

Aboriginal Women, Mining Negotiations, and Project Development:  
Analyzing the motivations and priorities shaping leadership and participation

By

Stéphanie C. LaBelle

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of

The University of Manitoba

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Native Studies

University of Manitoba

Winnipeg, Manitoba

Copyright © 2015 by Stéphanie C. LaBelle

# Aboriginal Women, Mining Negotiations and Project Development: Analyzing the motivations and priorities shaping leadership and participation

Stéphanie C. LaBelle

Master of Arts  
Department of Native Studies  
University of Manitoba  
2015

## **Abstract**

The major objective of this thesis is to assess the role and contributions of Aboriginal women to mining negotiations and project development. Utilizing qualitative feminist research methodology, this research incorporated the perspectives of several participants all involved in the mining industry in different capacities. Through bridging the realities, observations, experiences, and contributions of a variety of stakeholders, this project assesses how and why Aboriginal women are involved in mining negotiations and project development, measures to facilitate women's involvement in mining development and negotiations, and how to improve the relationships between mining industry and Aboriginal stakeholders.

## Acknowledgements

I extend my utmost gratitude to my thesis advisor, Dr. Wanda Wuttunee, for her constant support and encouragement. The project would not have been possible without her meticulous editing, recommendations and contributions. Dr. Wuttunee's commitment to developing her craft, and contributing to the field of Native Studies, Community Development, and Social Responsibility, is inspiring.

I would also like to recognize the members of my graduate committee. Dr. Sherry Farrell Racette, whose ability to see intersections among and between disciplines is remarkable. Her ability to frame research methodology creatively and dynamically was a driving force in my own research process. Professor Thomas Henley, whose unparalleled wealth of knowledge was exhibited through his continuous support, follow-ups, and direction,

I am pleased to acknowledge the generous financial support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada through the Manitoba Research Alliance grant: Partnering for Change – Community-based solutions for Aboriginal and inner-city poverty.

This research would not have been possible without the support of Gaétan Malette. His kindness and encouragement is deeply acknowledged and appreciated.

To my research participants who all became my teachers, thank you for taking the time and making the effort to participate and contribute to this project. Their respective emphasis on the importance of values, ethics, and goals through stories connecting and bridging multitude of areas highlights that decisions and experiences are never isolated.

I am grateful to my patient and diligent editor, and one of my biggest supporters, Catherine Packman, who spent many nights at my side reading and reviewing, unpacking and reorganizing this paper.

To all those helped me make a home of Winnipeg, the once-strangers who became family; there are no words to express how much your support, time, and help means to me. Jevian Haywood, Rhett Palas, Laurence Lau, and Mathieu Simard, your friendship was a gift that brought out the best of the last few years. Linda McGarva-Cohen and James Cohen, whose generosity and warmth will always be remembered. Thank you for inviting me into your home.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, Richard and Barbara, who have supported me with love and encouragement every step of the way.

## Table Of Contents

<b>Abstract.....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>Acknowledgements.....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>List of Figures.....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>Acronyms.....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>Glossary of Terms.....</b>	<b>viii</b>

### **Chapter One: Introduction**

1.1. Context	1
1.2. Problem	5
1.3. Purpose and Research Questions	7
1.4. Research Design Overview	8
1.5. Thesis Outline	9

### **Chapter Two: Literature Review**

2.1. Chapter Introduction	10
2.2. Sustainable Considerations in Mining	12
2.3. Social License to Operate	18
2.4. Traditional Knowledge and Traditional Ecological Knowledge	23
2.5. Environmental Assessment	28
2.6. Impact and Benefits Agreements	33
2.7. Mining and Aboriginal Women	36
2.8. Chapter Summary	44

### **Chapter Three: Methodology**

3.1. Chapter Introduction	45
3.2. Research Design	48
3.3. Research Sample	55
3.4. Data Collection Methods	57
3.5. Ethical Considerations	62
3.6. Limitations of Study	65
3.7. Chapter Summary	66

### **Chapter Four: Data Analysis**

4.1. Chapter Introduction	68
4.2. Data Analysis Methodology	69
4.3. Findings	70
4.4. Chapter Summary	89

## **Chapter Five: Conclusion**

5.1.	Chapter Introduction	90
5.2.	Research Overview	91
5.3.	Discussion	93
5.4.	Contributions and Significance	99
5.5.	Strengths and Limitations	101
5.6.	Future Research	102

## **Chapter Six: Recommendations**

6.1.	Communities	104
6.2.	Companies	108
6.3.	Policy	110

<b>Works Cited</b>	<b>111</b>
--------------------	------------

## **List of Figures**

Figure 1.1. Mineral Claims in Canada

Figure 1.2. Aboriginal Mining Agreements Figure 2.1. Literature Review Concepts and Outline

Figure 3.1. Participant Biographical and Contextual Information

## **Acronyms**

CAMA- Canadian Aboriginal Minerals Association

CEAA- Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency

EA- Environmental assessment

IBA- Impact and benefits agreements

IN- Innu Nation

MW- Mining Watch

NGO- Non-governmental organization

PFII- Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues

SLO- Social license to operate

TK- Traditional knowledge

TEK- Traditional ecological knowledge

SWCNT- Status of Women Council of the Northwest Territories

TIA- Tongamiut Inuit Annait Ad Hoc Committee on Aboriginal Women and Mining in Labrador

YCS- Yukon Conservation Society

YSWC- Yukon Status of Women Council

## Glossary of Terms

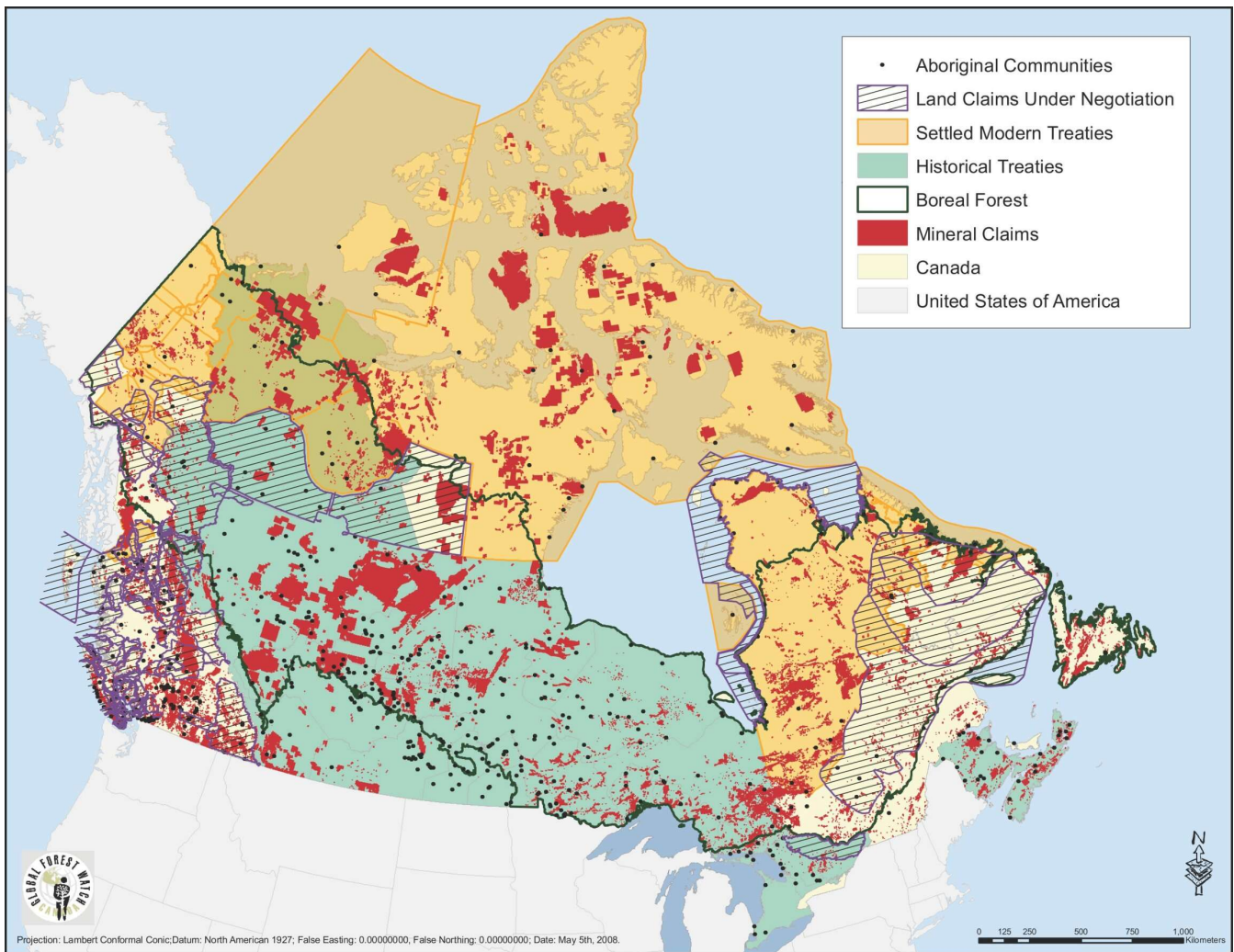
Aboriginal	Describes First Nation, Inuit and Metis peoples as described in Subsection 35 of the Canadian Constitution Act 1982.
Community	Refers to an Aboriginal community, unless otherwise noted as a local community.
Indigenous	Describes Aboriginal peoples in an international context.
First Nation	Refers to Aboriginal peoples of Canada, excluding Metis and Inuit.



## **Chapter One: Introduction**

### **1.1. Context**

The natural resource development decisions that have such significant negative economic and social impacts on Aboriginal communities have largely been relegated to provincial and federal governments and corporations (Campbell, 2003, p.48). There is evidence detailing the many ways in which mining negatively impacts Indigenous peoples. The natural resources claimed on traditional lands or treaty territories of Aboriginal groups are extensive and have resulted in ongoing disputes between corporate interests, governments, and Aboriginal communities. Historically, Aboriginal people have been excluded from any meaningful input on resource development occurring on traditional territories (Mann, 2000). This policy of exclusion has had significant negative impacts, as Aboriginal communities have had to live with a disproportionate ratio of costs to benefits. This lack of input and control over the development of traditional territories continues to be one of the most critical issues facing Aboriginal communities today (Mann, 2000). As it stands, approximately 1,200 Aboriginal communities are located within a 200 kilometers radius of roughly 180 producing mines and more than 2,500 active exploration properties (Marshall, n.d, p. 7).

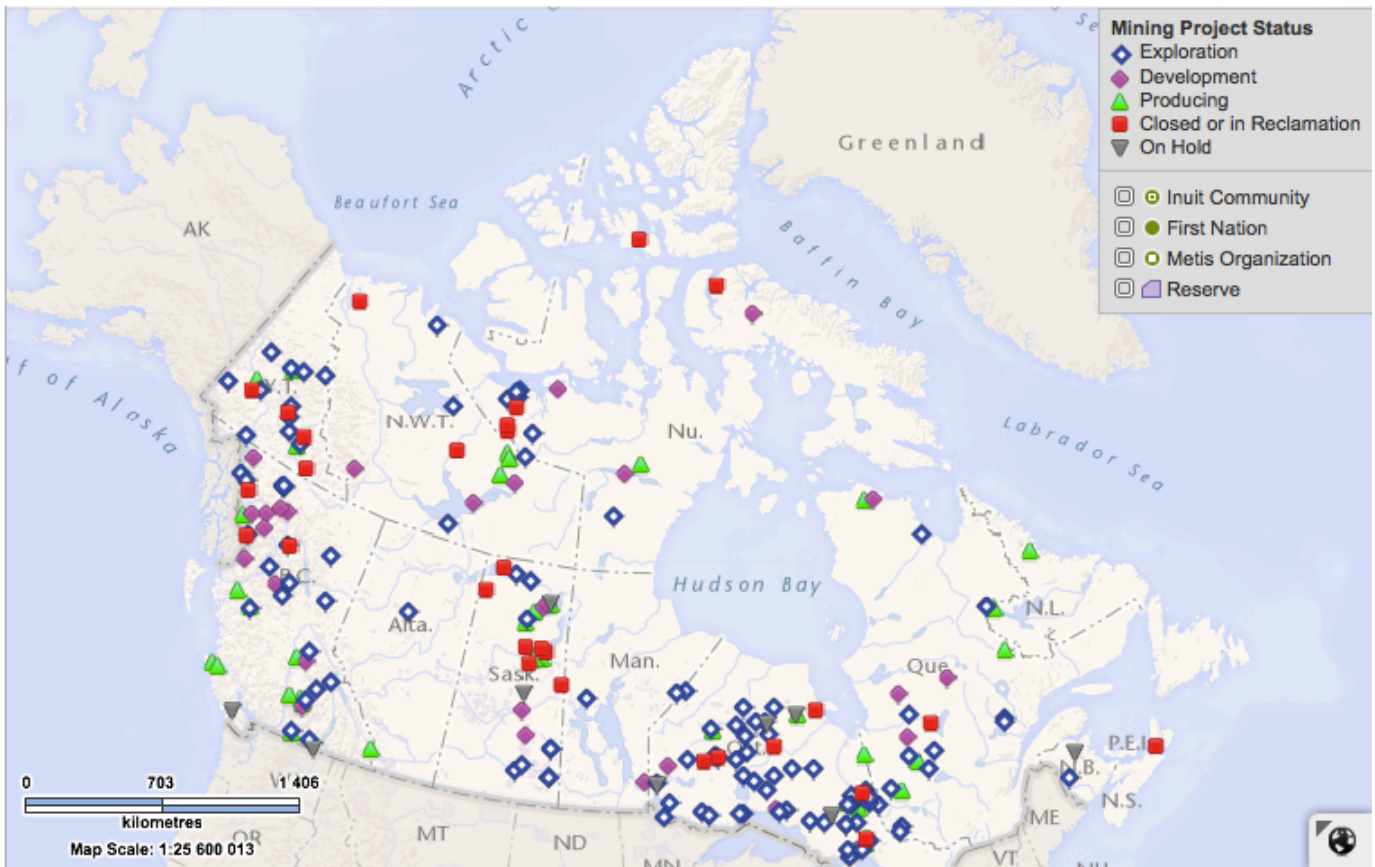


**Figure 1.1. Mineral Claims in Canada**  
 Canadian Boreal Initiative (CBI) © 2008 with permission.

With older mineral deposits depleting, the relationship between mining and Aboriginal peoples in Canada is becoming of the utmost importance as prospectors, companies, and provincial and federal governments are rushing northbound towards the last remaining frontier of mineral exploration and exploitation.

