the meat, skins and bones from these animals this can influence their different approaches and attitudes to hunting when it comes to developing a hunting industry for tourists and men and women may have different priorities and skills related to this industry.

Context and Annex B

The Framework notes that the economic landscape for Aboriginal Canadians has changed considerably since Canadian Aboriginal Economic Development Strategy was announced in 1989. It observes that the Canadian economy has expanded rapidly, outstripping the supply of skilled labour in many fields and that this economic evolution presents real opportunities on a broad scale for Aboriginal Canadians, with more than 600,000 Aboriginal youth projected to come of age to enter the labour market between 2001 and 2006. The document then directs the reader to Annex B for a demographic profile of the Aboriginal population in Canada.

The limitation with the demographic analysis provided in the Context section and in Annex B is that while it mentions a few differences between male and female Aboriginal peoples no analysis is provided regarding the likely impact of these gender-based differences on Aboriginal women and men's respective access to new economic development opportunities. There are also serious gaps in the analysis related to other critical gender differences between Aboriginal women and men. These differences can and likely will have an impact on who benefits from federal economic development initiatives for Aboriginal peoples and communities.

Education Levels

Key amongst these is the fact that although there is a significantly higher rate of Aboriginal men who do not have a high school diploma, with approximately 60% of those without a high school diploma being men and only 40% women. As of the 2001 census this educational advantage had not translated into greater educational opportunities or income for Aboriginal women. Of the numbers of Aboriginal men who have attained a university degree, 56.5% are men and just 43.4% women. This is also quite a different trend than that found among the non-aboriginal population where female students generally represent the majority of university students. Based on observation and anecdotal information, this pattern may have shifted in the last eight years. However, it still means that there is still a large group of Aboriginal women who have not been able to access the economic benefits that can be derived from obtaining a university education.

There is also a similar pattern observable in trades education where 63.4% of the Aboriginal graduates are men and only 41.0% are women (Hull, 2007). This is also quite significant when viewed against the natural resource sector and

energy focus of the Framework where there is a greater demand for skilled trades and where the pay is much higher than in the service area where Aboriginal women are concentrated.

Income Levels

Income levels for Aboriginal men and women are also quite different, with Aboriginal women consistently registering the lowest income levels across all age groups when compared with Aboriginal men, as well as with non-aboriginal women and men. This is not to say that the incomes of Aboriginal men are high as they represent the second lowest income group in this comparison (Hull, 2007). Annex B however, does not disaggregate the income levels of Aboriginal peoples by sex or consequently, leaves one in danger of assuming that conditions for Aboriginal women and men with regard to income are similar. The 2001 census did show that on reserves women's incomes were 94% that of men's and among Inuit population 89% of men's incomes. This is actually less of a difference than among the non-aboriginal population and is likely related to the higher proportion of social assistance payments among these communities.

Impact of Violence on Economic Development

There is also a need to examine what is the impact of these low income rates for Aboriginal women on their ability to escape from situations of domestic violence and of the impact of intrafamiliar violence on both the women's productivity and their ability to take advantage of new economic opportunities. A survey done in Nicaragua in 1999 found that domestic violence reduced women's earnings by US$29.5 million which corresponded to 1.6% of Nicaragua's GDP (not including the multiplier effects of lost earnings, and led to women who had been abused to use heath care services twice as much as those who had not been battered (World Bank, 2003). There is a high incidence of domestic violence in Aboriginal communities which likely has a disproportionately negative economic impact on the women who are the primary victims of this violence. This factor also needs to be taken into account in the FFAED as it will both limit Aboriginal women's ability to take advantage of the new economic opportunities to be generated, as well as the success of the overall strategy.

Gender-Based Occupational Concentration

It also likely has a strong correlation with the fact that Aboriginal women and men tend to work in areas which are male or female dominated, with the areas of work dominated by men tending to pay higher wages. Currently, Aboriginal women are concentrated in the service sector, with close to 50% working in this area and only 1.2% in skilled crafts and trades and 1.3% as trades supervisors. This is in contrast with Aboriginal men where only 20.5% work in the service sector, but 18.1% in skilled crafts and trades and 3.3% as trades supervisors. Men are also heavily represented in semi-skilled manual labour (21.4%) whereas for Aboriginal women this figure is 4.6%. There is also a significant difference between the percentage of professional Aboriginal women and men, standing at 12.3% for women and 6.2%% for men (Hull, 2007). This pattern of occupational concentration of Aboriginal women and men by occupational categories also implies that the Framework needs to take different approaches to economic development for Aboriginal women and men.

From a business development perspective Aboriginal women also tend to be concentrated in the cultural industries, tourism and small business or micro-enterprises. Thus their main areas of work will not be covered by the Framework's focus on natural resource and energy sector development and there is a good chance that economic development programs developed under aegis of the Framework will predominantly benefit Aboriginal men.

Unemployment Rates

Annex B notes that the employment rate of Aboriginal peoples is much lower than that of non-aboriginal peoples — 63% versus 76%, and that it is even less for Aboriginal women. The reason given for this gender differential is that Aboriginal women have lower labour force activity. This appears to be saying that fewer Aboriginal women have chosen to work in the formal sector as opposed to that there is a higher unemployment rate among Aboriginal women. This assertion needs to be clarified and an analysis provided of why there might be a lower labour activity rate for Aboriginal women. For example, it could be as there as fewer jobs

available in the areas in which women tend to predominate, or due to the lower wages across the board which then make these jobs less attractive. Another possibility could be that there is a stronger cultural tradition in many Aboriginal communities for families to provide elder care as opposed to using an institutional option (although this may be, in part, due to a relative lack of access to elder care support in rural areas). As the primary responsibility for elder care falls upon Aboriginal women this would also limit the time women have available for paid employment. Aboriginal economic development experts also suggest that lack of access to childcare is a major factor preventing many Aboriginal women from being able to seek paid work. This is of a particular concern given the rising rates of single parent households headed by women in Aboriginal communities.

Further development of any economic development programs for Aboriginal women therefore will need to both assess what are the underlying factors that are contributing to lower labour force activity among Aboriginal women. If this is not done and if economic development programming does not take these factors into account then Aboriginal women's access to these federally funded support services is likely to be more limited than it is for Aboriginal men. There is also a need to take into account the fact that not all Aboriginal women and men are a part of the wage economy. This does not mean that they are unemployed or not economically active, but that either part or all of their subsistence comes from non-waged activities. It would be important therefore to assess whether there is a significant difference in the numbers of Aboriginal women and men who work outside of the wage economy and what is the significance of this for the FFAED.

Geographic Location

There are significantly higher proportions of Aboriginal women living in urban areas. Currently among the Inuit and Registered Indian populations less than half live in urban areas, 27 to 31% of Inuit living in urban areas, and 43% to 47% of the Registered Indian population. For Aboriginal women at least 5% more in the age group 15 to 64 live in urban areas than do men. This rises to 9% more for Aboriginal women over the age of 65 (Hull, 2007). This again begs the question of the focus on developing natural resource and energy industries outlined in the Framework as in general Aboriginal peoples living in urban areas will have less opportunities and access to economic development opportunities in those sectors, and given the geographic location differentials among Aboriginal women and men, women will have even less access.

Access to Assets

Aboriginal women living in major cities across Canada also have higher rates of government transfers than Aboriginal men and the non-aboriginal population. Rexe in a critique of the Framework presented at Trent University's Indigenous Women's Symposium noted that,

> differences in income, employment and government transfers are supplementing the needs of families, not just individuals. This also indicates women and families are relying on the social welfare state to meet their basic needs. (Rexe, 2009)

The significance of this and the fact that income levels are so low among Aboriginal women is that many of these women will have little or no financial assets they can use to invest in new business development or existing business expansion. Given that on most reserves there is no individual property ownership, for those women living on reserves, this means that they have to rely on savings or government-backed loans to finance business investment. With their lower incomes this generally means that Aboriginal women living in rurally based reserves also will have lower savings levels than men. This makes access to credit or start-up grants an even more critical form of support for Aboriginal women than it is for Aboriginal men — although both groups experience high levels of poverty.

Existing Aboriginal Businesses

Annex B notes that there are 27,000 self-employed Aboriginal people in Canada and that they are creating businesses at approximately nine (9) times the rate of the non-aboriginal population. The statistics provided are not disaggregated by sex so it is not possible to determine if there is any significant differential between male and female self-employed. Access to this sex-disaggregated is a key piece of information needed to determine the extent of

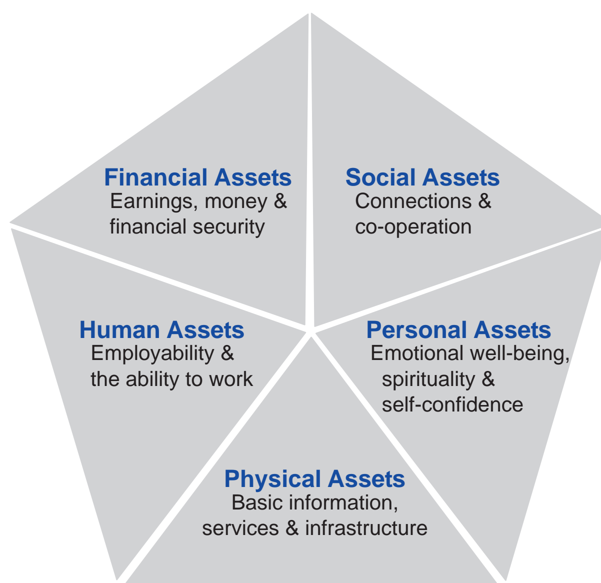
economic development support needed for Aboriginal women and men and if there is a need to tailor particular programs to women and others for men, depending upon the sectors in which they are working.

Annex B also does not note that there appears to be a new trend towards a decline in Aboriginal business start-ups. Also of concern is that fact that even the rate of business start-ups outlined in the Annex is not sufficient to keep up with the growing demand for jobs among the Aboriginal population. It is a relatively young population with a higher growth rate than among the non-Aboriginal population. Therefore while the creation of new Aboriginal-owned businesses is an important plank in the FFAED, it has to be complemented fairly substantially by programs to ensure that Aboriginal women and men can access jobs in non-Aboriginal owned businesses and other institutions.

The Annex also notes that there 50 Aboriginal Financial Institutions grouped under the National Aboriginal of Capital Corporation Association that provide developmental business financing and advice. It would be critical to find out from these institutions what percentage and quantity of money they are lending or giving to business owned by Aboriginal women and men and if there are any differences in the lending criteria for women and men. For loans which have collateral requirements, Aboriginal women will be at a significant disadvantage and there may be a need for these institutions to consider alternative models of asset assessment that take into account.

The Assets Map outlined in Figure 1 provides an example of an alternative approach which assesses an individual's ability to run a business and pay back any loans given from the perspective of financial, social, human, physical and personal assets. For example, in this assessment model personal assets include factors such as emotional well being, spirituality and self-confidence and social assets a person's connections and networking abilities. Thus if an Aboriginal woman had little or no capital but is well

FIGURE 1
Assets Map



Source: Adapted from Women in Transition Out of Poverty by Eko Nomos (Women and Economic Development Consortium, 2001).

grounded in her community and could count on the cooperation and support of her network of family and friends, this would be counted as a positive factor that would likely influence her business success and ability to pay back her loan. There are also assets assessment models that are Aboriginal-focused and which take factors such as community, geographic location, and nation into account as assets.

Relevance of Economic Focus Area

Current analysis of the federal government's overall economic stimulus package also calls into question whether a focus on natural resource and energy sector development will create sustainable jobs, or predominantly those that are seasonal in nature. The business areas in which Aboriginal women predominate may have a greater potential for creating sustainable development and job creation.

The other critique of an economic development framework focused on natural resource and energy sector development is that it ignores the economic area where Canada has seen a great deal of growth in the last decade, that of the creative sector. Further study would be needed to determine how Aboriginal women and men could take advantage of this growth and what kinds of skills training programs would be needed to facilitate this. The lower levels of secondary and post-secondary education among Aboriginal peoples in Canada would be an important factor to address in developing related economic development programs. There would also be a need to look at the impact of the digital divide from a geographic and gender perspective on the development of future businesses and job opportunities for Aboriginal women and men in the creative economy.

Control and Ownership

The New Federal Framework encourages the fostering of partnerships between Aboriginal peoples and the non-aboriginal population, particularly in the natural resource and energy sectors. While Annex B notes the number of self-employed Aboriginal people in Canada it does not address who owns or controls most of the businesses in these sectors (i.e., predominantly members of the non-aboriginal population) and how this kind of unequal economic relationship might affect the ability of Aboriginal women and men to enter into positive and constructive business partnerships in these industries. Cultural and economic issues have also created a situation in which Aboriginal men generally have more experience in public leadership than Aboriginal women. This experience can also affect how well members of each group are able to negotiate equal partnerships and to ensure that all partners are benefiting equally or fairly from the new partnerships. Therefore training in negotiating partnerships and in determining what kind of partnership and control Aboriginal women want and need will also be an important input needed from the programming generated by the Framework.

Barriers to Economic Development

The Context section also provides a list of common barriers to economic development encountered by Aboriginal men and women:

- Inability to access capital
- Legislative and regulatory barriers
- Limited access to lands and resources
- Deficits in human capital
- Infrastructure deficits
- Lack of governance capacity
- Fragmented federal approach to economic development and limited federal funding

These barriers also need to be analyzed from a gender perspective as there are significant differences in the degree and type of barriers encountered by Aboriginal women and men. For example, significantly more men than women have experience in band and business governance; Aboriginal women have lower incomes than men and therefore have less capital, etc.

Summary

Overall the context section and Annex B do not provide a gender analysis and do not identify the key gender issues affecting Aboriginal women and men related to economic development. It also does not identify how these gender issues and difference could influence which specific groups of men and women will benefit from the "New Federal Framework for Aboriginal Economic Development". Therefore there is a strong need for a revised Framework to include this type of more in-depth gender

analysis and to discuss the implications of the results of this analysis in the development of any related policies and programming stemming from the Framework.

DIMENSIONS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The dimensions of economic development looks at three broad areas: Activation, taking advantage of opportunities; Base, building economic potential; and Climate, creating the right economic conditions. To make these dimensions more inclusive and gender-sensitive, a more in depth understanding of the foundation of women's development, roles, and contributions they make to the economy can be constructed by adding to the knowledge of the following categories to each section:

Activation

- Business development for Aboriginal women and men
- Balanced job creation for Aboriginal women and men
- Community investment strategies that strengthen the base by focusing on a holistic approach to asset mapping
- Recognition of the returns to the community and family of an investment in women
- Recognition of and support for women's role as change agents
- Both major and small project participation
- Fostering of private sector partnerships that recognizes that different ways men and women build their businesses

Base

- Land and natural resources
- Tourism and cultural industries
- Micro-enterprise and small business
- Physical and social infrastructure
- Aboriginal women and men
- Rebuilding pride and healing

Climate

- Impact of legal and regulatory climate on Aboriginal women and men
- Gender-balanced governance and institutions
- Fiscal capacity and arrangements
- Impact of poverty on Aboriginal women and men's potential
- Impact of lateral violence on Aboriginal women

This section then presents a series of discussion questions that different stakeholders can address for each of these three areas. None of the questions outlined address any of the gender issues related to any of the three dimensions. The following represents some suggestions for how these questions could be revised to integrate a gender equality element.

The Economic Activation

- How can linkages and *equitable* partnerships be established with the private sector, especially with energy, major resource development projects *and in the tourism and cultural industries*?
- Are the right supports in place for labour market development *for both Aboriginal women and men*? Business development? Community development?
- Do communities have the tools and supports to identify their economic potential and plan for its development *for both men and women*?

What Can Be Done?

- How could *Aboriginal women and men's* access to commercial capital (debt and equity) be improved?
- How could the network of Aboriginal financial institutions be strengthened to serve as the key platform for small business development *for both women and men*?
- How could investment partnerships for major projects in the resource, energy, *tourism and cultural industry sectors* be better promoted?
- How could economic development programming be reformed to emphasize pooling assets and raising levels of expertise *among both Aboriginal women and men*?
- How could new partnerships within the federal family be formed to better promote *gender-sensitive and equitable* economic development?

The Economic Base

- How can the economic potential of Aboriginal land and resources be fully assessed and realized *by both Aboriginal women and men in a*

way that respects cultural values and practices related to Aboriginal land and resource use and ownership?
- How can we ensure that Aboriginal *women and men* receive the skills and training they need to participate in the labour market *and ensure that both sexes have access to jobs that pay a reasonable wage*?
- How can infrastructure better support *gender equitable* investment and development?
- How could investments in *Aboriginal women and men*, such as education and social assistance, be better connected to economic development *and delivered in a way that is gender equitable*?

What Can Be Done?

- How could innovative approaches to infrastructure financing be developed to better leverage private investment *in businesses owned by both Aboriginal women and men*?
- How could a demand-driven employment strategy connected to education and Aboriginal business development better facilitate *gender-sensitive and equitable* economic development?
- How could there be a systematic identification of the economic potential of community assets and opportunities *for both Aboriginal women and men*?

The Economic Climate

- How can we ensure that the legal environment best serves the business sector and economic activity?
- Do Aboriginal governments have the fiscal capacity to support economic development *for both women and men*?
- Are institutional structures appropriate to, and effective in, support of *gender-sensitive and equitable* economic development?

What Can Be Done?

- How could *gender-sensitive and equitable* partnerships between the private sector and Aboriginal people be better facilitated?
- How could these partnerships be structured to address the duty to consult/accommodate *both women and men*?
- What are the main barriers (*including gender barriers)* to economic development in the Indian Act?
- What could be done to address these barriers?
- What are the barriers to the full participation of Aboriginal *women and men*, communities and businesses in these opportunities?
- How can these barriers best be addressed?
- How can the federal government improve its contribution to the economic development of Aboriginal *women and men*, businesses and institutions?
- What can Aboriginal *women and men*, businesses, institutions and leaders do to realize their role as full economic partners?
- How can we best engage the commitment of all stakeholders to ensure that the new framework continues to evolve and reflect new economic conditions and opportunities?

Some General Questions

- What specific opportunities, now and in the future, do you see for Aboriginal *women and men* and businesses to participate more fully in the Canadian economy?
- How can the strengths of Aboriginal *women and men*, businesses and institutions contribute to making these opportunities a reality?
- What investment and contribution can government and non-Aboriginal institutions and businesses make *to support culturally and gender sensitive economic development among Aboriginal men and women and in Aboriginal communities*?

PRIOR RESEARCH ON ABORIGINAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Despite representing slightly over 50% of the Aboriginal population, only 6% of the 120 research studies on Aboriginal Economic Development focused on Aboriginal women and the specific conditions affecting their success rates and access to new economic opportunities. The literature that focused on Aboriginal women included the following:

1. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Women's Issues and Gender Equality Directorate. (2001). *Aboriginal Women: A*

Profile From The 2001 Census. Ottawa, Ontario.
2. Indigenous Research & Policy. (2003). *Filling in the Gaps: Supports for Aboriginal Women Entrepreneurs Phase 1: Mentoring Services*. Ottawa, Ontario: Sinclair, J.
3. Maxim, P. (2002). *A Sectoral Analysis of Aboriginal Women in the Labour Force*.
4. Native Management Services. (2006). *Empowering Aboriginal Women in Economic and Community Development: Results of a National Consultation*. Ohsweken, Ontario: Jamieson, M.
5. Native Women's Association of Canada. (2004). *Background Paper for the Canada-Aboriginal Peoples Economic Opportunities Roundtable*. Ottawa, Ontario.
6. Prime Minister's Task Force On Women Entrepreneurs. (2003). *Report and Recommendations*. Ottawa, Ontario. <http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/businesswomen/site/pdf/PM_Task_Force_Report-en.pdf>
7. White, J. (2001). *Aboriginal Women's Labour Force Participation*.
8. Whiteduck Resources Inc. (2002). *Backgrounder Study on Micro-Enterprises/Aboriginal Women-Owned Businesses*. Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg, Quebec.

The contents of these studies bear careful reading to help provide a more in-depth background on what are the differences between the socio-economic conditions of Aboriginal women and men and how these differences should be addressed by the New Federal Framework for Aboriginal Economic Development in order to ensure more equitable economic development among the Aboriginal population

REVIEW OF ANNEXES

Annex A: Spending on the Aboriginal Portfolio

This annex provides a Web link to a compendium of Government of Canada programs and expenditures directed specifically to Aboriginal people. Almost all of the programs outlined feature a gender-integrated approach and appear to address the needs of the Aboriginal community at large. It is not clear from the program titles if these programs are reaching more women or men or if Aboriginal men and women have equitable access to these services. That would require a program by program review and likely differs a great deal from program to program depending upon the nature of the program, e.g, high school education appears to be benefiting Aboriginal women more while economic development programs seem to be having a stronger impact on Aboriginal men. Only two of the multiple programs provided appeared to be explicitly directed towards women, the Women's Program Policy and External Relations (SWC) $1,220K and the Women Offenders Substance Abuse for Aboriginal Offenders (CSC) $766K. Neither of these explicitly addressed economic development issues affecting Aboriginal women.

It would not be practical or feasible to review each program from the perspective of the relative access of Aboriginal women and men to these services. However, as a part of the research and gender analysis needed to reformulate the New Federal Framework for Aboriginal Economic Development it would be useful to review any of the programs related to economic development to assess male/female usage of these services, based on existing program performance reports. This information could then be used to help determine where some of the key gender gaps in economic development services lie.

Annex C: Government Response to the Sixth Report of the Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples — Sharing Canada's Prosperity — A Hand Up, Not a Hand Out

This response statement reiterates support for a focus on natural resource and energy sectors and does not address or identify any of the differences between Aboriginal women and men's socio-economic conditions as a significant factor that will help determine which specific groups benefit from any new programming generated by the Framework.

Procurement Recommendations

It states that the Procurement Strategy for Aboriginal Businesses will be reviewed to determine its effectiveness. This review should also include an assessment of how many Aboriginal businesses owned by women and by men have

been successful in obtaining government contracts and what have been the size of these contracts. The review should further develop some case studies to generate an understanding of the experiences of women in access opportunities, and the general impact of the program on their business development. This would provide the federal government and the Aboriginal business community with a sense of whether there are any significant gender differences in the contracts awards processes and if there is a need to analyze if there are any hidden gender barriers in these processes.

Aboriginal Financial Institutions

The response describes the Aboriginal Financial Institutions (AFIs) that will continue to receive federal government support, but does not provide any indication if there will be any assessment of the reach and performance of these institutions with regard to Aboriginal women and men. A disaggregated review of the users of the existing financial services would be a critical first step in determining if there is a service gap with regard to business financing for either Aboriginal women or men.