A comprehensive study of the world's most mineral dependent countries outlines that increased mineral dependency correlates directly to a higher level of social woes, such as poverty, low economic growth, low life expectancy, income inequality, and vulnerability to economic shocks and corruption (Kuyek & Coumans, 2003, p. 18; Gibson & Klinck, 2005, pp.

120-134). The societal changes brought by mining development may be compounded in communities that already have high levels of poverty, as dependence on a narrowing scope of resources limits community and individual resilience, more specifically the ability to manage and to change in response to the unexpected, such as natural disasters (Gibson & Klinck, 2005, pp. 118-120). Nonetheless, many communities see benefits in mining, such as stimulating community development through job creation, providing opportunities in education and training, diversifying local business and economies, providing opportunities in entrepreneurship in related services, and facilitating community projects (Cleghorn, 1999; Hipwell, Mamen, Weitzner & Whiteman, 2002; O'Reilly & Eacott, 2000; Paci & Villbrun, 2005; Stevenson, 2001; Weitzner, 2006).



**Figure 1.2. Aboriginal Mining Agreements**

Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada, as represented by the Minister of Natural Resources © 2015

If these projects are to happen, they should be negotiated and organized in a way that promotes community benefits for present and future generations. These agreements allow Aboriginal communities to determine what they want as their collective future, allowing them to set priorities, goals, and expected deliverables. Aboriginal communities have been able to position themselves as key players in the development of mining projects. Through utilizing deliberate strategies, such as law and policy, delay tactics, and mobilizing alliances, Aboriginal communities are able to leverage their own demands and expectations (O'Faircheallaigh, 2012, p. 6; Hipwell et al., 2002, p. 24). Corporate failure to recognize the importance of involving Aboriginal communities and having all aspects of their projects recognized and accepted can result in conflicts, delays and added costs (Trebek, 2007, p. 542). As such, incorporating Aboriginal demands into corporate decision-making has become a prudent strategy for companies looking to expand on traditional lands (Trebek, 2007, p. 542).

The political capacity of Aboriginal groups and organizations has a tremendous impact in leveraging what resources mining companies are willing to compromise to gain their support (O'Faircheallaigh, 2006). New standards continue to be defined, developed and refined that allow for greater, and more equitable partnerships with Aboriginal communities. The general public as well as Aboriginal people are expecting greater ethical performance and social responsibility in resource industries, as well as demanding increased participation from surrounding local communities (Kapelus, 2002, p. 277; Lertzman & Vredenburg, 2005, p. 240). This has sparked research that emphasizes the relationship between mining companies and Aboriginal peoples.

## 1.2. Problem

The impacts and outcomes of mining on Indigenous women around the world are identified as an emerging global issue, provoking a gendered analysis of the relationship between Indigenous communities and the mining industry. Indigenous women have been further marginalized by the economic development of their communities through natural resource exploitation (Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues [PFII], 2004). Natural resource industries, especially mining, and related negotiations, tend to be male-dominated. As Aboriginal women are often left out of planning and agreement processes, insufficient consideration is given to the impact of these projects on women, who are often left to cope with the results (Brockman & Argue, 1995; Macdonald & Rowland, 2002; O'Faircheallaigh, 2011; Yukon Status of Women Council [YSWC] & Yukon Conservation Society [YCS], 2001). The only way to begin ensuring that Aboriginal women are not marginalized by mining projects is to make sure they are actively involved in negotiations and project development. Various factors can facilitate or inhibit this, such as cultural values regarding women's status, the organizational culture of the companies involved, and the political environment within communities.

Some of the gendered effects of mining on Aboriginal women are the feminization of poverty, domestic violence, and sexual exploitation and sexually transmitted infections (Brockman & Argue, 1995; Czuzewski, Tester, Aaruaq & Blangy, 2014; YSWC & YCS, 2000). These are all fueled by increased access to money, a transient male workforce, and a rise in substance abuse that accompanies these projects (Macdonald & Rowland, 2002, p. 4). Positioning the perspective of women at the center of negotiations and project development would ensure a more holistic consideration of the nature of mining development for Aboriginal communities. Mining companies developing projects with increased emphasis on the

foundations of sustainability and working with communities is expected, and will only continue over time.

In Canada, there exist many examples of Aboriginal women mobilizing and demonstrating admirable leadership in making sure their voices are heard throughout negotiations and project development between companies and their communities. The experiences of women need to be acknowledged in mining in order to create balanced projects that will benefit all community members. The Inuit and Innu women of Labrador played a key role in shaping negotiations for the Voisey's Bay mine. In addition, a number of Aboriginal women have represented their community on Diavik's Environmental Advisory Board (O'Faircheallaigh, 2011, pp. 91-101). For the most part, reports, conference results, and committee publications commissioned or created by Aboriginal organizations address the impacts of mining on women (Fouillard 1996; Innu Nation [IN] and Mining Watch [MW], 1999; Tongamiut Inuit Annait Ad Hoc Committee on Aboriginal Women and Mining in Labrador [TIA], 1997; YSWC & YCS, 2001). Ciaran O'Faircheallaigh has published important work on the role of women in the Voisey's Bay and Diavik projects. According to him: "research focusing on the experience of women involved in these negotiations, on the conditions that made their involvement possible, and on the impact of their participation on negotiation processes and outcomes, would be valuable" (2011, 92). This demonstrates that research in this area needs to be made a priority to provide communities, companies, and governments with the information necessary in ensuring that no one is marginalized by mining development.

This research will assess the role and contributions of Aboriginal women in mining negotiations and project development through incorporating the perspectives of several participants all involved in the mining industry in different capacities. Through bridging the

realities, observations, experiences, and contributions of a variety of stakeholders, the intent of this project is to contribute to the knowledge base of how and why Aboriginal women are involved in mining. This will help to facilitate and improve women's involvement and leadership in community engagement with mining companies.

### 1.3. Purpose and Research Questions

The aim of this research is to assess the *role and contributions of Aboriginal women in mining negotiations and project development*. In order to meet the research aim, three specific objectives are pursued:

- (1) To identify how and what Aboriginal women contribute to mining negotiations and project development;
- (2) To examine the ways in which Aboriginal women are involved in decision-making relating to mining; and
- (3) To outline what the experiences of Aboriginal women contribute to developing mining negotiations and development with Aboriginal communities.

## 1.4. Research Design Overview

The foundation of this research rests entirely on qualitative methodology, values and concepts. Qualitative research methodologies encourage a more flexible approach, and provide a space for an organic and inclusive research process (Somekh & Lewin, 2004, p. 21). Qualitative research is based on specific attitudes; it demands openness towards research participants and flexibility in approach and development (Flick, 2007, p. 14; Somekh & Lewin, 2004, p. 225). It was these attitudes that guided and shaped the research process and outcomes. While this research is grounded in qualitative methodology, it was shaped by a feminist research approach. With the help of a gatekeeper, snowball sampling was utilized as the main method of recruitment for this project. I interviewed six participants, men and women, Aboriginal and Euro-Canadian, from a variety of backgrounds, all engaged in mining negotiations and project development with Aboriginal communities. This diversity of backgrounds, positions, and experiences within the mining industry resulted in dynamic research findings. I was able to pull from varying qualitative interview strategies and adjust them for each of the participants. Interviews were organized to reflect the logistics of the meetings, as well as my relationship with each respective participant. A meeting over coffee with someone I had known for years would be different than a phone-interview with a participant I had never met in person. The interview model utilized in this research is a fusion of qualitative, feminist, responsive and informal conversational interview strategies.



## 1.5. Thesis Outline

This thesis is organized into five chapters. Chapter Two undertakes a review of the literature on the key tenets of sustainability in the mining industry, highlighting the nature of social license to operate (SLO), traditional knowledge (TK) and traditional ecological knowledge (TEK), environmental assessments (EA) and impact and benefit agreements (IBA), and specifically how they relate to Aboriginal peoples and Aboriginal women. Chapter Three offers a background into the development of research methodology used in refining research protocol. Chapter Four provides findings from key informant interviews. Chapter Five provides concluding remarks, highlighting the contributions of this research to scholarship and practice, and describes future research directions. Finally, Chapter Six will offer recommendations based on research findings to communities, companies, and to government policy delineating how to improve engagement and sustainability in the mining industry.

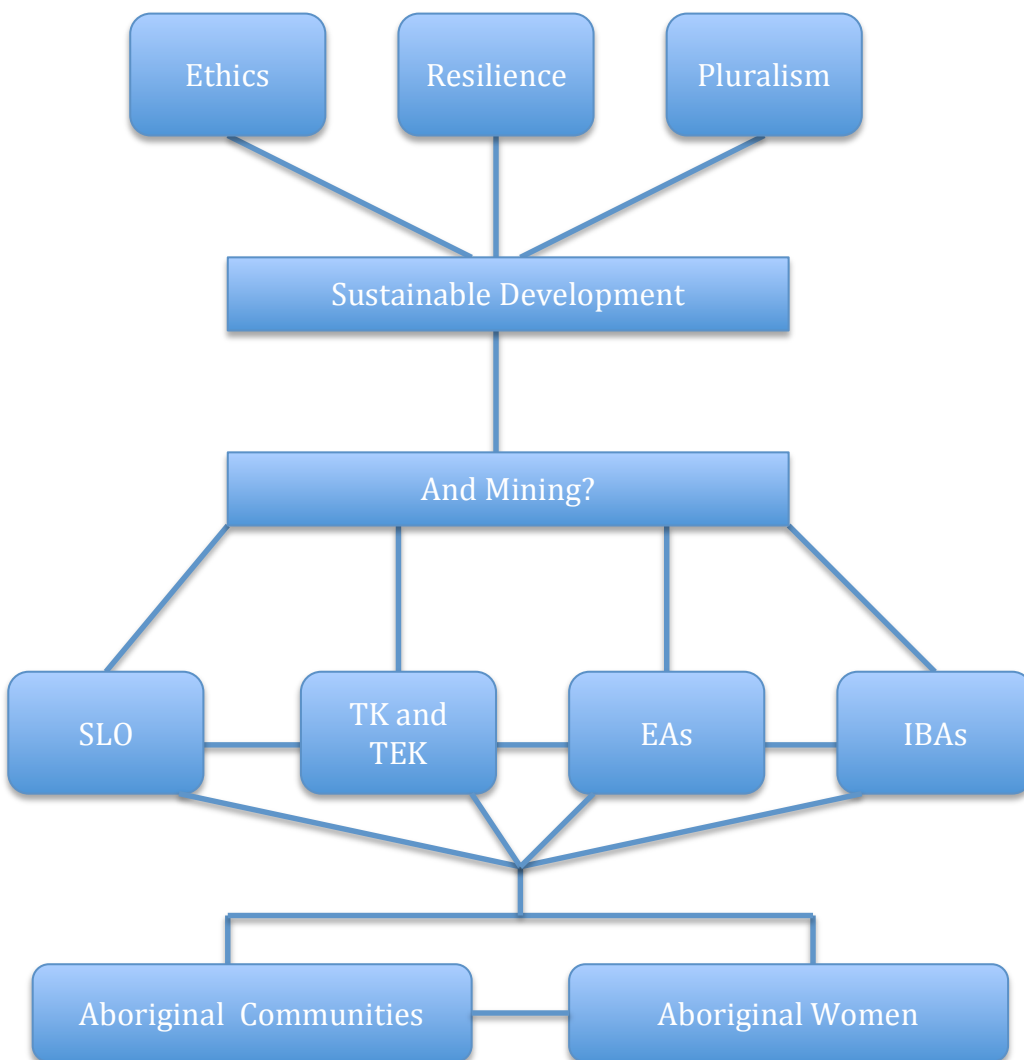
## **Chapter Two: Literature Review**

### **2.1. Chapter Introduction**

Our Common Future, also known as the Brundtland Report, commissioned in 1987 by the United Nations World Forum on Environment and Development, marked a significant turning point of societal discourse and meditation of the relationship between environment, development and governance (Sneddon, Howarth & Norgaard, 2006, p. 253). According to the Brundtland Report: “Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (United Nations, 1987, p. 47). This demonstrates that, at its core, sustainable development rests on the foundation of creating healthy communities by focusing on promoting and ensuring the factors necessary for sustainable livelihoods. It brings into focus the need to plan development with environmental, economic, and social considerations. Since publication, the Brundtland Report has been subject to notable criticism, which only strengthens the dialogue and debate directing and shaping its continuous evolution. Sustainability is a living concept, evolving with time based on changing social, economic, and environmental circumstances, as well as public expectations set by industry, academics, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community demands. Continued debate and dialogue on the nature of sustainable development ensures that the concept remains relevant to changing societal circumstances.