In a recent program audit of AFIs done by KPMG it is noted that there are currently 59 AFIs in operation and that these AFIs provide financial lending services to Aboriginal clients in remote, rural, and urban areas across the country that would generally not be provided through conventional financial institutions due to the high risk nature of these loans. Their audit defines two primary types of AFIs. One are the Aboriginal Capital Corporations (ACCs) established as non-governmental entities, owned and controlled by Aboriginal people, to provide loans, loan guarantees and related services to this market in their local constituencies. These ACCs typically serve First Nations businesses, First Nations communities, Métis and Non-Status Indians, and other sectors such as agriculture, fishing, energy, etc. (KPMG, 2007) It would be critical to analyze which sectors these ACCs are supporting to determine if there is a bias towards male-dominated sectors or if Aboriginal women's businesses are being under-served.

The second type of AFI includes the Aboriginal Community Futures Development Corporations (ACFDCs). These are local community-focused institutions that typically have smaller loan portfolios than do ACCs. The KPMG program audit notes that the ACCs were intended to be self-sustaining while ACFDCs were designed to receive annual operating subsidies and selective increases in investment capital. All of these AFIs need to participate in a gender audit to determine if there is an equitable reach to Aboriginal women and men.

Increased Access to Lands and Resources

The recommendations in this section need to be expanded to include a definition of indigenous knowledge as a community resources and culturally and gender-sensitive protection extended to cover these resources in any new economic development partnerships and agreements initiated through the new Framework.

Training and Education

The recommended actions include the following:

- Strengthen apprenticeship, literacy and numeracy programs targeting Aboriginal learners
- Provide fiscal incentives to companies that develop/offer Aboriginal apprenticeship programs, including workplace literacy and numeracy programs.

The Government of Canada's response is supportive of these recommendations. However, as with the rest of the Framework there is a need to ensure that there is equitable access to these education and training services for both Aboriginal women and men. There is also a need to ensure that the skills training programs offered do not reinforce the existing gender-based occupational segregation that is predominant among the Aboriginal population. The education and skills training programs also need to work to ensure that Aboriginal women have increased access to skills training that will bring them increased income and not maintain them in low wage positions or businesses. Any skills training programs will also need to take into account the full scope of the challenge. For example, a recent government report noted that nearly three-quarters of Nunavut's working age population do not meet the minimum level required to participate in a modern knowledge-based economy (O'Neill, 2009).

Indian Act Barriers to Economic Development on Reserve

There remain some significant gender barriers and forms of gender discrimination in the Indian Act, particularly with regard to land tenure and ownership. From a gender perspective, predominant among these are matrimonial property issues. While the Indian Act has been changed so that there is no longer discrimination against women who marry non-Aboriginal husbands, there is still an issue of who owns the family home in the event of divorce. The problem stems from a legislative gap between the federal Indian Act and provincial jurisdiction which does not provide clear property rights to Aboriginal women in the event of death of a spouse or marital separation. The provincial laws on these issues do not apply to land on reserves, and therefore are governed by the Indian Act. This Act, however, has no provisions for equal division of property and other assets when a marriage ends on for a couple living on a reserve (Petitpas-Taylor, n.d.).

This problem is further aggravated by the fact that in the past, INAC only gave Certificates of Possession (CPs) for home ownership to the eldest male member of a family. This system replaced the traditional, and in some cases, matrilineal system of land-holding. It also has meant that Aboriginal women can wind up being forced to live off the reserve as she has no clear title to the matrimonial home and as there is often a shortage of alternative housing. In 1986, for example, in the Derrickson case, the courts held that a woman cannot apply for possession of the matrimonial home unless the Certificate of Possession is solely in her name. The most she can hope for is an award of compensation to replace her half-interest in the house (Petitpas-Taylor, n.d.).

This can have a negative impact if the divorce is acrimonious and lead to the non-registered partner not having access to collateral for credit to pay for retraining or a business start-up. However, the Framework and the government response have not addressed any of this type of legal issues that have a gender base. A gender analysis of these barriers and the development of a strategy to either address these issues or a mitigation strategy are absolutely essential as a part of the overall development of any new programs based on the Framework.

Infrastructure Deficits

In setting up the proposed infrastructure projects it will be critical to determine what kinds of jobs these infrastructure projects will create and who will have access to them. If, as is likely due to occupational gender segregation in the infrastructure sector, the majority of these infrastructure jobs will be held by Aboriginal men, then there is a need to invest a similar amount of funding to invest in the economic sectors that will help generate jobs for Aboriginal women. This would be essential in order to maintain a degree of equity with regard to new job creation for Aboriginal women and men.

Partnerships with Industry

It was recommended that the federal government take a lead role in facilitating partnerships between Aboriginal people and industry, including implementing tax incentives to encourage such partnerships. The government response highlights their existing partnership programs, several of which appear to have been fairly successful. For future initiatives of this nature there is a need to ensure that both the government personnel and different industry partners involved are trained to be sensitive to the cultural and gender differences in how Aboriginal men and women do business. The Aboriginal women and men involved also may need training on cross-cultural business approaches and how to negotiate effectively in this context.

CONCLUSION

The "New Federal Framework for Aboriginal Economic Development" as it is currently presented has not adequately represented either the significant differences between Aboriginal women and men's socio-economic conditions or their respective contributions to their communities. Instead it focuses attention on economic development in sectors that are male-dominated in terms of ownership and employment. If left as presently structured, the implementation of the Framework will both reinforce and exacerbate existing inequities between Aboriginal women and men and will miss out on some highly viable opportunities for economic develop-

ment in which Aboriginal women predominate. Consequently, there is a need for greater balance in the approaches the Framework takes and in the sectors where new funding and attention will be focused.

The framework does not include any gender analysis nor does it appear to be informed in a significant way by the results of a prior gender analysis. The government response to the Framework is equally gender-blind. The Framework's main principles and approaches therefore need to be revised to ensure that the approach is both culturally and gender-sensitive and gender equitable. To do this, the entire Framework needs to assess and take into account the primary differences in access to economic resources and opportunities for Aboriginal men and women and their respective contributions to their communities and families, as well as develop approaches that both take these differences and contributions into account to ensure more equitable solutions.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To do this adequately the Framework needs to be based on an in-depth analysis of the following issues and factors:

1. A gender analysis of the key barriers to economic development for Aboriginal women and men.
2. An assessment of existing businesses owned by Aboriginal women to determine if the barriers and obstacles they encounter are similar or different in nature and degree than those faced by those owned by Aboriginal men, to determine in which sectors men and women's businesses are concentrated, as well as what kinds of supports and catalysts would be most effective to support the growth of their respective businesses.
3. A gender analysis of what factors need to be in place to stimulate new business start-ups for Aboriginal women and to which resources they have access, as well as what are their priorities for economic development and in which sectors they would concentrate new business start-ups.
4. A gender analysis of the Aboriginal labour force to determine both what human resources are available to support new economic development for Aboriginal businesses, as well as what factors are limiting Aboriginal women from being able to benefit from their higher levels of high school graduation.
5. A gender audit of AFIs to determine if their policies and programs are reaching relatively equal numbers of Aboriginal men and women.
6. The impact of poverty and violence on economic development for Aboriginal women and men.

The Framework also needs to consider ways to be more inclusive of the priorities, needs and contributions of Aboriginal women. This would include, but not be restricted to, the following:

1. Including supports for a continuum of different types of programming to support different business approaches (e.g., social enterprises, small, micro-start-ups, etc.).
2. Expanding the sectoral focus to include tourism and cultural industries.
3. Ways to ensure balanced job creation for Aboriginal women and men from the perspective of both the numbers of new jobs created and their respective remuneration levels.
4. Recognizing Aboriginal women's valuable role as change agents in their communities.
5. Developing economic development strategies that take into account the different realities, challenges and opportunities facing Aboriginal women living in rural and urban areas and whether they are located in the North or the South.
6. Determining what kind of supports would be needed to ensure that Aboriginal women and men can take advantage of the new opportunities being generated by the creative economy.
7. Formation of an Advisory Board on Economic Development for Aboriginal women.
8. Making a strong commitment to work with women and women's organizations to ensure mechanisms that are identified are put in place to support, promote and advance the equitable distribution of benefits and opportunities that expand the life

ANNEX 1

Summary of Key Access and Control Framework Elements

1. The division of labour by sex Analysis of the division of labour by sex in the productive sector, as well as at the community and household levels.	Women and men's responsibilities in any given sector vary from culture to culture and from community to community. This division of labour is dynamic and can change over time. It is often based on the perception that certain characteristics are inherently male or female and are unchangeable, when in fact they are shaped by ideological, historical, religious, ethnic, economic and cultural factors, all of which change over time.
2. Types of work • Productive • Reproductive • Community	**Productive work:** Refers to any work related to the production of goods and services for consumption and trade. **Reproductive work:** Involves the care and maintenance of the household and its members (bearing and caring for children, food preparation, water and fuel collection, shopping for household support and consumption, housekeeping and family health care). **Community work:** Involves the collective organization of social events and services, ceremonies, celebrations, community improvement activities, local political activities, etc. This can be voluntary or paid work.
3. Access to and Control over Resources and Benefits Analysis of which sex has control over and access to the resources they need to support their activities in the productive, reproductive and community spheres and how this affects economic development.	Men and women traditionally have different levels of access to resources and control over the means of production and the right to obtain services, products or commodities in the private (household) or public spheres. Gender gaps in access to and control over resources are a major obstacle to development for women, girls and marginalized men.

Source: Adapted from Kartini International. 2006. Staff Gender Toolkit. Washington D.C.: Organization of American States.

chances and choices of Aboriginal women and girls.

In addition, since the unequal power relations that exist between women have led to women having a subordinate status even within the same class, gender analysis has tended to focus primarily on women's situation. However, it is important to conduct any gender analysis from *both* a male and female perspective to understand how any given inputs will affect both sexes — both as separate groups and in relation to each other.

The primary categories of analysis in the Access and Control Framework are as follows:

Division of Labour by Sex

Reproductive Labour

- Since women tend to have the main responsibility for reproductive labour, they work an average of two to five hours more per day

than men in almost all countries, especially in the rural areas.

- Gender analyses of the sexual division of labour often shows women's labour is actually over-utilized as opposed to under-utilized. Therefore, it is critical to ensure that new policies, programs and projects do not increase women's workloads or work and recognize their availability to take part in the training programs, etc. required to establish a new business or to grow an existing one.

Productive Labour

- Within any given sector, women and men's labour still tends to be fairly differentiated by sex. This is particularly the case in natural resource industries where many of the jobs require high levels of strength or else long periods of absence from one's family.

Due to the division of labour by sex government policies and economic development programs often have a differential impact on women and men's conditions of life and the work that they each do.

Community Labour

- Community (or social) labour generally does not confer power on the worker. However, it often can bring people increased social status.
- Political labour at the community or micro level:
  - ¤ can be either paid or unpaid.
  - ¤ confers power and status on the person doing the work.
  - ¤ is often predominantly done by men, e.g., serving as chief.
  - ¤ requires a public presence.
- Community work done by women is generally unpaid and is often ascribed a lower status than that done by men.
- Because the division of labour by sex differs greatly from community to community and from country to country, it is not safe to assume that a policy, program or project will have a uniform impact on women and men.
- The impact that community labour has on economic development is also closely related to how much time women and men have to develop new businesses or grow existing ones, depending upon who is performing which type of community service.
- It also affects who has access to and control over which community resources are used to develop which kinds of community resources and who is funded.