This chapter will first discuss prevalent literature on sustainable development, and establish its conceptual discourse in resilience, ethics, and pluralism. Thereafter, it will position sustainability through discussing the four key tenets that are common in literature and in practice regarding mining. First, SLO outlines the ways in which communities can shape the outcome of projects. TK and TEK have come to be key pillars of sustainability. EAs provide the basis for

research into project feasibility, as well as environmental and socio-economic impacts. Finally, IBAs structure the foundation of relationships between communities and companies. This chapter offers a review of the scholarship covering sustainable considerations in mining and how it is embodied in each of the pillars of what we currently consider to be *sustainability*. The broader scholarship contextualizes and explores each of these topics and positions them to understand the realities of mining in relation to Aboriginal communities, and women.



**Figure 2.1. Literature Review Concepts and Outline.**

## 2.2. Sustainable Considerations and Mining

Sustainable communities are healthy communities that are founded on identity, ethics, and place (Wisner, 2003, pp. 413-414). People need to know and understand their culture and history, they need to have strong and well-defined values, and they need to have a sense of home and be positioned amongst loved ones. All economic decisions should strive to strengthen these three pillars (Wisner, 2003, pp. 413-414). At the core of sustainability is the recognition of individual and community resilience, consideration of ethics, and acknowledgement of pluralism.

The three main goals of sustainable development are the improvement of human wellbeing, more equitable distribution of resource benefits across and within societies, and development that ensures intergenerational ecological integrity (Sneddon et al., 2006, p. 256). Sustainability in decisions is measured by the ways in which they can sustain social and ecological systems in the long term, without impeding on community well being and resource wealth (F.Chapin, M.Chapin, Folke, & Kofinas, 2009, p. 26). Perceptions of wellbeing are: “shaped by material conditions, history, and culture. For these reasons, the relationships between well-being, livelihoods, and natural and social capital can define prospects for long-term sustainability (F.Chapin et al., 2009, pp. 55-56).” This statement points to the many factors that are considered when reflecting on individual and community ever-changing social and environmental realities. Considering the relationships among people and the factors shaping their lives are important when making decisions that alter peoples’ vulnerability and resilience (F.Chapin et al., 2009, p. 56). Vulnerability represents the ability to withstand and experience harm through hazards. Resilience is described as the adaptive capacity of a system to absorb shocks or perturbations, while sustaining and developing its fundamental functions, structure, identity, and feedbacks

through recovery or reorganization (F.Chapin et al., 2009, p. 24). Capacity for resilience depends on:

(1) Adaptive capacity [...]; (2) Biophysical and social legacies that contribute to diversity and provide proven pathways for rebuilding; (3) The capacity of people to plan for the long term within the context of uncertainty and change; (4) A balance between stabilizing feedbacks that buffer the system against stresses and disturbances and innovation that creates opportunities for change; and (5) The capacity to adjust governance structures to meet changing needs (F.Chapin et al., 2009, p. 24).

This statement points to the many interconnections among the factors structuring community and individual resilience, such as environmental, social, health, and governance considerations. Social and environmental systems are constantly changing in ways that cannot be fully predicted or controlled, as a result, decisions are always made in a context of uncertainty, which is challenging when consciously deciding to limit an individual or community's ability to respond to the unpredictable (F.Chapin et al., 2009, p. 25).

Communities dependent on a narrow range of resources are less able to cope with change, especially when it involves depleting diversity of resources towards dependency on a single-resource (Norris, Stevens, B.Pfefferbaum, Wyche, & R.Pfefferbaum, 2007, p. 127). This is especially relevant in the case of mining. The challenge with dependence and reliance on mineral resource economy is due to environmental impacts, socioeconomic challenges, and market uncertainties of mineral commodities (Wasylycia-Leis, Fitzpatrick, Fonseca, 2014, p. 482). Among mining's most notorious negative environmental impacts are "acid mine drainage; erosion and sedimentation; release of toxic chemicals; reduction of air quality; habitat modification; and pollution and over-consumption of fresh water (Wasylycia-Leis et al., 2014, p. 482)." Mining also causes many socioeconomic challenges, as many of these environmental

impacts can reverberate towards health and wellbeing through contaminated drinking water and pollution (Wasylycia-Leis et al., 2014, p. 482). Communities must also mitigate challenges brought by employment and opportunity. Mining usually increases economic disparities between those who work at the mine and those who do not (Wasylycia-Leis et al., 2014, p. 482). Workplace health and safety, job quality and security, wages and benefits, transiency of workforce and increase of non-local residents in the areas surrounding the mine, are all among other concerns of mining-dependent communities (Wasylycia-Leis et al., 2014, p. 482). Mining-dependent communities must also manage economic uncertainties shaping the mining industry. The cyclical nature of the demand of mining-products means that companies have to continuously readjust their operations and workforces. Moreover, mines close, and communities that lack economic diversification may not be able to recover (Wasylycia-Leis et al., 2014, p. 482).

At its core, communities that decide to engage with mining must make significant decisions impacting their vulnerability and resilience. Water and food are indispensable for survival, and for Aboriginal communities, subsistence activities such as fishing, hunting and trapping are congruent to maintaining TK and TEK, and the preservation of tradition (Chapin et al., 2009, p. 19). No amount of money can be substituted for food and water resources, and “they therefore have extremely high value to society when they become scarce” (Chapin et al., 2009, p. 19). This statement highlights the significance of considering the impacts of mining and mining-related accidents on the environment and local resources necessary for subsistence, wellbeing, and security.

Due to ongoing societal scrutiny on the impacts of mining on the environment and surrounding local communities, mining corporations have had to demonstrate that their

practices are environmental safe, ethical, and engage local communities (Wasylycia-Leis et al., 2014, p. 482). While mining is not sustainable due to its ability to increase vulnerability and decrease resilience of surrounding local communities, through engaging various stakeholders, it can create more holistic and dynamic projects.

Finding sustainable solutions usually requires active engagement of stakeholders who must live with, and participate in, the implementation of potential solutions (Chapin et al., 2009, p. 26). According to Fran H. Norris, Susan P. Steven, Betty Pfefferbaum, Karen F. Wyche, and Rose L. Pfefferbaum (2007):

To build collective resilience, communities must work to reduce risk and resource inequities, engage local people in mitigation, create organization linkages, boost and protect social supports, and plan for not having a plan, which requires flexibility, decision-making skills, and trusted sources of information that function in the face of unknowns (p. 127).

This statement points to the importance of engaging local communities at every step of mining development, so that they can decide, what they want their collective futures to look like.

The ongoing conversation of ethics in sustainable development depends on unpacking and confronting human-environment relationship and growing social inequalities as guiding institutions, policy goals, and political focus (Sneddon et al., 2006, pp. 254-255). It is said that growing inequalities in access to economic opportunities within and between most societies makes pragmatic governances and monitoring of sustainable goals difficult (Sneddon, et al., 2006, p. 254). An ethical shift in considering relationships between development and nature is needed to develop and apply improved sustainable practices. This calls for enhanced respect and emphasis on the importance of diversity of nature, cultures and livelihoods on the basis of sustainability, justice and equity (Kothari, 1994, pp. 236-237). This ethical shift is synonymous

with celebrating pluralism in all aspects of sustainable development (Kothari, 1994, pp. 236-237).

Pluralism in approach, interpretation, practice, and dialogue is at the center of sustainability. Plurality of approaches and perspectives on sustainability, acceptance of the multitude of interpretations and practices, and debate and discourse among contesting stakeholders, from academics, practitioners, Indigenous peoples, and corporations would contribute in creating sustainable values and frameworks based on ethics and equity (Sneddon, et al., 2006, p. 254). Sustainable development is about decentralizing decision-making and providing a meeting place for many stakeholders and viewpoints to ensure the creation of well-rounded and dynamic projects. Companies are now expected to reach out to communities, stakeholders, shareholders, and governments while planning projects (Labonne, 1999, p. 315). Sustainability must be a coordinated effort between governments, private sector, NGOs, academia, and society, all mobilized towards a commitment for change among consumption patterns and behaviors (Robinson, 2004, p. 378).

Segregating environmental, social and economic concerns with their respective solutions must transition towards an interdisciplinary thinking that focuses on the connections among fields, integrating concepts, methods, and tools across disciplines, and interests that create synergy (Robinson, 2004, p. 378). Bridging the gaps among disciplines would also address profound issues of opportunity; distribution, material needs, consumption and empowerment, and raises important social and political organizational and governance issues (Robinson, 2004, p. 379). Interdisciplinary reflection on sustainability would encourage a rethinking of the philosophical and moral ethics of the relationship between humanity and nature (Robinson, 2004, p. 379). The concept of sustainability provides focus and debate on the interconnections among



environmental, social and economic concerns (Robinson, 2004, p. 381). Framing sustainability towards a more community-based thinking highlights the need to integrate environmental, social and economic issues with a long-term perspective, while remaining open to differences in how that may be accomplished and which practices are utilized (Robinson, 2004, p. 381). Dale Jamieson (1998) advances the need to focus on the many voices and stories of practitioners of sustainability to improve its ethics:

What is needed are simple and compelling stories that show us how to practically participate in creating the future in our daily lives, and how to engage in ongoing dialogue with others about how our everyday actions help produce global realities. Articulating these visions is not the job of academics alone, but also requires the efforts of writers, artists, and people from all walks of life. There is much to be learned from those who live close to nature, and the inheritors of traditions that have largely been subordinated. (p. 191)

This statement reiterates the need to celebrate diversity among values, approaches, knowledge, and worldviews. Sustainability is itself a conversation about what kind of world we collectively want to live in now and in the future. The way forward is to create alliances, partnerships, encouraging dialogue, framing problems as questions, involving many stakeholders and celebrating the multiplicity of definitions and knowledge (Robinson, 2004, p. 382). Sustainable communities are healthy communities that are founded on identity, ethics, and place, and economic decisions should strive to strengthen these three pillars (Wisner, 2003, pp. 413-414).

### 2.3. Social License To Operate

SLO is when a proposed project has the approval and acceptance of society (Prno & Slocombe, 2012, p. 346). This means that there is broad societal acceptance of the direction of the project and of stakeholders involved. SLO emphasizes that mining, and what is expected of the mining industry, is an extension of societal pressures, demands and structures. As societal expectations evolve, so does the mining industry (Labonne, 1999, p. 316). Without SLO, project development can be delayed, thus increasing cost to the point in which it may become unviable. While society as a whole issues SLO, local communities are significant determinants in the process due to their proximity to the project and sensitivity to its outcomes (Prno & Slocombe, 2012, p. 347). As such, companies are recognizing the value in cooperating with local communities, not only to build consensus within community but also throughout all of Canada. Community-based resistance can potentially diffuse throughout the country, causing opposition among some Canadians. In fact, it can even be said that securing SLO is one of the most significant challenges for mining companies looking to develop a project (Prno & Slocombe, 2012, p. 347).

For the most part, the revenues generated from mining flow out of the communities impacted by these projects towards company investors and provincial and federal governments (O'Faircheallaigh, 2013, p. 224). If this imbalance between cost and benefit is not addressed, resistance usually ensues that can cause delays undermining project feasibility (O'Faircheallaigh, 2013, p. 224). However, as all situations are unique, what constitutes SLO, and the processes leading to its procurement are not well understood. In fact, little research has been done focusing on the factors that contribute or undermine the acceptance of a project (Moffatt & Zhang, 2013, p. 62). According to Moffat and Zhang (2013), community trust is a strong determinant of a

project's social acceptance. Trust rests on how the company elects to manage and mitigate its impacts, the way in which it engages with the community, and how it treats community members (Moffat & Zhang, 2013, p. 62).

SLO has become a resource for Indigenous communities that want to shape their futures. Indigenous resistance has successfully blocked (Jabulika Uranium mine, Australia) and delayed (Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipelines) proposed resource projects. Fracking has increasingly become an issue of contention among Aboriginal communities in Canada (Blood Nation and Mi'kmaq protests and blockades). The relationships between Aboriginal, provincial and federal governments, and with companies often makes procedures ambiguous and tensions can arise if Aboriginal stakeholders feel overlooked and disrespected.

Communication technologies have facilitated dialogue and the transfer of information among Indigenous communities, with NGOs and watch groups (O'Faircheallaigh, 2013, p. 227). They can gather information on the companies and individuals they will be working with, exchange information on negotiated agreements, and engage national and international organizations (O'Faircheallaigh, 2013, p. 227). This ensures that community leaders have the tools and abilities to do the due diligence necessary in negotiating for the best potential outcomes for their communities. (O'Faircheallaigh, 2013, p. 227). The availability of information has enhanced community ability to disrupt project development if they feel corporate stakeholders are not producing positive outcomes mitigating the cost of said projects (O'Faircheallaigh, 2013, p. 227).

To ignore and undermine First Nations in resource development is bound to “invite resentment, diverse forms of protest and direct action, legal action, sabotage of facilities and equipment, or in extreme cases, armed resistance” (Hipwell et al., 2002, p. 24). This statement

reiterates the significance of proactively engaging local communities involved. Jason Prno and Scott Slocombe provide important insights on SLO and its function in the Canadian context in regards to Aboriginal peoples. They advance that SLO developed out of the growth of the sustainable development paradigm and governance shifts that have been democratized by civil and market decision-making (Prno & Slocombe, 2012, pp. 346-347; Prno, 2013, p. 577). They also argue that, most of the time, mining conflicts with communities often happen at the EA stage, where socioeconomic and environmental impacts are assessed (Prno & Slocombe, 2012, p. 353). This demonstrates the importance of SLO both for companies and for communities. Societal focus on sustainability has empowered communities and given them the ability to make well-researched demands, as well as the capacity to advocate for themselves. It is also important to mention that communities may have the desire, but not the necessary capabilities, to get involved.

The Voisey's Bay Mine provides an example of the role of SLO in giving direction to mineral exploration and exploitation on the traditional lands of Aboriginal peoples. Both the Innu and Inuit peoples of Labrador used a myriad of strategies to assert their rights and demand that they be consulted and accommodated at every stage of project development. The Innu and Inuit had previous experiences with unapproved industry and government imposed projects that had impacted their land and their communities. From low-level flying to hydroelectric projects, radar installations, as well as mineral exploration and exploitation, the Innu and Inuit knew that they had to assert themselves in response to proposed mining on their traditional lands.

Both *The Big Score* (McNish, 1999) and *Premature Bonanza: Standoff at Voisey's Bay* (Lowe, 1998) describe the methods and actions taken by the Aboriginal peoples of Labrador in regards to the mine. Both these resources provide descriptions of the protests, activism, and

ways in which Aboriginal communities garnered publicity for their plight, while influencing the actions and decisions of the mineral exploration and exploitation companies, courts, and provincial and federal governments. Both of the authors discuss the particular protest movements of the women in the communities. *The Big Score* focuses on the events relating to exploration for mineral potential by Archean Resources and Diamond Fields, and the sale of the mining stakes to Inco. Furthermore, *Premature Bonanza* focuses on the events following the \$4.3 billion purchase of the mining stakes by Inco. Both of these books are useful resources in helping to contextualize the events that led the development the Voisey's Bay Mine. They describe the steps and measures the Innu and Inuit took to assert themselves and their rights over their land. This is particularly evident in the protest movements, judicial measures, and alliances with national media that were strategically coordinated to direct the pace and the direction of mining development.

Robert Gibson argues that the Voisey's Bay agreements set a precedent in sustainability-centered decision-making, and this was due to the effective influence the Innu and Inuit gained in assessment and negotiation (Gibson, 2006, p. 335). He argues that the level of their involvement was due to their own efforts, as well as the strategies and venues they utilized to garner publicity and support (Gibson, 2006, p. 344). In fact:

Working cooperatively and in independent but complementary ways, the Innu and Inuit were not just able participants in the panel hearings but also in the broader discussions involving the media and the courts. It is impossible to know just how much attention would have been paid to the local communities' concerns had they not used site occupations, media events and court action, as well as participation in the formal assessment process and in negotiations with the mining company. However, the past experience of both groups [...] had taught them not to expect automatic recognition of their rights and interests through formal process. At the same time, the Innu and Inuit in the Voisey's Bay case were beneficiaries of a longer history of efforts to open decision-making to local influence and to win great recognition of their traditional rights, entitlements, knowledge and culture as Aboriginal people. This history includes political lobbying and legislative

initiatives, court cases, demonstrations, media campaigns, acts of civil disobedience and a host of other actions. (Gibson, 2006, p. 344)

This excerpt reiterates the importance of mobilizing allies in order to assert whether or not a company or organization has garnered the SLO, as well as the importance of communities staying united to increase bargaining authority.

While it has been said that agreements with women, though harder to reach, last longer and are more definitive (Eftimie, Heller, & Strongman, 2009, p. 20), there remains a lack of research focusing on the role and contributions of women in determining SLO. There are examples of women impacting SLO, among them the resistance brought by Hopi/Dineh grandmothers against forced relocation to facilitate the expansion of a nearby mining operation, Peabody Coal in Denver, Colorado. Fracking has become an issue of contention for many Aboriginal communities, with women at the frontlines in opposition of the practice. Mi'kmaq and Blood Nation women have been active in protesting fracking on and near their communities, and territories. As discussed, Innu women and Inuit women were particularly resistant during the initial stages of mining exploration and exploitation on their traditional lands. The Innu women were essential in the community protests and the Inuit women demanded that the gendered impacts of the proposed project be considered. In all evidence, SLO has proven to be instrumental for communities who seek to block or stall a project or position themselves as key stakeholders and beneficiaries, while securing SLO is a necessity for companies who wish to pursue projects on traditional lands of Aboriginal peoples.

## 2.4. Traditional Knowledge And Traditional Ecological Knowledge

TK and TEK are recognized among the key tenets of sustainability. Understanding the principles that differentiate TK and TEK from western knowledge helps in conceptualizing its contributions to sustainable development. Western knowledge has provided important advancements in science and technology. The cause-and-effect solutions to compartmentalized problems that define Western knowledge, separated from everyday realities and lived experiences provide short-term solutions to pressing issues. Traditional knowledge provides more holistic solutions to the development of natural resource projects.

Although knowledge systems are complex, it can be deduced that there are two essential components of western knowledge that best describe its relationship to the land and the environment. First, in western knowledge, the man versus nature dichotomy explains what is considered *progress*. Nature is seen as something to be utilized and transformed to achieve human goals. Technology and science are viewed as tools to help achieve these goals as western knowledge is constantly striving to emancipate itself from nature (Blaser, Feit, & McRae, 2004, p. 27). Secondly, Western knowledge is reduced and categorized, and the causes and effects are then examined within the scope of their respective disciplines, such as sociology, ecology, economics and biology (Mazzocchi, 2006, p. 464). This prevents researchers from seeing the innate connections between disciplines, land and people.

In comparison, the relationship between TK and TEK and land are complex, multifaceted, and holistic. Approaches and practices are developed by experience spanning thousands of years, enabling living and surviving in a specific area (Corsiglia & Snively, 2003, p. 109). Unlike western knowledge, TK and TEK have not been compartmentalized as they are deeply rooted in all aspects of life. According to David Newhouse, Cora Voyageur, and Dan Beavon (2005):

Land, community, culture, and spirituality are intricately woven together. This interconnectedness is expressed and reinforced through our language, arts, ceremonies, songs, prayers, dances, customs, values, and daily practices- all of which have been developed over generations. (p. 194)

This demonstrates the interconnections that exist between all aspects of life, shaping worldviews, values, traditions and customs. In addition to individual and social identity, expression is derived from this connection to the land. As a result of these important links, TK cannot be separated from the people that hold it (Baldwin, 2014). This knowledge is the result of thousands of years of practice and learning passed down from generation to generation. TK and TEK are thus embedded in the way of life (Turnbull, 2009). If reduced, western knowledge will substantiate what TK is advancing. More specifically, if TK and TEK were to be a puzzle, western knowledge, because of its specificity and divisions, would explain one piece of the puzzle at a time, without putting consideration on how all the pieces fit together (Baldwin, 2014, pp. 48-49). In contrast, TK and TEK provide an overview of the full picture. The connections between everyday life, community, and identity, with the land that are promoted by Indigenous knowledge make it more apt to teaching us how to welcome change and evolution in our relationship with the environment.

While it is socially demanded that TK and TEK be considered and incorporated into environmental assessment and resource management, there are very little institutional standards or policy requirements that make its application consistent, or offer guidance on how to implement and incorporate it. As such, there is insufficient understanding on how to apply TEK and to what extent (Usher, 2003, p. 31). Many Aboriginal people feel as though scientists have no interest in incorporating TK and TEK into their own research, and only mention it because it is socially demanded (Nadasdy, 2003, p. 81). Academic literature continues to address and



develop its potential use rather than actual application (Nadasdy, 2003, p. 79).

In practice, TK and TEK remain a central component of EAs. The incorporation of TK and TEK in mining development would ensure more inclusive and environmentally sound projects. Mining is an extractive industry, and may be a source of stress on the environment and the people who use the land. Aboriginal communities share a history and connection with the land, which is forever changed through mining (Baldwin, 2014). This knowledge will allow a better understanding of the interference of this development on the established routine and consistencies of the natural world and life on the land. Current environmental policies and regulations should reflect the highest standards of inclusiveness and consideration of traditional knowledge in the development and monitoring of natural resources extraction.

While there is literature discussing the nature of TK (Berkes, 2009; Iglis, 1993; Menzies, 2006; Reo, 2011), there is a lack of resources that discuss its incorporation in practice. This may very well be the result of communities not wanting to share their TK and TEK with outsiders. Anne Wiles, John McEwan and M. Hussain Sadar (1999) have done research assessing the use of TEK in Environmental Assessments (EA) of uranium mining in Saskatchewan. While researching the ways in which TEK sought to be incorporated into the EA, it was concluded that the interpretation of TEK left inconsistencies in how it would be incorporated. Local Athabaskan people focused on the importance of sustaining their culture and identity, while the scientific panel focused on technical details of the project. This reiterates the significant differences between the nature of TK and TEK and Western knowledge. Aboriginal participants did not comment on the technical details during the public hearings, rather they stressed the importance of traditional land based subsistence activities (Wiles et al., 1999, p. 112). They concluded that the mismatch between the collection and usage of TEK casts doubt on the relevance of its

contribution to developing a dynamic EA (Wiles et al., 1999, p. 113). This demonstrates the unique intersectionality between Aboriginal people, the land, culture and worldviews, and that while the intent may be to incorporate local knowledge in projects, the endeavor necessitates thoughtful consideration.

There are different perspectives regarding the inclusion of TK and TEK in the development of the Voisey's Bay Mine. O'Faircheallaigh has described the project as having "innovative and extensive provisions regarding Indigenous participation in environmental management (2011, p. 91)." Others have argued that although there was a "clear mandate for full and equal consideration of Indigenous knowledge, unrealistic timeframes, budgetary restrictions which along with other problems prevented meaningful contribution of TEK [in the EA] (Fedirechuk, Labour, & Niholls, p. 23)." At public hearings held in Aboriginal communities, Innu and Inuit were able to bring up their traditional knowledge regarding their concerns of the environmental impacts that would result from the project. As such, project design and development was adjusted to address their concerns (Pain & Paddon, 2008, p. 4). Independent Innu and Inuit environmental monitors are always present on site and report directly to their governing bodies about the environmental issues (Pain & Paddon, 2008, p. 4). The arguments of these authors reiterate the difficulty of assessing the practical consideration for TEK and TK in mining projects. The Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA)<sup>1</sup> for the mine outlined that TK had to be included into the project's EIA either directly from Innu and Inuit communities, and/or through presentations prepared by the Inuit and Innu for the EIA panel (Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency [CEAA], 2013). The Innu and Inuit both elected to organize presentations, and Voisey's Bay Nickel Company provided financial support to facilitate the undertaking of

---

<sup>1</sup> Environmental Impact Assessment is the predecessor to the Environmental Assessment.

issue identification (CEAA, 2013; Usher, 2000 p. 191). While the Innu made a film focusing on Innu circumstances and concerns, based on knowledge of the impacts of previous industrial development, the Inuit organized expert panel discussions describing the effects the proposed project would have (Usher, 2000, p. 191).

Aboriginal women have a particular contribution to TK and TEK through the maintenance of social structures and the preservation of traditional cultural practices (Cultural Survival, 2001). In fact, “attending to what the quality of life means for Aboriginal women is integral to rebuilding relationships, to following their leadership and learning about the needs they regard as fundamental to sustainable, healthy communities” (Findlay & Wuttunee, 2007, p. 20). This quote emphasizes the importance of focusing on the needs and concerns of women in creating sustainable livelihoods. In the context of mining, the Yukon Status of Women Council and the Yukon Conservation Society (2000) have stated that:

As primary caregivers within their families and communities, women are often left to cope with the results and effects of development decisions made by men. Additionally, they may also bear the brunt of these impacts. Limited and impoverished information gathering during the planning stages about possible impacts on women, families, and communities, results in inadequate [mitigation] and monitoring programs. Women and women’s organizations, who receive very little financial support from governments or industry, are left to pick up the pieces. If there are to be positive changes for women in our communities, women must be able to voice their own perceptions about what life is like for them and fully participate in the planning, decision-making and evaluating process of this development. They must do this from a position of strength within the industry and within communities affected by mining. (p.4)

While discussing the primary responsibilities of Aboriginal women in their families and communities, the excerpt highlights the ways in which involving women and acknowledging their particular viewpoint can contribute to creating more effective resource projects. It was specifically requested by the Tongamiut Inuit Annait (TIA), an organization that represented

Innu and Inuit women across Labrador, that research focus on the impacts the proposed mine would have on women (TIA, 1997). They outlined the ways in which the EIA failed to investigate the concerns of women, arguing that women's organizations were not given serious consideration during the scoping phase of public consultation (TIA, 1997). In fact, the two women's organizations that applied for funding received the least amount of money (TIA, 1997). In all evidence, TK and TEK remain pillars of sustainability; however, literature focusing on its use and contributions to project development remain limited. Aboriginal women have recognizing the importance of integrating their knowledge into project development as a means of reducing the impact of mines on families and communities.