Other Categories of Analysis

- Access
- Participation
- Control
- Influencing Factors

The key categories of analysis used in this framework are outlined below. This is followed by a short list of questions related to each empowerment level that are specific to health information systems. This list and analysis is intended as a guideline only at this stage of this assignment.

Access

Access refers to women and men's access to resources such as information, the Internet, land, credit, labour, services and other factors of production and finding ways to measure if women and have equitable access to these resources.

Participation

Participation refers to decision-making at all levels of development. The gender gap between women and men's participation in both formal and informal decision-making processes is a highly visible phenomena and one that is easily quantified. It is critical in this context from the perspective of who will be making the decision regarding resource allocation to support Aboriginal economic development, as well as who makes the decisions within the businesses and partnerships.

Control

Gender gaps are also due to unequal power relations between women and men. It is based on an imbalance between male and female ownership of the means of production and control over decisions regarding their allocation and use. Gender analysis at this level examines who owns what or controls what (to determine if gender is a factor in these decisions and if

there are constructive and practical mechanisms for addressing any significant gaps found).

Influencing Factors

The Access and Control Framework also assesses what are the external influencing factors in a particular context, such as the political and economic climate, prevailing beliefs regarding property ownership, urban or rural location, etc.

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HAVE WE MADE ANY PROGRESS IN THE STRUGGLE TO MAKE FIRST NATION POVERTY HISTORY?[1] A 40-Year Perspective

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PART A: HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Forty years ago, in June 1969, the Government of Canada issued its White Paper on Indian Policy, a proposal that was eventually withdrawn in the face of a furious response by the First Nation leadership from one end of the country to the other. Among the many verbal and written statements of the time, the declaration of the Indian Tribes of Manitoba called *Wahbung: Our Tomorrows*[2] stands out for its presentation of an alternative vision to those who would seek to achieve the social and economic development of First Nation communities by terminating all special rights and provisions, including the treaties, reserves and the protection offered by the Indian Act.

In 2009, First Nation and other Aboriginal communities are still, on average, the most disadvantaged social/cultural group in Canada on a host of measures including income, unemployment, health, education, child welfare, housing and other forms of infrastructure. Yet, much has been achieved by First Nation communities and organizations who have refused to accept the status quo. While the 1960s could be characterized as another decade where there was almost uniform despair over social and economic conditions, by the 1970s the seeds of change were in the air. They took the form of a renewed determination by First Nations to organize and take charge of their own future, an unshakeable resolve to reassert the validity of Aboriginal and treaty rights, and the courage to take their case to the highest courts of the land.

Forty years later, some First Nation communities are well on the way to making the transition to self-sustaining growth. In some cases, their economies are the leading dynamic force in

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[1] This summary was based on the report *The State of the First Nation Economy and the Struggle to Make Poverty History*, prepared for the Inter-Nation Trade and Economic Summit, Toronto, Ontario, March 9–11, 2009 by the Assembly of First Nations Make Poverty History Expert Advisory Committee.

[2] The Indian Tribes of Manitoba, *Wahbung: Our Tomorrows* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, October, 1971).

their respective regions providing employment and business opportunities not only to reserve communities but to a portion of the non-First Nation population as well. Major changes have also taken place in educational achievement, in business development, in the formation of institutions supportive of economic development, in the recognition of Aboriginal and treaty rights, in government policy and in the adequacy of the information base for decision-making. While many gaps, challenges and inequalities in outcomes remain, the First Nations of Canada are making a historic transition from a colonial era characterized by assimilation, dependency and control to a time when it is indeed possible "to achieve a just and honourable and mutually satisfactory relationship between the people of Canada and the Indian people...".[3]

In late 2008, the Assembly of First Nations formed the Make Poverty History Expert Advisory Committee (the MPH Committee) and asked it to prepare a paper on the state of the First Nation economy.[4] In completing this task, the following questions were asked. How far have we come in reaching community self-sufficiency and making poverty history? What has been accomplished in this period? What lessons have been learned? What issues remain to be addressed and what new circumstances have arisen that require new approaches?

Historical Background

The history of the diverse First Nations of Canada and their functioning as self-determining communities and nations prior to contact with European explorers has been well documented elsewhere.[5] Once contact occurred, a close reading of history suggests that the relationship between the First Nation and immigrant population was not then, nor is it now, stable and unchanging. That is, even after the trickle and then the flood of immigrants from other lands and cultures began, there was an ebb and flow to the relationship rather than a unilinear descent into poverty and dependence on the part of the First Nations. At first, First Nations were largely successful in retaining their self-governing capacities and traditional ways of making a living. They were able to carve out a role as partners in the fur trade and as military allies.

The late 1700s and the early 1800s were marked by displacement, starvation and the continuing ravages of disease, sharply reducing First Nation population numbers and setting the stage for widespread incursions on First Nation lands as well as exclusion from access to natural resources.[6] Yet, regionally specific histories suggest a gradual regrouping in the late 1800s and early 1900s as the Indigenous population carved out a place on the margins of the White economy, working as guides to hunters, domestics in homes, workers in canning factories and labourers in brick plants.[7] Others managed to continue their traditional subsistence life style. While poverty was very much a way of life because the jobs and activities that were available did not pay very much, people and families managed to look after themselves. Population numbers, which had been declining sharply, gradually stabilized and began a gradual ascent, a trend line that would move sharply upward in the middle and later decades of the 20th century. However, the struggle to survive was made more difficult by powerful opposing forces. Among them were the following:

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3 Ibid, p. i.

4 The full report The State of the First Nation Economy and the Struggle to Make Poverty History can be found at <www.afn.ca>. See Appendix A on page 82 for the composition of the Expert Advisory Committee.

5 J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, revised edition, 1989); Olive Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992). See also *Looking Forward, Looking Back*, Volume I of The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (Ottawa: Canada Communications Group, 1996). As well, Calvin Helin, *Dances with Dependency: Indigenous Success Through Self-Reliance* (Vancouver: Orca Spirit Publishing and Communications, 2006).

6 The time frames for these transitions vary depending on the region of Canada.

7 Fred Wien, *Rebuilding the Economic Base of Indian Communities: The Micmac in Nova Scotia* (Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1986). See also Rolf Knight, *Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Labour in British Columbia*, 1848–1930 (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1996).

- The Indian Act, first proclaimed in 1876, which placed significant obstacles in the way of community self-determination, economic activity, and cultural expression
- Residential schools, which, among other horrors, left behind generations of poorly educated and sometimes traumatized students. The intergenerational effects of the residential schools require investments in individual, family and community healing and represent a significant challenge for community development
- The continuing loss of access to lands and resources through the incursion of immigrant populations, the treaty process and the non-fulfilment of treaty provisions, and through the process of regulation (e.g., migratory birds, hunting and fishing, logging)
- The relocation and displacement of communities from their traditional lands as a result of centralization policies or the construction of hydro electric dams

The Great Depression seemed to knock the pins out from under the meagre employment gains that had been made in earlier decades. However, through the Depression years and increasingly after the war, provincial and federal governments in Canada became more inclined to intervene to alleviate hardship. While necessary on humanitarian grounds in the short term and a welcome change from the rejection of appeals in earlier decades, it proved to be a short-sighted and limited approach to the challenge of First Nation poverty in the longer term. In effect, it was a choice to take the easy road, using the increasing wealth of Canadian society to provide relief to the most disadvantaged rather than taking the more difficult road (politically and economically) of rebuilding First Nation economies so that they could regain a large measure of self-reliance. The tale is in the statistics which show how much of the First Nation population has had to depend on social assistance as its main source of income, how little has been derived from employment, and how meagre were the amounts in federal budgets that were allocated to economic development, compared to the high and growing levels devoted to relief payments.

There is an ample historical record to demonstrate that First Nations fought hard to maintain and protect their traditional ways of making a living while petitioning for help to adapt to new environments. They also passionately resisted the oppressive forces that had descended upon them. And throughout, they have maintained a steadfast adherence to the conception that they are the original inhabitants of this land with Aboriginal and treaty rights that have not been extinguished, that are recorded in both written and oral histories and, more often than not, recognized by the Supreme Court of Canada.

Enough is Enough: The 1969 White Paper and the First Nation Response

It was a considerable shock, therefore, when the federal government proposed, in 1969, “to terminate all special rights, including the Indian Act, reserves and treaties ... diametrically opposed to what the Indians had been led to believe: that their rights would be honoured and that they would participate in shaping the policies that determined their future”.[8]

First Nations were outraged by the so-called White Paper policy — both by the manner in which it came about and by what it contained. In short order, there were many responses to the document, among the most thoughtful the 1971 statement issued by the Indian Tribes of Manitoba, titled *Wahbung: Our Tomorrows*. It is worth summarizing here because it provides a broad, First Nation perspective on economic and community development — a standard against which development efforts can be measured.

Wahbung outlines the importance of the following principles:

- affirms the determination of the Indian tribes to assume control and ownership over all aspects of their lives must prevail
- declares that Indian dependency on the Canadian state must not continue

[8] Sally M. Weaver, *Making Canadian Indian Policy — The Hidden Agenda 1968–1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), from the foreword.

- underlines the interdependent nature of the process of development, arguing that it is not just economic factors that need to be addressed but also social, cultural and educational ones.
- affirms the need to rebuild social relationships within Indian communities, including the development of a broad range of organizations
- reminds Canada of the importance of Aboriginal and treaty rights, of the "special status" of First Nations, and
- affirms that Indian tribes have not given up their rights to be self-determining, so that changes in the relationship can only be brought about by nation to nation discussion and mutual consent.

There follows a detailed program aimed ultimately at community development in which the principles mentioned above are recurring themes but in more specific contexts. Some highlights of the strategy are the following:

- The need to revisit and restructure the treaties because of the inequitable nature of the original negotiations which resulted in receiving small land allotments of poor quality. There was a subsequent failure to implement the more positive treaty provisions. Full and comprehensive redress is sought.
- With respect to the land base, the Indian Tribes seek an end to external control over the use and management of the land base as well as initiatives to address the amount and quality of lands provided.
- The exercise of hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering rights has been restricted in contravention of the treaties. Specific issues, such as the Migratory Birds Convention Act, game wardens and licensing requirements, flooded lands and the reduction in available Crown lands need to be addressed.
- The Indian Tribes view the Indian Act as patronizing, paternalistic, restrictive and confusing. They recognize the need for federal legislation, but it should be geared to protecting and guaranteeing Aboriginal and treaty rights (including health and education), and creating opportunities so that the Tribes can combat the spectrum of poverty conditions affecting their communities
- Regarding culture, the Wahbung statement resists the tendency to commercialize all aspects of culture. It urges that steps be taken to revitalize and protect Indian cultures, which they see as needing to adapt to changing conditions.
- In the field of education, the push is strongly for Indian control of Indian education and emphasizes the need for education for all ages, beginning with early childhood. Local school boards, community-based high schools, and Indian teachers and languages in the schools are recommended.
- Regarding economic development, traditional activities and reserve lands are mentioned, but the document states there is now diminished potential for development based on land because so little is available and it requires high capital investment. It argues that the natural resource base adjacent to the communities should be made available, and holds out hope for secondary processing of primary production, manufacturing, and the development of tourism, recreation and service industries.
- The Indian Affairs approach to economic development is judged to be too narrow, focusing only on early returns to investment and constructed in a fragmented, silo manner. There are strong statements to the effect that the Tribes need to do economic development themselves, that they would invest in social capital and human resources, that they need consistent government programming, and that funds need to be redirected from welfare spending to stimulating economic and employment activity.