## 2.5. Environmental Assessments

The incorporation of TEK and TK into the planning and implementation of natural resource projects on or near the traditional lands of Aboriginal peoples is directly evident in its role in the development of EAs. The CEAA describes the EA as a process whose goal is to predict the environmental effects of proposed projects before they are implemented. An EA:

[1] Identifies potential adverse environmental effects; [2] propose measures to mitigate adverse environmental effects; [3] predict whether there will be significant subsequent adverse environmental effects, after mitigation measures are implemented; [4] includes a follow-up program to verify the accuracy of the environmental assessment and the effectiveness of the mitigation measures. (CEAA, 2013)

The CEAA also explains that the purpose of an EA is to proactively minimize environmental effects and incorporate environmental factors into decision-making (CEAA, 2013). As such, this is one of the main ways in which TK and TEK are incorporated into the planning processes of mining's exploration and exploitation.

While the government sets the baseline standard for an EA and what it incorporates, academic literature on the topic has developed and refined its nuances. A good EA is one that builds the foundations of political, economic, and intergenerational equity (Wismer, 2003, p. 419). This means that resource development should not marginalize, strategically or unconsciously, a peoples' influence on decision-making, their economic opportunities, or one generation at the expense of the next. This last observation is particularly significance in relation to mining. A mining project's lifespan varies dramatically, a gold mine's life cycle averages 8 years while a copper mine's life cycle averages about 30 (Mining Journal, n.d.). A diamond mine's life cycle can be anywhere from 50 to 100 years, and the potash mines in Saskatchewan are projected to last about 200 years (Mining Journal, n.d.). Nevertheless, considering their environmental impacts, it is important that these mining projects sustain community livelihoods and economic development beyond their lifecycle, as the community will be dealing with its environmental impacts and changes in traditional livelihoods forever.

The six basic principles of an EA are: “[1] respect uncertainty; [2] adopt sustainability; [3] set clear rules for application and implementation; [3] assess needs and alternatives; [4] ensure transparency and openness and public participation; [5] monitor the results and apply the lessons; [and 6] be efficient” (Baker & McClelland, 2003, p. 583)”. These basic principles of EAs highlight the need to conceptualize natural resource projects, their technicalities and intersectional impacts among a multitude of disciplines.

While consultation is an integral component of EA, there are conflicting viewpoints on whether or not it contributes to the formulation of better projects. It is the Canadian courts' responsibility to ensure that Aboriginal peoples are consulted in the midst of project planning on or near their traditional lands. Some argue that industries have taken consultation measures

much further than governmental regulations to lessen the chance of conflict with Aboriginal communities (Hitch & Fidler, 2007, p. 55). While their intentions may not be altruistic, it is argued that they seek to consult and accommodate Aboriginal interests more than the Crown would otherwise necessitate them too, as doing differently may cause avoidable obstacles (Hitch & Fidler, 2007, p. 55). Yet, some communities have had to seek judicial intervention to assert their rights to consent, consultation and accommodation, including Wahgoshig First Nation against Solid Gold Resources, the Innu and Inuit of Labrador against the Voisey's Bay Mine, and Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug against Planitex Inc., among many others.

Mining companies now recognize that building a good relationship with communities and gaining their support is beneficial, as any conflict creates delays that lessen the economic viability of the project (Hitch & Fidler, 2007, p. 55). Public involvement is critical in developing comprehensive and effective EAs. Involving different stakeholders, viewpoints and backgrounds create more complete reports (Devlin & Yap, 2008, p. 24). Providing members of the public an opportunity to contribute enriches the outcome of the process and ensures the incorporation of varied knowledge and opinions that widen the scope of the information base (Doelle & Sinclair, 2006, p. 185). Public involvement also allows the process of structuring the project to be transparent and democratic.

Within the literature, there is opposition to the effectiveness of EAs. Douglas C. Baker and James N. McLelland (2003) have done work assessing the effectiveness of Aboriginal participation in the EA process, and they concluded through analyzing case studies that in practice, the process has failed. Similarly, John F. Devlin and Nonita T. Yap (2008) argue that EAs rarely contribute to project approval and design. Meinhard Doelle and John Sinclair (2006) agree that in Canada's 30 years experience with public participation in EAs, it has not been

effective in controlling the pace and the direction of projects. These examples emphasize that while, in theory EA should result in more inclusive and comprehensive projects, in practice, it may be difficult to translate consultation into tangible results for communities.

The case of Voisey's Bay contributes significantly to the literature focusing on EAs in Canada. Robert B. Gibson (2002) states that it successfully exemplified how EAs can be completed under the jurisdiction of various stakeholders. More specifically, the Voisey's Bay EA was completed under the Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Environmental Assessment Act, the Federal Environmental Assessment Act, and with the Innu Nation and Labrador Inuit Association (Gibson, 2002, p.151). This example introduced a higher test for EA in Canada, as it was required by the public review panel that it demonstrate how the project would contribute positively to local and regional sustainability (Gibson, 2002, p. 151). Gibson argues that this project demonstrates how Canada's EA process could be improved, through widening the scope of project impact consideration by becoming a sustainability assessment (2002, p. 151). In addition, Gibson advances that this would entail, among other things: "more direct integration of social, economic, biophysical and other considerations; [and] greater attention to systemic complexity and uncertainty gains for sustainability, rather than mere mitigation of serious adverse effects" (2002, p. 157). In a broader context, it would result in an assessment that would focus on developing the intersectionality between the impacts and effects of projects, recognizing that single components are not isolated in how they would change the lives of those that depend on the environment for cultural reasons and subsistence.

Linda Archibald and Mary Crnkovich (1999) emphasize in their research that gender is not an obvious component of land claims or EA policies. They have sought to examine the gender

issues hidden in these policies and how they impact women and communities (Archibald & Crnkovich, 1999). They argue that:

As long as the focus remains on land and resources and the primarily male, non-Aboriginal culture dominates the negotiation process and its outcome, women and issues traditionally viewed as important to women, such as community development (as opposed to large-scale economic development), education, public and private safety, health and social issues are more easily overlooked in these negotiations. (p. 12)

This statement reiterates that the processes relating to EAs are based on a western worldview that fails to consider the realities of Aboriginal peoples and Aboriginal women. They develop their thesis by exploring the issues related to the events that had taken place in northern Labrador due to the discovery of the Voisey's Bay mine. Utilizing community-based participatory research, they planned workshops to discuss the socio-economic impacts the land claim and mine would have on women. The strength of this report rests in the initiative taken by the Inuit women who elected to speak publicly to the EA panel when it travelled to their home communities (Archibald & Crnkovich, 1999). After presenting what the Inuit women considered to be the individual, family and community impacts of the land claim and mining projects, the authors concluded that a comprehensive gender-based analysis that considers relationships, realities, expectations and circumstances, is necessary to mitigate the impacts the policies and projects would have on women in Aboriginal communities (Archibald & Crnkovich, 1999, pp. 32-36).



## 2.6. Impact And Benefits Agreements

While EAs are federally and provincially mandated, IBAs are contractual agreements that take place between corporate stakeholders and Aboriginal governments. There are no regulations structuring the foundation of IBAs as they are all unique, pertaining to the particular diversity and situational nuances of every project and reflecting the distinct agreements between companies and communities. However, according to Ken J. Crain and Naomi Krogman (2010):

Most, if not all, IBAs begin with a section outlining introductory provisions and are followed by individual sections that focus on economic opportunity: employment, education, and training; economic development and business opportunities; and workplace conditions. Typically, this is followed by social, cultural, and community support; financial provisions and equity participation; and environmental protection and cultural resources. Further sections may deal with use and disposition of facilities and infrastructure, implementation and enforcement of IBA provisions, and other procedural issues. (p. 80)

As such, through including clauses for economic opportunities, employment, and community benefits, IBAs provide the foundation for relationship building between mining companies and communities. They delineate the opportunities for partnership, the nature of benefits, and often mitigate potential socio-economic and environmental impacts through agreeing on monitoring programs.

However, dimensions of power and inequality are negotiated through the IBAs. Due to the sensitive financial information of IBAs, they are usually confidential. It has been argued that confidentiality may be strategic on the part of corporations, as it limits what Aboriginal groups can share and learn from one another, thus limiting their bargaining power (Hitch & Fidler, 2007, p. 58). In fact, it is argued that Aboriginal leaders should not accept the standard and quasi-legal confidentiality clauses that structure IBAs, as it entails entering into a private agreement that is unchecked by external reviewers or by other communities that have similar experiences

negotiating, as such reducing bargaining power (Caine & Krogman, 2010, p. 86). The confidential nature inhibits communities from learning from one another and prevents them from negotiating from a more informed and strategic position (O'Faircheallaigh, 2010, pp. 80-82). Furthermore, confidentiality may also reduce their ability to take legal action if need be (O'Faircheallaigh, 2010, p. 81). As a result, the confidentiality of these agreements needs to be reflected upon and negotiated (O'Faircheallaigh, 2010, pp. 83-84). The duration of the confidentiality clause, who can access the agreements after they are signed, and under which circumstances one may do so, are all aspects of IBA confidentiality that need to be reconsidered (O'Faircheallaigh, 2010, p. 80).

An IBA may seem appealing for an Aboriginal community, as without one, opportunities to pursue Aboriginal involvement in environmental management and cultural impacts would be limited. In signing an IBA, Aboriginal signatories accept some restrictions in exercising their traditional rights and Aboriginal titles (O'Faircheallaigh, 2010, pp. 70-74). By extension, Aboriginal communities are supporting the negotiated project and are giving corporations permission to develop their lands (O'Faircheallaigh, 2010, pp. 70-74). In return, they gain absolute access to negotiated economic benefits and it allows for the mitigation of negative environmental and socioeconomic impacts (O'Faircheallaigh, 2010, p. 74). In addition, it is said that IBAs legitimize Aboriginal rights and claims to land, all while strengthening political and economic sovereignty (Caine & Krogman, 2010, p. 8-9). From a corporate perspective, IBAs align corporate interests with those of the communities they will be working amongst. It may prevent mobilization and conflict, before and after the agreements is signed, and minimizes the risk and potential for costly delays (Prno, 2007, p. 9).

More recently, in developing the first gold mine in Nunavut, Agnico has agreed to create a water compensation agreement with the KivaUiq Inuit Association (Scales, 2010). Water is described as mining's most sensitive and fragile area of concern. Improper mining can destroy entire watersheds or thousand-year-old aquifers. In addition, acid draining, alkaline drainage and radiological drainage are also potentialities that devastate nature and can result in serious health problems in animals, vegetation, and people, leading to food and water insecurity (Coumans & Krogman, 2010, p. 8).

The Voisey's Bay IBA with the Inuit include provisions for the allocation of a share of the revenues into a sustainability trust, which is meant to provide a source of income beyond the lifecycle of the mine. Its contributions include fixed annual payments, and additional payments when the price of nickel rises above a certain level (O'Faircheallaigh, 2010, p. 72). The IBA also provides the foundation of a monitoring partnership between the mine and the Inuit and Innu (O'Faircheallaigh, 2010, pp. 72-74). It was outlined that they were to be involved in all phases of development of a monitoring program, which would integrate TK and Inuit and Innu participation, as well as emergency response and contingency plans (O'Faircheallaigh, 2010, pp. 72-74). Upon closure, Vale Inco would develop a reclamation plan in consultation with the Innu and Inuit (O'Faircheallaigh, 2010, p. 74). A provision was also included to develop the mine at a scale smaller than initially proposed, to reduce the environmental impact and allowing Innu and Inuit the time to acquire the experience and training necessary to have access to additional employment and business opportunities (O'Faircheallaigh, 2011, p. 96). In addition, much emphasis was put on enhancing employment opportunities, especially for women. Among them, to promote the equality of men and women in hiring practices, to work with the Aboriginal governments to identify and remove any barriers to employment, and to provide gender

sensitivity training to employees (O'Faircheallaigh, 2011, p. 96). In addition, they have also included rotation schedules, cultural leave policy, and job-sharing to facilitate traditional and subsistence activities (O'Faircheallaigh, 2011, p. 96).

While all of these provisions relating to creating a positive work-environment for Aboriginal women may seem promising, it has been argued that while women were influential to the EIA and IBA negotiations, the result has been that women are facing the same problems that women's groups tried to mitigate during the EA process (Cox, 2013, p. 11). This demonstrates the difficulty of applying IBA agreements in practice and the need for adequate IBA monitoring.

## 2.7. Mining and Aboriginal Women

Focusing on the impacts, priorities, and suggestions of Aboriginal women in regards to making mining more sustainable for their communities highlights many areas where consultation, decisions, and community investment can be improved. The mining industry is male dominated. The boards, management and workforce are overwhelmingly male (Lihiri-Dutt, 2011, p. 28). The prevalence of fly-in and fly-out organization, while minimizing some of the adverse social impacts on local populations, assumes that the employee is single or is a person who has a partner that stays at home and takes care of the home and family (Lahiri-Dutt, 2011, p. 28). Camp life and facilities cater to men with few concessions to women's ideas of recreation (Lahiri-Dutt, 2011, p. 28).