Both the *Wahbung* statement and brief historical sketch underscore the fact that the development of First Nation communities has to be regarded from a broad, historically informed perspective. "Making poverty history" in the First Nation context is not a narrow technical question of providing an infusion of capital, building entrepreneurial skills, or providing training programs for the labour force. Rather, it is a matter of making the transition from a colonial relationship to what the Royal Commission calls a renewed relationship based on the principles of recognition, respect, sharing and responsibility. In practice, as we have noted, it requires attention

to issues of control, dependence, and support; recognition and fulfilment of agreements expressed in treaties and in other ways; addressing the need for individuals and communities to heal from the effects of historic trauma, and rebuilding social relationships and institutions.

The First Nation Economy in the 1970s

First Nation organizations, whether for political/advocacy purposes or for service delivery, were in limited supply up until the late 1960s and early 1970s, but then began to develop rapidly. The National Indian Brotherhood, for example (which became the Assembly of First Nations) was founded in 1969, and similar organizations based on provincial or treaty group lines followed soon after. At this time, the institutional structure was relatively undifferentiated with few organizations that existed beyond the level of the Band Council. Much of actual service provision was still in the hands of provincial or federal governments. It was a decade later that specialized organizations assumed responsibility for particular services(e.g., native women, First Nation child welfare, addictions services, economic development , culture or communications). At this time, communities did not have economic development officers, although within a few years, staff concerned with community development or popular education would come on board.

While First Nation organizations had treaties and Aboriginal rights on the agenda, they were largely ignored by the rest of Canadian society, which often made the argument through its governments that Aboriginal rights had been extinguished by the passage of legislation, that treaty provisions no longer applied, or they did not apply in particular instances. However, First Nations were undeterred, and the testing of treaty and Aboriginal rights in the courts became a prominent feature of development strategy beginning in the early 1970s. An important milestone was reached a decade later when such rights were enshrined in the Canadian constitution, but court challenges have continued to the present day.

Accounts of the state of First Nation economies forty year ago are often regionally-based. One of the more detailed describes the Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq population in these terms.[9] In the mid-1970s to early 1980s, business development among the Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq was very limited, both on and off reserve. Within the 12 communities, there might at best have been a handful of small businesses, almost entirely geared to providing local (i.e., on reserve) services. "These small businesses usually have from 1 to 3 employees, with the exceptional case reaching as many as 15 to 20 persons. In 1980, some 150 Micmac were considered to be self-employed in the province.... They were engaged in such activities as handicraft production and sales, construction, dry walling, the operation of grocery stores, auto body shops, beauty salons and restaurants, the cutting of pulpwood, fishing, farming, the growing and selling of Christmas trees, and fuel oil deliver."[10]

There were few business support services available such as organizations representing business owners, community-based economic development officers, appropriate zoning and regulation, or industrial parks — the infrastructure that the mainstream society takes for granted. However, the federal Indian Economic Development Fund was available. In the decade from 1971 to 1981, it supported some 218 Micmac businesses at a cost of $8 million for loans and contributions. Of those businesses assisted, 56 per cent were still in existence in 1982. Other businesses were established through the L.E.A.P. Program of the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission.

Because of the youth of the population, a fairly large proportion is deemed to be in the labour force (employed or unemployed) but unfortunately the proportion unemployed on reserve is very high (66% in 1976, dropping to 51% in 1981). Much of the employment is seasonal. In 1980, about a third of the Micmac labour force has regular employment (meaning steady work for the year), while another third

[9] Vignette derived from Fred Wien: *Rebuilding the Economic Base of Indian Communities: The Micmac in Nova Scotia* (Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1986).
[10] Ibid, p. 225

has irregular employment and the remaining third is unemployed year-round. Among those employed and compared to the Nova Scotia labour force, Micmac men and women are less likely to be found in clerical, sales and service occupations but more likely to be engaged in fishing/hunting/trapping, as well as forestry occupations and especially in construction. This is because almost a third of the Micmac employed labour force is hired on short-term make-work projects, especially as "carpenters helpers" in house construction. Another 20 per cent work for their Band Council in more regular employment. Among those employed in 1980, 56 percent receive minimum wage remuneration. To make ends meet, about 60 per cent of the adult population relies on social assistance for some or all of their income in the 1975–1980 period.

In terms of education levels, 69 per cent of the 1981 adult population on reserve has grade 9 or less. Of the handful of students who make it to grade 12 each year, only 60 per cent graduate on average in the decade 1970–1980, compared to 84 per cent of all Nova Scotia students.

While there are regionally-based accounts of the state of First Nation economies in the 1960s and 1970s, such as the one excerpted above, one or the more useful sources at a national level is the 1966 Hawthorne Report which provided a similar picture of what was happening across the country on Indian reserves.[11]

The Hawthorne Report provides figures showing three-quarters of the population lived on reserve, and employment was heavily seasonal with about half of the male labour force found in the natural resource sector and in occupations and industries that were mostly unskilled and low-paid. Only 29 per cent of the male work force had employment for more than 9 months of the year, and about a third of all households depended on welfare grants provided by Indian Affairs. The participation rate in economic activity ranged from 20 to 50 per cent in the identified communities. Given these characteristics, it is not surprising that annual earnings and income were thought to be only about a third to a quarter of what was available to the non-Aboriginal population.

The report goes on to identify some of the factors thought to be related to economic underdevelopment: the distance and isolation from centres with job and income opportunities, the nature of the jobs that are available as described above, inadequate education and training, discrimination rooted in stereotypes, and the system of administration to which Indian people were subject.

PART B: WHAT HAS CHANGED IN THE PAST 40 YEARS? TWELVE CONCLUSIONS

Our full report to the Assembly of First Nations is extensively data based, containing more that 75 charts, tables and vignettes. We provide a contemporary profile of First Nation poverty and document in detail changes in population, business and institutional development, labour force participation, employment, income, education and various health and social characteristics. However, our documentation falls short of the range of indicators that would be required to measure the full extent of the vision articulated in the *Wahbung* statement.

For purposes of this summary, we provide the 12 principal conclusions of the full report, accompanied by a small number of illustrative charts. Each conclusion is expressed in bold italics below.

The important drivers of change in this period likely include the following factors:[12]

- Establishment of advocacy groups and service delivery organizations has provided a platform for an increasingly educated First Nation leadership to advocate for change. An experienced, determined political leadership adept at building coalitions and support has kept First Nation issues on the political agenda.
- While Supreme Court decisions have not always been favourable to First Nation interests, there have been several key decisions

[11] From H. B. Hawthorne et al., *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada* (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1966).

[12] The events of the period from 1969 through to the early 1990s are discussed in detail in Chapter 7: "Negotiation and Renewal", in *Volume I: Looking Forward, Looking Back: Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (Ottawa: Canada Communications Group, 1996).

that recognized Aboriginal and treaty rights, and have imposed obligations on governments to consult or to make room for Aboriginal interests.
- The hand of First Nation and other Aboriginal groups was further strengthened by the inclusion of the phrase in Section 35 of the Constitution that "[t]he existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed".[13]

The high profile lands conflict in 1990 at Oka, Quebec, gave rise to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples and to further constitutional negotiations. While the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords were not adopted, the debate at the time and reports of the Royal Commission fortified the claims of First Nations as an order of government distinct from the federal and provincial governments.

The high rate of First Nation population growth, and its increased urbanization added to the pressure on governments to find solutions to issues that were increasingly expensive to address.

Changes in Business Development

A major achievement has been in the growth of First Nation privately and community-owned businesses. Additionally, there are now "break-out" communities in each region of Canada, that are not only successful in providing a viable economic base for their own communities but are also a source of employment and business opportunity for surrounding areas.

As we noted in an earlier section, the state of business development in First Nation communities was quite rudimentary in the early 1970s, with the exception of self-employed persons engaged in traditional activities. Indeed, in different regions across the country, there was little evidence of successful economic development in the sense of communities breaking out of dependence on government funding and generating significant amounts of own source revenues through business development.

Forty years later, the situation is changed, although the information base on First Nation businesses is weak. A report prepared for Industry Canada[14] claims there was major growth in the number of Aboriginal business between 1981 and 1996, but the basis for this conclusion is shaky given the difficulty of comparing the Aboriginal population at these two points in time. Drawing on another report, we established that the First Nation self-employed living on reserve declined as a percentage of the population 15 years of age and over between 1971 and 1991, as it did in comparable non-Aboriginal communities and in Canada as a whole.[15] Furthermore, census data from the 1996, 2001 and 2006 show the decline with respect to on and off-reserve locations. In 2006, the First Nation self-employed stood at 5.8 per cent, compared to 12 per cent for the non-Aboriginal Canadian population (Chart 1).

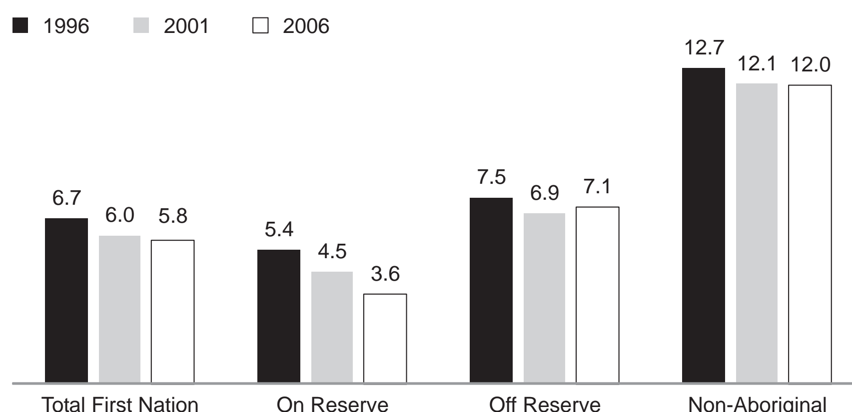
Nevertheless, in absolute numbers, the 2006 census reports 15,245 self-employed First Nation persons, an increase of some 3200 from a decade earlier. About 22 per cent of the self-employed in 2006 were found on reserve, with a similar number in off-reserve locations and the balance in urban areas. Women entrepreneurs made up 38 per cent of the total number.

The 1996 Industry Canada report noted above draws a profile of Aboriginal businesses at that time. Of interest are the following characteristics:

- Sectoral distribution which shows 20 per cent in primary industries such as agriculture, fishing, trapping and logging. Other prominent industries are recreation and personal services (at 19.1%) and construction at 14.6 per cent.

[13] The Constitution Act, 1982, Section 35, in Donna Lee Hawley (ed.), *The Annotated Indian Act 1993* (Toronto: Carswell, 1992), p. 147.
[14] Micro-Economic Policy Analysis Branch and Aboriginal Business Canada, *Aboriginal Entrepreneurs in Canada: Progress and Prospects* (Ottawa: Industry Canada, n.d.).
[15] Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *Socio-Economic Indicators in Indian Reserves and Comparable Communities, 1971–1991* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1997).

CHART 1
The Self-Employed as a Proportion of the Total Experienced Labour Force 15 Years of Age and Over, for the First Nation Identity Population On and Off Reserve and the Non-Aboriginal Population, 1996, 2001 and 2006.



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 94F0011XCB1996000 for 1996 data, Catalogue 97F0011XCB2001044 for 2001 data, and Catalogue 97-564-XCB2006002 for 2006 data.

- Under-representation in knowledge-based industries such as finance and insurance, business consulting and computer services — industries which are anticipated to grow most rapidly — but Aboriginal representation is increasing.
- Compared to Canadian businesses generally, a much higher proportion of Aboriginal businesses are engaged in export activities (19% versus 4%).
- Between 1981 to 1996, new Aboriginal businesses are estimated to have accounted for one in four of the net new Aboriginal jobs created in that period.

Information about the self-employed, provides only a partial picture of First Nation businesses because it leaves out community-owned businesses. Almost all First Nation communities have one or more community-owned businesses, that are successful and of significant size. Combined with privately-owned enterprises, they are the economic base of numerous First Nations, contributing to their making a successful transition from economic dependence to self-sustaining growth.

In each region of Canada, there are now First Nation communities with vibrant economies that are able not only to employ all those looking for work within their own community but are also to offer employment and provide an economic stimulus to the surrounding region. Some develop their economies using their own resources; others provide labour and contract services to major resource developments in their neighbourhood, while still others join forces with non-Aboriginal companies in joint venture arrangements. There are many paths to successful economic development.

Changes in the Institutional Framework

In reviewing the record of the past 40 years, we have also been impressed with the growth in what we call the institutional base for First Nation economic development.

Normally the economic base of a community is primarily its labour force and businesses, but there is a whole array of institutions that make a

critical difference to the success of local, regional and national economies. These institutions are often taken for granted in the mainstream society — whether they be zoning regulations, industrial parks or loan-providing agencies. Neglect of First Nation economies has meant that most supporting institutional structures have had to be built from the ground up in recent decades, at the insistence of the First Nation leadership and with support of governments. Important gaps still exist but there has been impressive growth in supporting institutional structures for First Nation economic development in the past 40 years.

- Virtually all First Nation communities have an economic development officer (EDO), although not all are full-time. Some EDOs have their own organizations such as the Atlantic Aboriginal Economic Developers Network (AAEDN), which has done impressive work with the Atlantic Chiefs' Strategy for Economic Development. At the national level, EDOs are represented by the Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers (CANDO). Among other achievements, CANDO has implemented a national training and certification program that is available to EDOs across the country.
- Many First Nations have also established organizations at the community or regional level as a means to manage their economic development portfolio and to provide a focal point for new initiatives. Community economic development organizations (CEDO's) play an important role in providing a measure of separation between the political and economic life of the community. Optimally, the political leadership is involved in providing a vision for the development of the community and in putting the basic infrastructure in place, while the CEDO manages the day-to-day affairs of the community-owned businesses.
- A network of financial institutions is now in place to provide loans, business services and other supports to First Nation businesses. This includes Aboriginal Capital Corporations located in different regions. These Aboriginal financial institutions provide about 1,400 loans annually totalling some $90 million. Other institutions include the First Nations Bank of Canada, special Aboriginal lending programs and services provided by the Canada's chartered banks, and loan and grant programs offered by government departments such as Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.
- Legislation has been passed that addresses some of the barriers to economic development created by the Indian Act and involving First Nation lands and financial authority. This includes the First Nations Land Management Act, the First Nations Fiscal and Statistical Management Act, the First Nations Oil and Gas and Money Management Act, and the First Nations Commercial and Industrial Act.
- There are many organizations that pursue specialized mandates to advance First Nation interests in economic development and governance. These include the Native Investment and Trade Association (NITA), the National Centre for First Nations Governance (NCFNG), the First Nations Tax Commission (FNTC), the Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business (CCAB), and the Canadian Executive Services Organization (CESO), among others.
- There have also been major improvements in the information base available to First Nations. At the Canadian Institutes of Health Research, for example, the Institute of Aboriginal Peoples Health has 9 regional centres which support high quality health research. Statistics Canada has implemented the Aboriginal Peoples Survey and the Aboriginal Children's Survey, and is collaborating on the establishment of the First Nation Statistical Institute (FNSI). At a regional level, the work of the Atlantic Aboriginal Economic Development Integrated Research Program (AAEDIRP) is an example of an initiative that seeks to provide research support for the implementation of regional economic development strategies.
- Important work contributing to health and healing is being undertaken by both community-based and national organizations. This includes the contribution of the Aboriginal Healing Foundation, the Government of Canada's apology with respect to residential schools and the related financial settlement program, and the work of First Nation child welfare and alcohol and drug agencies.

- A body of knowledge is emerging that supports First Nation world views regarding the appropriateness of a holistic approach to issues of development. This includes the work of the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development which stresses "sovereignty", good institutions of government, the role of culture, and the importance of leadership and strategic planning. The First Nation Development Institute offers an Indigenous perspective on community development.[16]
- A set of institutions and procedures designed to negotiate both comprehensive and specific land claims as well as self-government agreements has been established. Such agreements provide a measure of stewardship and control for First Nation people, as well as some much-needed capital and better access to lands/resources.
- A set of legislation, policies, programs and regulations that shape what is done, and what can be done, with respect to First Nation economic development is in place.[17] In addition, the federal government has recently released a new federal framework for Aboriginal economic development.[18] On the positive side, many of the institutional developments summarized in these pages would not have been possible without federal and sometimes provincial support. On the negative side, it still appears to be enormously difficult to bring about a shift in spending such that the task of rebuilding First Nation economies obtains the support that it requires.[19]

Still, there are important gaps in the institutional structure. These include access to capital (such as equity and venture). Indian Act constraints in land tenure and land management make it difficult for reserve communities to respond quickly to economic opportunities. Fragmentation and other shortcomings in federal policy and programs need to be addressed.

Change in Population and Labour Force Characteristics

Given the investments in the institutional framework that have occurred, the related growth in Aboriginal business development, as well as investments in education and other fields, is there any evidence, looking at outcome data, that the situation has improved for First Nations in the past 40 years? Is poverty on the way to becoming history and is the gap with the non-Aboriginal population narrowing on key socio-economic indicators? We summarize the data on this subject in the following conclusions, supplemented by some illustrative charts.

> *The socio-economic position of the First Nation population has improved over the past 40 years.*

Whether it is in labour force participation, education, employment or income, the statistics show that change is going in the right direction. The following chart, for example, shows how much change in female labour force participation (on reserve) has occurred in the period 1971–1991 (Chart 2). A similar but smaller increase occurred among the males.

Positive changes have occurred among the urban population as well. In Chart 3, we document the growth in employment income among the Aboriginal population in the years 1981–2001.[20] The positive trend continues in more recent years. According to the census, for exam-

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[16] See, for example, First Peoples Worldwide, *Okiciyab: Promoting Best Practices in Indigenous Community Development* (Fredericksburg, VA: First Nations Development Institute, 2006).

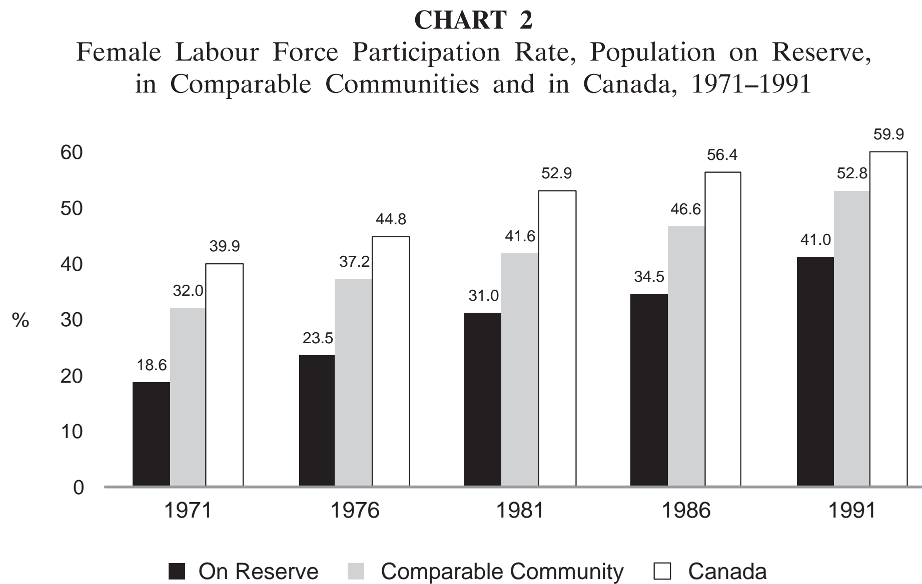
[17] For a discussion of the issues, see Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, *Sharing Canada's Prosperity — A Hand Up, Not a Handout*, Ottawa: Senate of Canada, 2007. See also, Public Policy Forum, "Economic Development in First Nations: An Overview of Current Issues", 2005; and Chiefs Committee on Economic Development, "A Discussion Paper: Concepts for a First Nation Economic Infrastructure" (Ottawa: Assembly of First Nations, n.d.).

[18] Government of Canada, *Federal Framework for Aboriginal Economic Development* (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government, 2009).

[19] The Final Report of the Senate Standing Committee on Aboriginal Peoples notes that only about 8 per cent, or $647 million out of some $9 billion in federal spending on programs and services directed to Aboriginal peoples is allocated for the purpose of Aboriginal economic development. Standing Senate Committee, op. cit., 2007, 9.15.

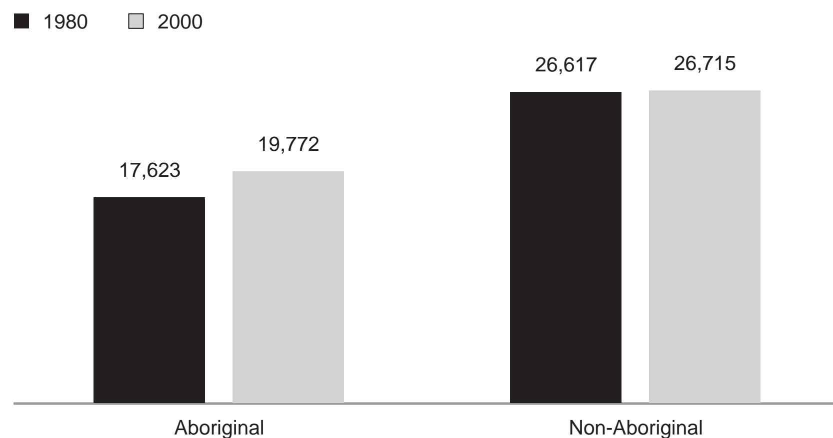
[20] Note that in Chart 2, the data is for the Aboriginal population, going beyond First Nations to include Inuit and Métis as well.

CHART 2
Female Labour Force Participation Rate, Population on Reserve, in Comparable Communities and in Canada, 1971–1991



Source: Socio-Economic Indicators, op. cit., Figure 17.