The impact of mining on women has been exacerbated by the failure to identify women as a distinct group of stakeholders (Gibson & Kemp, 2006, p. 105). As primary caregivers within their families and communities, women are often left to cope with the results and effects of the decisions made by men and may even suffer the brunt of these impacts (YSWC & YCS, 2001,

p.4). Often, limited and impoverished information gathering concerning the differences created by gender impacts on individuals, families, and communities during planning stages results in narrow mitigation and monitoring programs (YSWC & YCS, 2001, p.4). Women and women's organizations, which often received little financial support from companies and governments, are often left to deal with the results (YSWC & YCS 2001, p.4).

Women's groups and organizations have produced significant work addressing their concerns over the impacts of mining on themselves, their families and communities have done. They acknowledge the need to involve women as the primary means of mitigating problems. There remains a lack of information and primary sources discussing the thoughts and opinions of men on the role of women in mining negotiations and project development.

Much of mining's health impacts on women are relating to social-determinants of health, particularly as it relates to gender equity and socioeconomic status, including poverty, housing, lack of social and economic power, and women's experience in the workplace (CCSG Associates [CCSG] & MW, 2004, p. i). Social impacts experienced by women include sexual exploitation and vulnerability to transmittable infections, dislocation, family violence, and workplace harassment (CCSG & MW, 2004, p. i). There are many obstacles for women in gaining education and training that would enable them to gain employment in mining, which often compound each other (Macintyre, 2011, p. 30). While working in the industry, many women must live with open antagonism, sexual harassment and work-related discrimination (Macintyre, 2011, p. 30). At home, women may face the jealousy of husbands from engaging in training and work-related travel (Macintyre, 2011, p. 30).

There are well-documented advantages to involving and distinguishing women as specific stakeholders in projects. Many extraction companies may have a strong commitment to

sustainability and social investment, but may not know how to engage with women and understand their particular concerns (Eftimie et al., 2009, p. 20). In addition to the company's relationship with local communities, the degree of input and participation of women can be considered the marker for an enduring agreement (Eftimie et al., 2009, p. 20). Some companies have even reported that while agreements with women are harder to reach, they last longer and are more definitive (Eftimie et al., 2009, p. 20). When women are included in project development, "programs tend to be more focused on the community's immediate development needs, including health, education, capacity building and nutrition" (Eftimie et al., 2009, p. 20). They also focused more on medium-long term infrastructure projects (Eftimie et al., 2009, p. 20). When only men's voices are considered, evidence shows that community funds tend to be used for projects with narrower interests that do less to improve key development on health, education, and sanitation (Eftimie et al., 2009, p. 20).

The relationship between Aboriginal women and the mining industry can be considered an extension of current ongoing discussions relating to Aboriginal communities and mining and women. The activism, protest and advocacy of Aboriginal women are noteworthy in directing their community development towards projects, practices, and values that are sustainable. "Aboriginal women have spearheaded efforts to either prevent mining or at least mitigate its environmental" and social impacts, such as the Dineh Grandmothers and the Saskatchewan First Nations Women's Network, which actively opposed uranium mining in the late 1990s (Hipwell et al, 2002, p.12).

The women of Wollaston Lake have discussed the destructive effects of uranium mining on health. The women have emphasized their concerns of the lack of synchronicity among the priorities negotiated by the male leadership, who tend to favor an economic benefits package,

and the priorities of women, who focused on the social problems brought by mining (Elias & Yassi, 1998, p. 274). When discussing health impacts, women went further than focusing on the direct biological effects of radiation and articulated a broad socially constructed view of health that integrated various components of everyday life that would be impacted by mining, such as the impacts on fish and wildlife (Elias & Yassi, 1998, pp. 278-279). They discussed the fear of contact with outsiders and debated that wage-related economic opportunities would contribute to an improvement of social wellbeing (Elias & Yassi, 1998, pp. 278-279). Drug and alcohol abuse was a particular concern to women, as they acknowledged that they and their kids were most often victims of ensuing violence (Elias & Yassi, 1998, pp. 278-279). Many women discussed the impacts of fly-in fly-out arrangements in relations to drugs, alcohol, and family violence (Elias & Yassi, 1998, p. 279).

Ginger Gibson and Deanna Kemp (2008) offered a detailed description of the priorities of Aboriginal women in procuring mine-related employment. Aboriginal women cited the opportunity to work with family or friends, the availability of study-assistance, the chance to be a role model for other Aboriginal people, and the opportunity to pursue personal development and financial benefit are all among priorities (Gibson & Kemp, 2008, p. 110). The best opportunity for women to get involved is during the initial negotiation phase, when mining companies are most susceptible to local demands' (Gibson & Kemp, 2006, p. 115). Perception, stakes, and outcomes can be negotiated at the early stages as identities of stakeholders and occupational structures are just being formed (Gibson & Kemp, 2008, p. 115).

In the review of the Northwest Territories Diamonds Project Environmental Impact Statement, women advanced positive aspects of the proposed project including increased jobs and income, training and education opportunities, business opportunities, and company support

for community social and cultural programs (Brockman & Argue, 1995, p. 6). All the participating women unanimously predicted, due to past experiences, that alcohol and drug abuse would increase with the rise of income, and with it there would be an increase in child neglect, family violence, and other social problems (Brockman & Argue, 1995, p. 7). Interestingly, while many researchers and resources emphasize that mining accentuates alcohol consumption in communities, Ginger Gibson and Jason Klinck (2005) mention that in communities with a high percentage of heavy drinkers, it may in fact alleviate addiction, as it can boost self-reliance and community self-esteem (p.124). They argue that any initial increase in drinking associated with the opening of a mine may only be temporary and is mediated over time (Gibson & Klink, 2005, p. 124).

The women participating in the review of the Diavik project also acknowledged that despair and anger would be expected if the community felt a loss of agency over their land, if they perceived no benefits, if they were marginalized politically and economically, and if there were any environmental damage (Brockman & Argue, 1995, p. 8). Women advanced that there would be resistance by men to women procuring non-traditional jobs (Brockman & Argue, 1995, p. 10). Women also expressed concern over occupational diseases, and whether they have the health infrastructure necessary to manage its impacts (Brockman & Argue, 1995, p. 11). Women reiterated that they had been largely left out of the community consultation process, and mentioned that most leadership positions in small communities were held by men (Brockman & Argue, 1995, p. 12). They argued that BHP Billiton generally met with male leadership, that public meetings were not advertised adequately ahead of time and that they were scheduled to suit men, not the women who are at certain times occupied with subsistence activities and childcare (Brockman & Argue, 1995, pp. 11-12). They went further to mention that youth and



Elders were also not involved in the consultation process. (Brockman & Argue, 1995, p. 12).

The women mentioned that company efforts to hire, train, and maintain a northern Aboriginal workforce would be moot without a long term, comprehensive effort to address addiction and healing. (Brockman & Argue, 1995, p. 17). In another study also focusing on mining in the Northwest Territories, women in all the community meetings stated that there must be training and employment opportunities for women beyond housekeeping, dishwashing, and in the kitchen (Status of Women Council of the Northwest Territories [SWCNT], 1999, p. 4). The women suggested that the mining company identify some training and career opportunities for women, and provide career planning for women at the mine site (SWCNT, 1999, p. 4).

They also explained that improved communication with the communities was necessary, especially in regards to employment, training and business opportunities with mines. In addition, this information needed to be circulated beyond the hamlet or band office, and that it should be posted in health centers, social services, co-ops and in government offices (SWCNT, 1999, p. 4). Women also stated that they needed more support and training in their own communities in the areas of computers, office work, money and small business management, life skills, personal counseling, alcohol and drug treatment, resume writing, interview performance, and financial literacy (SWCNT, 1999, pp. 4-5; Czuzewski et al., 2014, pp. iii-iv).

There was considerable discussion about work environment, gender, and sexual harassment, and that the companies needed to enforce policies against gender discrimination and sexual harassment (SWCNT, 1999, pp. 4-5). Women were most concerned of the safety of children and young women and expected that the influx of outsiders would mean an increase in crime (Brockman & Argue, 1995, p. 13). Many women discussed that the connecting flights from the mine site were problematic as many people were bringing alcohol and drugs back to the

community (SWCNT, 1999, pp. 4-5). Some women mentioned that the RCMP in the community needed assistance and that there was an increase in the use of health and social services (SWCNT, 1999, pp. 4-5). Frontline social workers stated that they saw an increase in child neglect cases due to the increase in substance abuse and gambling, as well as an increase in STIs, due to more frequent trips to surrounding towns (Yellowknife in this case) (SWCNT, 1999, p. 8). A report completed for the Canadian's Women Foundation on mining in Nunavut discussed the inadequacy of the social infrastructure in communities necessary to mitigate and manage impacts of mining. It mentioned the need for a better women's shelter as well as one for men, improved mental health services, and that more creative ways be utilized for accommodating family obligation and the needs of women to access employment at the mine (Czuzewski et al., 2014, p. iii).

Women reported that there was an increase in spousal assaults as a result of mine employment and long-distance commuting, which strained marriages and relationships. It was recommended that the mine consider alternative shift schedules (SWCNT, 1999, p. 8). Some women participating in the Diavik review acknowledged that when a spouse did not return to the community immediately after finishing his rotation, and that little income was reaching the family (SWCNT, 1999, p. 8). As such, women suggested that paychecks should be directly deposited in family accounts to insure that paychecks reach the family, as is the case at the Raglan mine in Nunavik (SWCNT, 1999, p. 9). They also discussed that mines need to support treatment programs for potential workers, employees, and families, and need to offer community and addiction counseling on-site, as well as subsidize aftercare programs in communities (SWCNT, 1999, p. 9).

Women have much to offer to project planning, community development, capacity building, and employment; they often feel as though their communities and the mining companies are not considering their concerns and needs. Gender diversity in mining not only refers “to the intersections of ethnicity, age, sexual orientation and class, but also to the relationships with the environment, opportunities for participations in extractive industries and political leadership, household and community divisions of labor, and appropriate gender behaviors (O’Shaughnessy & Krogman, 2011, p. 136).” This statement accurately points to the layers shaping the realities structuring gender as it relates to mining. If the voices of women were taken seriously, there would probably be greater emphasis on more holistic community investment and corporate strategies that would encourage greater involvement of Aboriginal women. Improving inclusivity within work environment for all mine employees, and helping to develop spin-off opportunities would also serve the community beyond the life cycle of the mine. To do this, Aboriginal women must be considered as specific stakeholders, separate from non-Aboriginal women and separate from Aboriginal people.

## 2.8. Chapter Summary

A comprehensive analysis of sustainability in mining, as it relates to Aboriginal communities and women, demonstrates that the realities involved with mining and engagement with Aboriginal communities are ambiguous, and evolving. The protection of water should be intrinsic and should not require a guarantee of compensation to necessitate and encourage its protection. The recent inclusion of measures to protect water, such as the incorporation of water compensation agreements and negotiating accountability for its health is a remarkable first step in sustainability in Canada, and in no way water, a life sustaining element, should be compromised. Focusing on the unique experiences and contributions of Aboriginal women to mining negotiations and project development, would provide a better understanding of what community engagement should and could mean, as well as increase ethical and responsible project frameworks.

## **Chapter Three: Methodology**

### **3.1. Chapter Introduction**

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the role and contributions of Aboriginal women to mining negotiations and project development. More specifically, to identify how and what Aboriginal women contribute to mining negotiations, project development, and decision-making relating to mining. In addition, this research seeks to outline the experiences of Aboriginal women to mining negotiations and development with Aboriginal communities. Finally, it intends to provide recommendations on how to improve sustainability in the mining industry through involving and privileging the perspectives and contributions of Aboriginal women.

This chapter is organized in eight sections. The first section will provide a chapter outline, and an overview of the research design. Project participants will be introduced as part of the description of the research sample. Next, data collection methods will outline the ways in which participant contributions and discussions were unpacked and analyzed. An analysis of the ethical considerations shaping this project will follow into a description of project limitations. Finally, a chapter summary will reiterate the most important components of this chapter.

The foundation of this research rests entirely on qualitative methodology, values and concepts. Quantitative research foundations allow for succinct and easily aggregated data for analysis, as well as a systematic, standardized research methodology. In cases where research design necessitates a more flexible approach, qualitative methodologies provide a space for a more organic and inclusive research process (Somekh & Lewin, 2004, p. 21). Qualitative research is still based on specific attitude; it demands openness towards research participants and flexibility in approach and development (Flick, 2007, p. 14; Somekh & Lewin, 2004, p. 225). It was these attitudes that guided and shaped the research process and outcomes.

The main goal for this research was that it remains flexible in conception, development, and in practice (Flick, 2007, p. 14). Above all, that it remain accountable and open to the participants that took time and effort to help me. It was through flexibility at every stage of development that participants were able to shape their own involvement. Moreover, being flexible allowed me the space to accommodate the changing contextual circumstances of this research. As a graduate student, I had a vision of what I wanted this research to mean, how I wanted it to be organized, and expectations for the logistics of my community-research component. It was not always easy to adapt to changing circumstances when things did not go as planned. Because this research involved other people, with their own lives and realities, it was important to adapt what the research meant and what it required of participants.