CHART 3
Median Employment Income for Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Persons Aged 15+ Average for Selected Cities, 1980–2000, in dollars

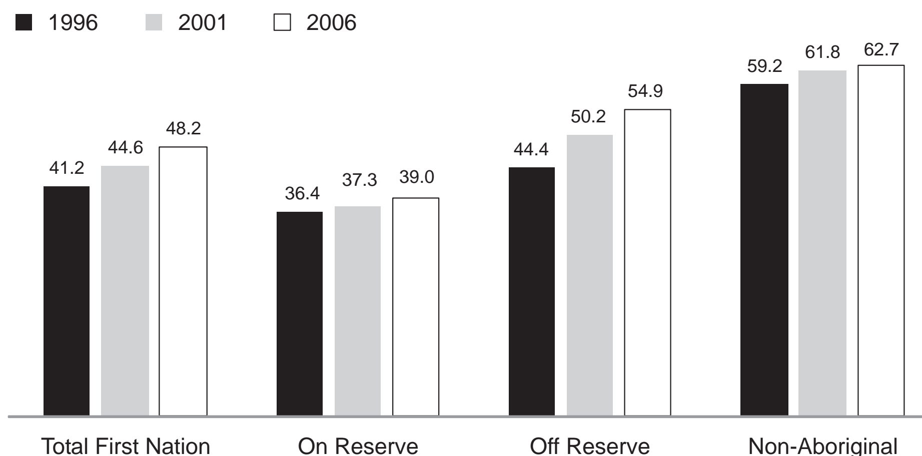


Source: Andrew J. Siggner and Rosalinda Costa, *Aboriginal Conditions in Census Metropolitan Areas*, 1981–2001, Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 89-613-MIE — No. 008, 2005, Table 7.

ple, the level of employment of the First Nation population has improved in the period 1996–2006 (Chart 4).

In the period to the mid-1990s, the rate of positive change on many critical indicators has been greater for the

CHART 4
Employment Rate of the First Nation Identity and Non-Aboriginal Population
1996, 2001, and 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 94F0011XCB1996000 for 1996 data, Catalogue 97F0011XCB2001044 for 2001 data, and Catalogue 97-564-XCB2006002 for 2006 data. The employment rate is the proportion of persons employed to the population 15 years of age and over.

Canadian population than it has been for the First Nation population. As a result, the gap in education levels and on some indicators of employment and income has widened.

Chart 5 shows, for example, that the proportion of the population 15 years of age and over with some university education increased from 2.3 to 7.4 per cent of the population living on reserve between 1971 and 1991. The increase among the non-Aboriginal population was more substantial, from 10.8 to 20.8 per cent.

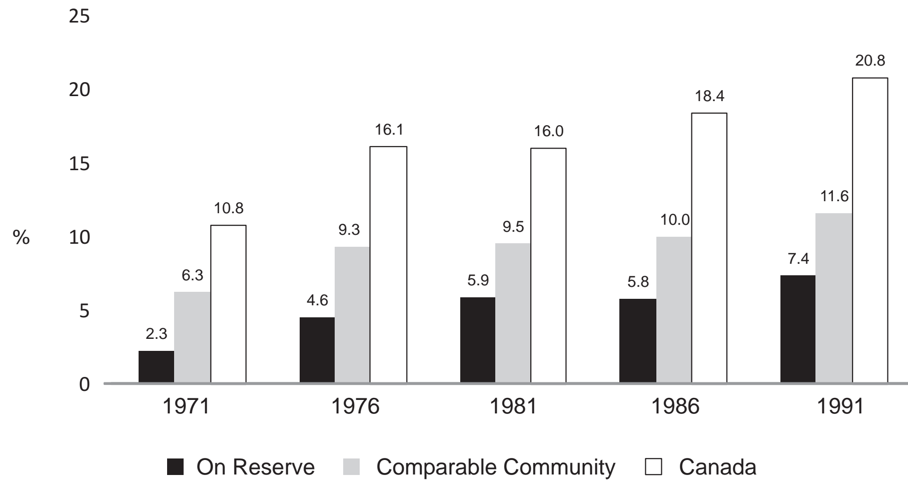
However, most indicators show a narrowing of the inequality gap during 1996–2006 when the Canadian economy was growing strongly. This contributes to the conclusion that progress in reducing the gap in relative or comparative terms is likely when the macro-economy is growing strongly. Chart 6, for example, shows a considerable reduction in government transfers as a proportion of total income for First Nation persons between 1995–2005, more so than for the non-Aboriginal population although the starting point was much higher for First Nation persons.

While progress has been encouraging, the First Nation economy is especially vulnerable to recessions, which can reverse, at least for a time, the documented positive changes.

Many First Nation businesses are less well established, overrepresented in the primary resources sector and more likely to be engaged (and exposed) in the export of goods and services. The First Nation labour force is younger, growing faster, has less union protection and seniority, and less education — all of which make it more vulnerable in the current climate. Chart 7 gives some empirical support to this conclusion. It shows the unemployment rate for First Nation persons on reserve spiking sharply upward in the 1981–86 period (top line), a time when Canada was experiencing a serious recession.

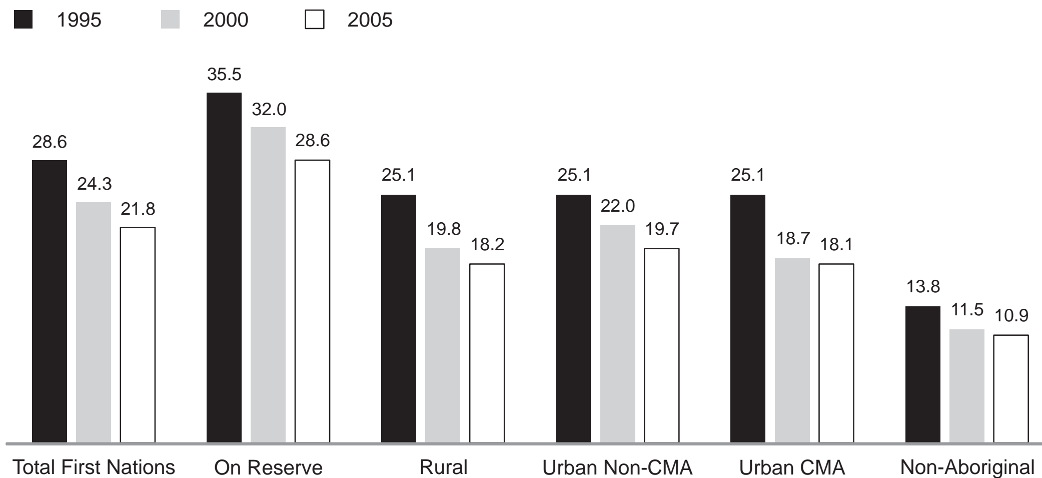
First Nation young people in the labour market face especially challenging, even desperate, times despite a recent favourable economic environment.

CHART 5
Population 15 Years of Age and Over with Some University Education, Population on Reserve, in Comparable Communities and Canada, 1971–1991



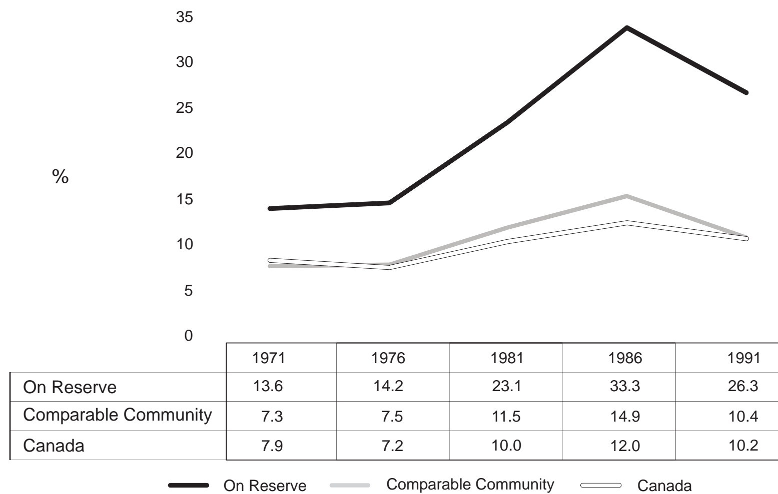
Source: Socio-Economic Indicators, op. cit., Figure 9.

CHART 6
Government Transfers as a Proportion of Total Income, for the First Nation Identity Population by Location and the Non-Aboriginal Population 15 Years of Age and Over 1995, 2000 and 2005



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 94F0011XCB1996000 for 1996 data, Catalogue 97F0011XCB2001046 for 2001 data, and Catalogue 97-564-XCB2006002 for 2006 data. In 1996, the percentage reported is for the off-reserve population as a whole.

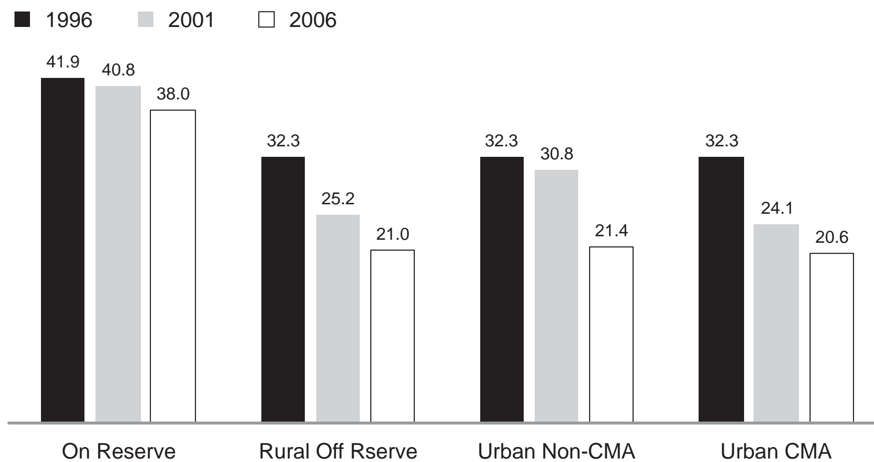
CHART 7
Unemployment Rate, Population on Reserve
in Comparable Communities and in Canada, 1971–1991



	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991
On Reserve	13.6	14.2	23.1	33.3	26.3
Comparable Community	7.3	7.5	11.5	14.9	10.4
Canada	7.9	7.2	10.0	12.0	10.2

Source: Socio-Economic Indicators, op. cit., Figure 21.

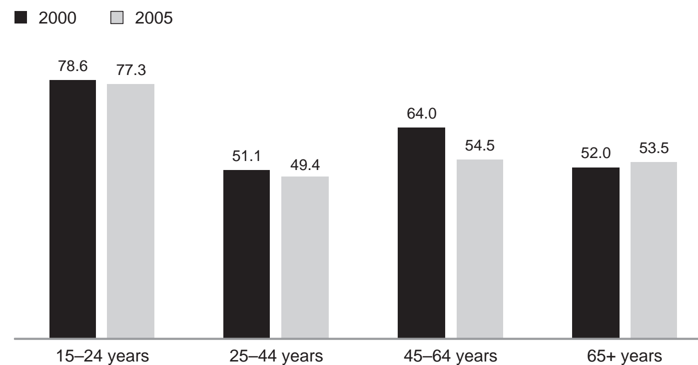
CHART 8
Unemployment Rate of the First Nation Population 15 to 24 years of Age, by Location
1996, 2001, and 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 94F0011XCB1996000 for 1996 data; Catalogue 97F0011XCB2001044 for 2001 data, and Catalogue 97-564-XCB2006002 for 2006 data. For 1996, the off reserve data is not available according to location off reserve.

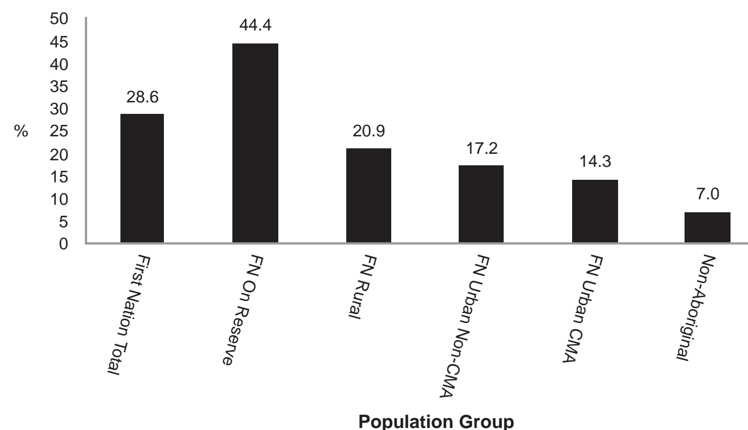
As of 2006, young people had lower education levels and high unemployment rates and this was the case whether they were located on or off reserve. Chart 8 provides figures on unem-

CHART 9
Incidence of Low Income for Persons Living as Unattached Individuals, First Nation Identity Population by Age Group, 2000 and 2005



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 97F0011XCB2001046 for 2001 data, and Catalogue 97-564-XCB2006002 for 2006 data. Income figures are before taxes. Information is not available for 1996.

CHART 10
Condition of Dwellings: Per Cent of the First Nation Identity and Non-Aboriginal Population Living in Housing Requiring Major Repairs, 2006



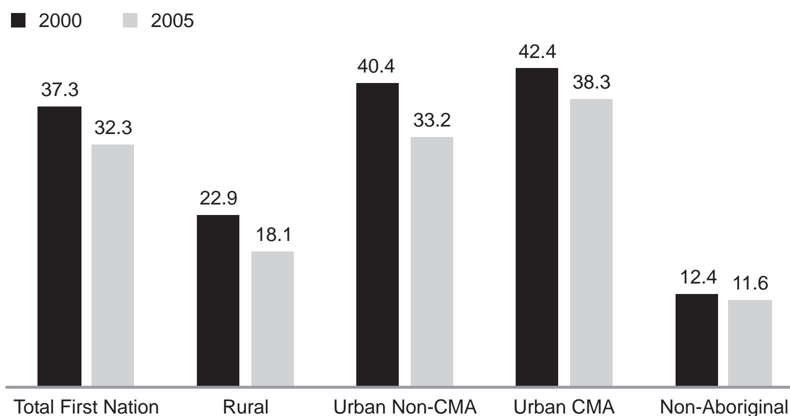
Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 558-XCB2006022.

ployment rates for the 15 to 24 year-old population, rates which are in the order of 40 per cent for those living on reserve. The incidence of low income was also very high (Chart 9).

For the most part, urban First Nation residents are better off than those living on reserve, but less well off than the larger Canadian population.

Chart 10, for example, provides data on the quality of housing. However, on some indicators such as the incidence of poverty, urban Aboriginal residents fare less well (Chart 11) and, of

CHART 11
Incidence of Low Income for Persons Living in Families, First Nation Identity Population by Location and the Non-Aboriginal Population, 2000 and 2005



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 97F0011XCB2001046 for 2001 data, and Catalogue 97-564-XCB2006002 for 2006 data. Income figures are before taxes. Information not available for 1996 and for the on reserve population.

course, on cultural measures such as language use and retention, they face a very challenging situation.

Figures on the proportion of the First Nation population living off reserve vary from 45 to 57 per cent depending on how the population is defined and the data source. Despite a substantial urban migration since the early 1970s, it is a population that has not had sufficient attention paid to it. There is a lack of research, policy, programs and engagement to address the particular needs of this segment of the First Nation population.

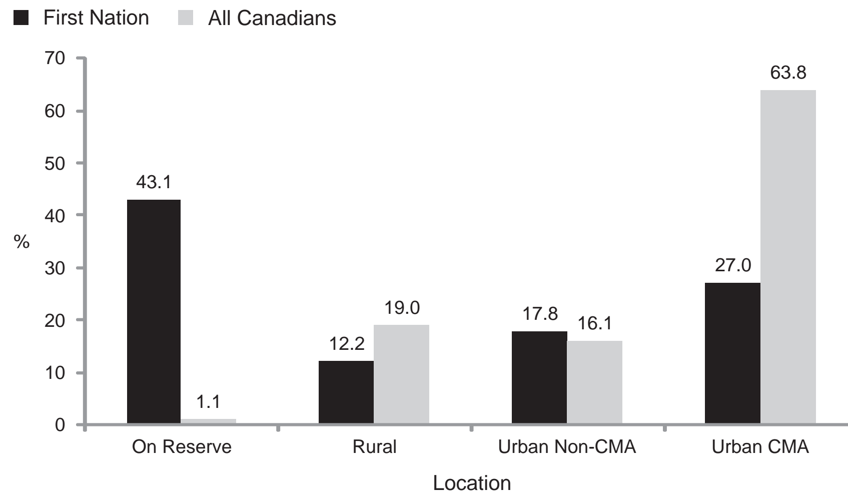
However, the First Nation population is still very much a rural population, especially in comparison with the rest of Canada.

While the rest of Canada is 80 per cent urban, only about 45 per cent of the First Nation identity population live in urban areas (Chart 12). As evidenced by rural to urban commuting patterns and comparisons of unemployment rates, urban areas in Canada are now and will likely continue to be, centres of economic, educational and other forms of dynamism and opportunity. Thus an important research and policy challenge remains one of establishing appropriate development strategies for rural and isolated communities, and how they can develop a viable urban connection.

Positive change, whether in education, employment or income, has been more substantial among the off-reserve First Nation population than on-reserve. The result of this trend over time is that the gap that exists between on and off reserve, between rural and urban, is increasing rather than decreasing.

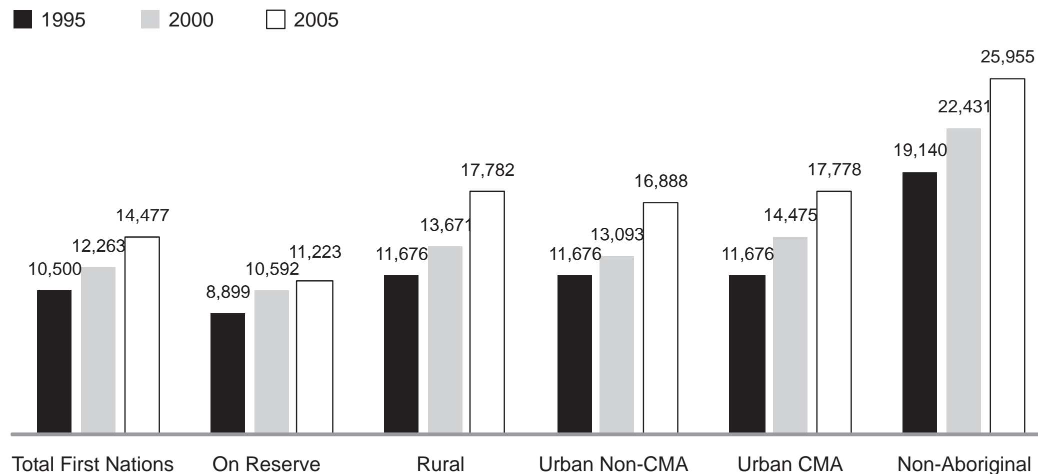
In Chart 13, for example, we show the change in median income that has occurred since 1995 by location. The chart shows only moderate income growth for the on reserve location but a much more substantial improvement for those First Nation persons living off reserve in rural areas and in urban locations. Thus reserve-based economies require effective development strategies as much as do urban areas. In fact, it is a more challenging assignment because, on average, employment and business opportunities are more likely to be found in urban areas.

CHART 12
On Reserve, Rural, and Urban Location of the First Nation Identity Population and All Canadians, 2006



Note: Urban Non-CMA areas number from 1,000 to 100,000 people. Urban CMA's are 100,000 persons and over. Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 97-558-XCB2006006.

CHART 13
Median Income, Population 15 Years of Age and Over, for the First Nation Identity Population by Location and the Non-Aboriginal Population, 1996, 2001, and 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue 94F0011XCB1996000 for 1996 data, Catalogue 97F0011XCB2001046 for 2001 data, and Catalogue 97-564-XCB2006002 for 2006 data. In 1996, the median income reported is for the off-reserve population as a whole.

CHART 14
Average Annual Growth Rates of the Registered Indian and Canadian Populations within Five-Year Periods, Medium Growth Scenario, 2001–2026

Population	*2001–2006*	*2006–2011*	*2011–2016*	*2016–2021*	*2021–2026*
Total Registered Indian	1.9%	1.7%	1.5%	1.3%	1.1%
Canadian Population	1.0%	0.8%	0.8%	0.7%	0.7%

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *Aboriginal Demography: Population, Household and Family Projections, 2001–2026*, Table 16. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Policy and Research Division, 2007.

The First Nation population is growing more rapidly than the Canadian population as a whole (Chart 14). Amid predictions of labour shortages in the Canadian economy, this presents an opportunity for First Nation people to fill many of the job vacancies that will be available after the current recession ends.

Yet, the preferred approach by governments relies on immigration rather than the development and implementation of a strategy for matching the supply of First Nation labour with demand, along with an appropriate approach to labour force training.

Finally, we note that First Nation development strategies, especially for communities located in rural areas, tend to focus on the natural resource sector and on First Nation business development. A natural resource sector strategy often makes good sense from the point of view of First Nation business development, but the capital-intensive nature of natural resource development means that it typically provides relatively few jobs.

CONCLUSION

First Nations in Canada are in the process of making an historic but difficult transition from a time when they were the subject of assimilative measures, external control and physical displacement. They have regrouped and have made considerable progress in realizing key elements of the Wahbung vision. Important gaps remain not only in economic development, but also education, culture, child welfare, and governance. Issues in these fields define the development agenda for the coming years.

We should all be encouraged by the progress that has been made, while renewing the commitment to continue the struggle which may well take a full “seven generations”.

APPENDIX A
The Making Poverty History Expert Advisory Committee

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Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development

Call for Papers
Volume 7, Issue 1

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

Volume 7, Issue 1 of JAED will be published in September 2010 in preparation for the CANDO 17th Annual National Conference and AGM (Niagara Falls, Ontario).

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

The editors of the next Issue will be specifically interested in individual, organizational, and community responses to the pieces in the new "State of the Aboriginal Economy" section, particularly the articles by Oppenheimer and Weir, and Wuttunee and Wien.

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

Warren Weir — Editor
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Submissions by e-mail are welcomed, in fact preferred. Send the paper as an attachment to the e-mail address above. The deadline for receipt of submissions for Volume 7, Issue 1 is March 31, 2010. 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 2. The deadline for receipt of submissions for Issue 7.1, tentatively scheduled to be published **September 2010**. Should you require further information please contact Svitlana Konoval, CANDO Executive and Administrative Services Coordinator at 1-800-463-9300 or skonoval@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**. For the next set of issues, we will be highlighting an additional section, **The State of the Aboriginal Economy**. Please send three copies of your manuscript. Contributions may vary in length, depending upon the section they are written for. We are looking for submissions in the range of 15–20 pages, or about 4,000 words for research papers, book reviews of about 1,000 words, and experience sections of about 2,000–3,000 words. Manuscripts submitted should be single spaced with 1.5 inch margins all around and page numbers at the bottom middle. The title page should indicate the section for which you are submitting. All identifying information should be restricted to this one page. Review for publication will take approximately 8–12 weeks from time of receipt.

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

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

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

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

The State of the Aboriginal Economic Development will feature current views on the evolving state of the Aboriginal economy and responses to the newly proposed Federal Framework on Aboriginal Economic Development.

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

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 that the

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