This research sought to highlight the personal experiences of people, and what we can learn from them moving forward. Qualitative data excels in capturing and communicating how someone experiences the world in his or her own words and stories (Somekh & Lewin, 2004, p. 47). It tells a story of experience, understanding, conceptualization, reflection, and positionality. Qualitative research allows participants to identify their own relationship with the processes that structure their lives and their own experiences and truths (Barbour, 2008, p. 12). There are layers and depth that are encompassed in stories, as well as the space to acknowledge the differences between and amongst people that you cannot get from analyzing tables, graphs, and statistics (Somekh & Lewin, 2004, pp. 21, 47). While it is important to focus on general experiences, it is also significant to consider the differences and variances among them. The nature of qualitative research and its flexibility to all the different processes and stakeholders involved provides a depth of layers and meanings that would not otherwise be achievable with quantitative approaches (Somekh & Lewin, 2004, pp. 255, 348, 354).

While this research was grounded in qualitative methodology, it was shaped by a feminist social action research approach. I interviewed six participants, men and women, Aboriginal and Euro-Canadian, from a variety of backgrounds. They were all related to mining negotiations, project development and community engagement, specifically to Aboriginal women. While this project focuses on the experiences and contributions of women, I elected to also include the voices of men and their views on the contributions of women in the mining industry. Pluralism is at the center of sustainability. Conversations and discussions of differences between and among interpretations, practices, knowledge and experience are at the foundation of creating sustainable values and frameworks (Sneddon et al., 2006, p. 254). Furthermore, the voices and stories of practitioners of sustainability are necessary in demonstrating how best to participate in creating the future in our daily lives, and how to engage in ongoing dialogue on how every day actions and decisions help produce and shape the world we collectively live in (Dale, 1998, p. 191; Robinson, 2004, p. 382). The intersections and differences among the thoughts and opinions of the men consulted in this project have much to contribute to the ongoing discussion of how women contribute to sustainability, resource development, and governance.

The variations of interview format reflect the differences among the participants. The questions asked were directed towards experiences and positions, and the style of the interviews varied to accommodate participants, their schedules, contributions, and logistics. All of the participants pulled from their own experiences and had much to contribute to the development of this research project, as well as to my own learning and understanding of the topic.

### 3.2. Research Design

Qualitative research allows participants to identify their own relationship with the processes that structure their lives and their own experiences and truths (Barbour, 2008, p. 12). Feminist standpoint goes one step further and focuses on contextualizing how these structures and experiences relate to gender, and the differences between and among them (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002, p. 70). Experience, in this sense, refers to people's consciousness of their social existence, embodied in the theory, language, emotions, and ideas of how people make sense of these experiences (Ramazanoghlu & Holland, 2002, pp. 70, 126).

Principles of feminist inquiry include “a sense of connectedness and equality between researcher and participants; acknowledging and valuing ‘women’s ways of knowing’, including integrating reason, emotion, intuition, experience, and analytic thought; participatory processes that support consciousness-raising and researcher reflexivity; and going beyond knowledge generation [...] to engage in knowledge for change [...] (Patton, 2002, p. 129).” This excerpt reiterates that feminist research methodology excels in making space for a variety of different ways of knowing. Feminist inquiry also orients research towards “emphasizing participatory, collaborative, change-oriented, and empowering forms of inquiry” (Patton, 2002, p. 130). This highlights the importance of engaging participants, listening, self-reflection, and making a commitment of integrity, equity and respect. Returning to our discussion on flexibility, feminist researchers attest that a more open, loosely structured research methodology “is necessary to learn about women, to capture their words, their concepts, and the importance they place on the events of their world (H.Rubin & I.Rubin, 2005, p. 26)”, demonstrating the significance of allowing for changes to better accommodate participants and their contributions to research.



Feminist inquiry is an approach to research that is highly reflexive, providing the space for the researcher to share her experiences in conducting research. For researchers, it allows them to reflect on their own position in what is being studied and revisit why and how it is impacting what they are learning (Kovach, 2009, p. 32; Hammersley, 2013, p. 13). Our conceptual baggage, composed of concepts, beliefs, metaphors, and frameworks inform our perspective and relationship towards our research, and this should be made visible to participants and reflected throughout the research conception and process (Potts & Brown, 2005, p. 274). Further, considering that I identify as French-Canadian and coming from a 4<sup>th</sup> generation mining background, I believe the centrality and consideration of reflexivity and positionality in qualitative and feminist research epistemologies to be of particular importance.

I have spent a significant part of my life living in mining and mining service towns (Timmins, Sudbury, North Bay, and Thunder Bay). Everyone from my Father, paternal and maternal Grandpas, and a large number of my uncles, aunts and cousins, have all worked in the mining industry. Even my maternal Grandma worked at Inco's Copper Cliff mill in Sudbury during World War II. I find this most interesting, as she was among the first cohort of women in surface operations in Sudbury<sup>2</sup> (Keck & Powell, 1996, p. 149-151). From recollections of the Inco Strike of 1978-1979 and the Vale-Inco Strike of 2009-2010, union and shop talk, mining was always an important topic on conversation with my extended family. Considering my

---

<sup>2</sup> From 1890, Ontario mining legislation had completely prohibited the employment women in mines, up until 1912 and 1930, when amendments allowed women in mining if they were working in a "technical, clerical or domestic capacity". Because of the availability of male workers, these regulations were not considered problematic. However, early in World War II, the supply of male labour dropped while demand for nickel increased due to its importance in military and industrial use, and Sudbury mines produced 90% of the world's nickel. Using its powers under the War Measures Act, the federal government ordered that women be employed in surface operations in Sudbury. Over the course of the war, Inco hired over 1,400 women. Nonetheless, it was understood that the employment of women was a strict response to wartime labour shortage, and would end when soldiers returned home. (Keck & Powell, 1996, p. 149-151)

family's background with mining, it is not surprising that both my sisters have also pursued their own studies relating to mining, specifically in mining engineering and environmental sciences. My own motivations for pursuing graduate research on mining and its relation to Aboriginal women comes from the desire to utilize my unique background while examining how to better improve Aboriginal community engagement and the role of women within the industry.

I have a unique background, experiences, and worldview that are unique to me. The perspective that researchers bring to inquiry is part of the context for their findings. We carry frameworks within us, which must be made visible, as they shape how we interpret our approach to the research process (Potts & Brown, 2005, p. 274). Discussing our own personal framework creates an opportunity to be honest when examining our perspective as researchers, and realizing how this impacts the methods chosen (Kovach, 2009, pp. 42, 115). This is both among the strength and weakness of qualitative methods. While it impossible to avoid a certain amount of bias, it also creates a space for dialogue and response (Patton, 2002, p. 64).

Action research was also a key tenet of the conceptualization of this research. It integrates inquiry for change. The knowledge it generates has the goal of changing practice for participants and for a wider audience (Given, 2008, p. 4). It is my conviction that much can be improved regarding the ways in which mining takes place around Aboriginal communities and on traditional lands. The hope is that this research establishes how practices can be improved to better engage the communities these projects will impact.

Finding communities and participants willing to take part in this project was a lengthy process that required tenacity. Initially, I had intended to focus this research on the experiences of Aboriginal women in the development of one particular mine in northern Canada. This mine is one of the most significant of our time, in terms of consultation, accommodation and

engagement, and has been used as the precedent in all recent relevant literature regarding *sustainability* and mining. Aboriginal women from surrounding communities were very involved in negotiations, and the intent was to complete a follow-up on their thoughts and views some time after the mine began production.

I had been liaising with a designated community partner, and had submitted an application to the community's ethics board and working to develop research protocols. I had been asked to help with a significant socio-economic review of the mine and its impact on surrounding communities. However, after attempting to get that particular project going and seeking to coordinate logistics for community-based research, the community partner designated to assist me, who was leading the coordination of the review, advised that I should look to focus my research elsewhere, as there was growing tension within the community regarding mining. He explained that while my project was possible, considering my academic deadlines and the logistics involved with travel for the research that I should look for another project to focus on. While unfortunate and discouraging, extenuating circumstances such as these are part of the process of developing community-based research, and only made me that much more excited and appreciative for the developments that would follow.

It was at this point a family friend put me in contact with *Participant A*, who at the time was a Joint-Venture Coordinator for a First Nation community in Northern Canada. From the beginning, she was supportive of this project and sought to help me in any way that she could. We emailed and spoke on the phone regularly for four months prior to meeting in person in August 2014. Initially, she had reviewed my research questions and attempted to set up a group-interview with a couple ladies involved in mining. It was summertime, and as such, it proved to be difficult to coordinate with these ladies. It was mid-August when I decided it would be best

to travel to meet with her and any other ladies that would be available during that trip. A family friend, *Participant B*, who works as an Aboriginal relations consultant for a Canadian mining contracting company, had known *Participant A* for over 10 years and offered to take me to the community for our meeting.

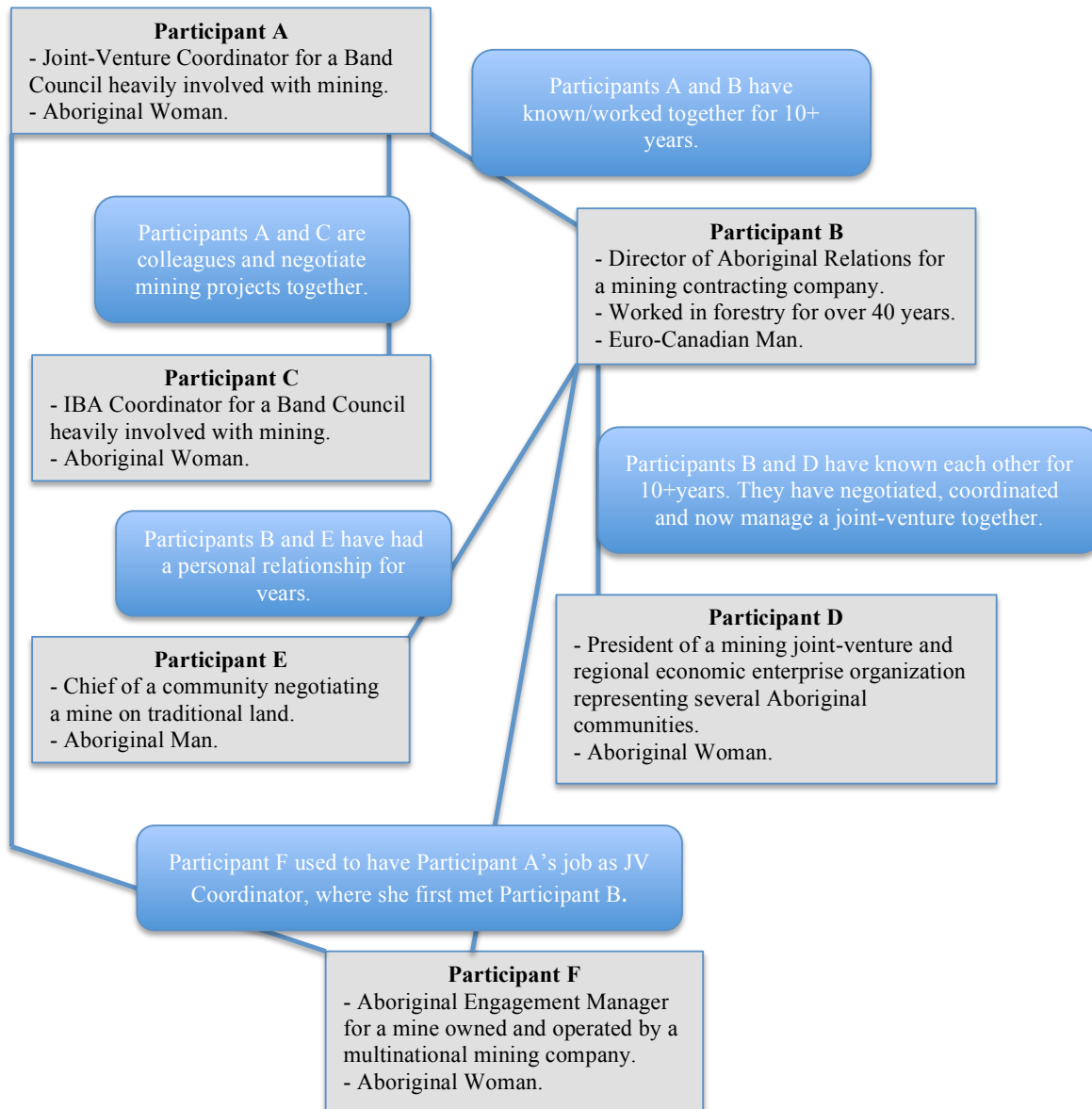
Before leaving for the community, *Participant B* and I discussed my project, what I wanted it to become, and he let me interview him on his own experience in the industry and over the course of his career. *Participant B* increasingly became the gatekeeper to most of my research participants. Having lived in the area his whole life, he reached out to a couple of people in his own professional and personal network, described what I was doing, and asked if they would be willing to talk to me. Most of them agreed. During my visit to one of the First Nations communities, I got to meet *Participant A* for the first time, as well as her colleague *Participant C* the IBA Coordinator for the community. The meeting was casual, and most of the important discussions happened once I had finished asking my research questions. This is when they discussed their lives, families, professional and personal stories, and their hopes for their community. The ladies opened up to me much more than I was expecting. Both ladies epitomized strength and resilience, and were committed to working for their community.

It was through *Participant B* that I had been put in touch with *Participant D*, who is the president president at a joint venture coordinated between a mining company and regional economic enterprise organization representing several Aboriginal communities. I find it important to mention that *Participant D* and *Participant B* have a professional relationship and have known each other for almost a decade, which I am sure is the main reasons she was so open to helping me. *Participant D* had asked me to send her my research questions before our telephone meeting. This meeting was more formal than with *Participants A* and *C*. *Participant*

*D*'s answers were articulate, clear and precise. She also utilized her own personal experiences and those of others to support her thoughts and opinions.

One week after my meeting with *Participants A* and *C* in their community boardroom, *Participant B* had organized a meeting with *Participant E*, a Chief of a community in Northern Canada. As *Participant B* is a member of the board of directors of the regional hospital providing health services to surrounding Aboriginal communities, the main reason we went was to discuss the hospital and its engagement and services for First Nations communities. *Participant E* spoke extensively of his life and experiences. He brought up the hospital incidents involving his family and community-members. He talked about Residential Schools, foster care, changes in lifestyle, health and well-being, and youth. I felt the goal was to situate the both of us and help contextualize the history and every day realities of Aboriginal peoples. He let me ask him one question, and spoke for a short time about the mining project the community was negotiating, the challenges, his concerns, and what it could mean for his community.

It was shortly after my meeting with *Participant E* that I was introduced to *Participant F*, who holds a position as the Aboriginal relations manager for a global mining company. She asked me to attend an event the mine was hosting at one of their reclamation sites presenting the application of traditional knowledge towards reclamation and remediation efforts. I was able to talk to a few people about this project. *Participant F* and I sat and chatted for a bit. I had an opportunity to meet her again for lunch one week later. We discussed my research questions, and she pulled from her own career working in mining



**Figure 3.1. Participant Biographical and Contextual Information.**

In addition to coordinating interviews with several participants, I also attended the Canadian Aboriginal Minerals Association (CAMA) conference in November of 2014. CAMA is a non-profit organization “which seeks increase the understanding of the minerals industry, Aboriginal mining and Aboriginal communities' paramount interests in lands and resources. Through increasing this awareness, all parties will benefit (CAMA, 2015).” The organization’s mandate

is to advocate for the equitable participation of Aboriginal communities in land and resource development. More specifically, CAMA seeks to advance Aboriginal community economic development, mineral resource management and environmental protection. CAMA organizes an annual conference, which has become to the premier Aboriginal mining conference in Canada (CAMA, 2015). The annual conference brings together hundreds of stakeholders, from companies, government, band councils, and entrepreneurs, among many others, to discuss mining on or near traditional lands. CAMA organizes networking events, workshops and conferences on a number of related topics such as consultation, consent, engagement, and women in mining. Attending and participating in the conference and related proceedings gave me an opportunity to contextualize what is considered to be the most immediate concerns of the Aboriginal mining community in Canada.

### 3.3. Research Sample

Snowball sampling was utilized as the main method of recruitment for this project. I had to rely on gatekeeper, *Participant B*, to access participants. In qualitative research, gatekeepers are individuals who can be used as an entry point to a specific community, and can help in determining the best participants for contributing to the research process (Given, 2008, p. 2). Gatekeepers can also help in making introductions and establishing a relaxed or appropriate environment for the research process (Given, 2008, p. 2). This was the case in my situation. As *Participant B* had well-established relationships with all of the research participants, they were more open to talking to me. He had known and worked with most of the participants for over 10 years, and they trusted him, so by extension, they gave me a chance.

Research participants were not so much selected, as they expressed interest in helping me with my thesis. I had to rely on those willing to extend themselves to helping me. I did not necessarily have a choice in developing and refining a recruitment, selection, and sampling strategy. All of the participants had different backgrounds, all related to mining, whose contributions added a dynamic perspective to the project.

*Participant B* has built his career working in forestry and mining, and has extensive experience working with Aboriginal communities. *Participants A* and *C* are from a First Nations community in Northern Canada and work on the economic development arm of community governance, specifically in relation to mining. They have negotiated three IBAs and many joint ventures together. *Participant E* is the Chief of his community and is currently negotiating for the development of a significant mine on the community's traditional land. *Participant D* is the President of a joint-venture company providing mining-related services. Finally, *Participant F* started her career working underground in mining, had worked in community development as a joint-venture coordinator, and she is currently the Aboriginal relations manager at a significant operation for one of the top global mining companies. All of these participants come from diverse positions and have experiences and much to contribute to analyzing the role of Aboriginal women in mining negotiations and project development.



### 3.4. Data Collection Methods

Initially, I had intended on hosting a focus group and following-up on issues and topics discussed with individual open-ended interviews. However, as this research developed and evolved, I had to re-adjust to better accommodate changing circumstances. Guided by the same values previously discussed that shaped this research, flexibility and openness, I was able to pull from varying qualitative interview strategies and adjust them for each of my participants. This hybridity allowed me to create interview environments that were representative of my own personality, as well as those of my participants. The interview model utilized in this research is a fusion of qualitative, feminist, responsive and informal conversational interview strategies.

Qualitative interviews seek to capture how those being interviewed view their world and how they communicate their own perceptions and experiences (Patton, 2002, pp. 21, 47). This is in contrast to the closed nature of the questionnaires and tests utilized in quantitative studies, which force participants to mold their responses within the framework of quantitative research instruments (Patton, 2002, pp. 21, 47). The task for a qualitative researcher is to provide a framework where people can respond in a way that represents their points of view and worldview (Patton, 2002, pp. 21, 47). Within the feminist research framework, interviews are similar to qualitative interviews; yet they focus on the experiences of women, for women. Feminist researchers find interviewing appealing as it allows the access to people's ideas, thoughts, and memories in their own words, rather than those of the researcher (Reinharz & Davidman, 1992, p. 19). All interviews encompassed open-ended questions, allowing those being interviewed to take whatever direction and use whatever words they felt expressed what they had to say. Qualitative and feminist research strategies provided the space for participants to discuss their own realities in their own terms.

I sought to consider participants more along the lines of conversational partners, where they could shape and guide the discussion. Participants were unique, and I wanted to be flexible and acknowledge their differences (H.Rubin & I.Rubin, 2005, p. 14). My interview with *Participant D* was the most reminiscent of traditional qualitative inquiry. *Participant B* contacted her, described what my research was about, and asked if she'd be willing to talk to me. Thereafter, I had contacted her and she requested that I send her my research questions so that she could review them for our scheduled phone meeting. Her answers were succinct, straightforward and clear. While she discussed her own experiences, it was less conversational than the other interviews, as she was pressed for time. The interview with *Participant D* took place over the phone, it lasted about 30 minutes. Afterwards, I sent her a transcript of our conversation. She mentioned that she would want to review the transcript once she had reflected on the questions and her answers some more.

My meeting with *Participants A* and *C* also resonated with the qualities of traditional qualitative inquiry, but necessitated a more feminist interview approach. The interview was the result of persistent almost weekly follow-ups over a four month-period. *Participant B* offered to take me to the community. We met in the band council's boardroom for less than an hour. Most of the best discussion came when I had finished asking all my questions.

Informal conversational interview, or unstructured interview is the most open-ended approach to interviewing (Given, 2008, pp. 127-129). Questions will flow from the immediate context, as the researcher does not know beforehand what is going to happen, who will be present, or what will be important to ask (Given, 2008, pp. 127-129). Guided by the purpose of the inquiry, the strength of the method resides in the opportunity it offers for flexibility spontaneity, and responses to individual differences and situations (Given, 2008, pp. 127-129).

A weakness is that it may require a greater amount of time to collect systematic information because it may take several conversations with different people to gauge what to ask, and to discuss a similar set of questions (Given, 2008, pp. 127-128). Nevertheless, it may also be considered an asset for some as it can yield better material by giving more time to build relationship. However, this approach is increasingly susceptible to the biases and methodological faults of the interviewer (Given, 2008, pp. 127-129).

This method of inquiry was most utilized in my interview with *Participant E*. *Participant B* had indicated before the meeting that I should avoid bringing or taking any notes because *Participant E* would appreciate my efforts to listen without any distractions. The meeting with *Participant E* took place in his band council office. *Participant B* is a board member of the nearest hospital and *Participant E* wanted to discuss with him the health-related issues facing Aboriginal communities. *Participant B* mentioned before our meeting that there may or may not be women involved with negotiations around to talk to me, but that he was not certain. He also mentioned that he did not know how the meeting would go and was unaware if I would get an opportunity to ask my own questions. *Participant E* spent a significant amount of time discussing his life experiences, and weaving them with health-care and mining. I got to ask one question. Afterwards, I indicated that I would email him a transcript of his answer, and he suggested that he would want to add some more material to his answer and my research.

Responsive interviewing is intended to communicate qualitative interviewing style, while making it more dynamic and interactive (H.Rubin & I.Rubin, 2005, pp. 36-37). The interview is supposed to reflect the personalities and relationships between researchers and participants, and change as the interview evolves (H.Rubin & I.Rubin, 2005, pp. 36-37). The questions are continuously modified to match the knowledge and interests of participants (H.Rubin &

I.Rubin, 2005, pp. 36-37). This method also demands that the researcher remain reflexive, and be aware of their own opinions, experiences, cultural differences, and even prejudice and biases (H.Rubin & I.Rubin, 2005, pp. 15, 36-37). This method allowed me to adjust my approach to interviewing the different participants. It permitted me to acknowledge the nature of the relationship I had with each of them. Discussing questions over a phone meeting with someone I had never met was a different experience than meeting with someone I had been talking to for several months, or a family friend that I have known for years.

Conversational interviewing guided my discussions with *Participants B* and *F*. Informal, it most resembles a conversation where researchers and participants participate in a more equitable way, not like the stale structure of typical interview settings (Given, 2008, p. 127). My meeting with *Participant B* took place over coffee in his office. I recorded the interview on a voice-recorder and transcribed shortly after. Additional interviews with him happened over coffee or during our short road-trips to meet with other participants. My interviews with *Participant B* also discussed his experiences working in the forestry sector. After our meeting, I sent him a transcript of our interviews for his review.

*Participant F* and I first met at a mining reclamation site where she and her colleagues were hosting a corporate open house to highlight the importance of TEK and TK in mining. I was lucky enough to meet with her for a follow-up meeting over lunch a week later. We managed to discuss my project, and she shared her own thoughts and experiences on the topic. I had sent her the questions I hoped to discuss for her review prior to our meeting and sent a transcript of our interview for her review and editing. My meeting with *Participants A* and *C* was more structured. It was after the research questions were asked that they openly discussed their own lives, families, stories, and experiences. Topics of discussion went beyond mining. This

allowed for more grounding and insight into their perspectives and positionality. I sent both of the ladies a transcript of our interview for their own review.

A voice-recorder was utilized for my interview with *Participant B*. Afterwards, he advised me that taking out the recorder may be interpreted as intimidating to other participants. As such, I sought to actively listen to our conversations. I transcribed interviews immediately afterwards to minimize what I would forget. Transcripts were sent to participants within 24 to 48 hours for their review and editing. I also promised that I would send them each an update of the context in which their contributions were being used. This was to make sure that they consented to what was recorded and reported, and that they had an opportunity to reflect on the material and change, edit, or alter whatever they felt was necessary. This would also allow them to do as they wish with the data, such as archive it for future generations.

### 3.5. Ethical Considerations

Qualitative researchers must abide by institutional procedures for informed consent. The process of preparing for institutional ethics approval helps researchers prepare for the data-collection process; it encourages researchers to think critically about their research, its application and methods, and its repercussions (Crow, Wiles, Heathm, & Charles, 2006, pp. 85-87). It can be argued that it creates better data-collection, as it establishes in writing, a more equal relationship between all stakeholders (Crow et al., 2006, pp. 85-87). In addition, it clearly delineates expectations and requirements, creates assurances among participants, and helps build trust and rapport between researchers and participants (Crow et al., pp. 85-87). However, I found the institutional requirements inflexible.

The requirements to obtaining consent, whether oral or written, deviate from everyday conversation (Given, 2008, p. 128). The challenge for me was that the ethics process seemed rigid, institutional and overly bureaucratic. Will C. van den Hoonaard and Deborah K. van den Hoonaard's (2013) statement that consent is a process rather than an event (pp. 37, 39-40) resonated with me, and helped me reconcile with my own feelings about the fixed nature of consent advanced by institutional academia. While I recognize that consent procedures have been molded and shaped after many incidents of researchers acting unethically and putting research participants in positions of vulnerability, I felt as though it was opposite to the values of being open and flexible. It felt unfair that I ask people to sign a consent form upon first meeting me, and not giving them an opportunity to get to know me and assess for themselves whether or not they wanted to discuss the questions.

One of my community partners, while discussing the mandatory consent forms required by the university, suggested that I find another way to obtain consent, arguing that it would seem

disrespectful to present participants with a contract, as it went against the values of engagement and relationship building. I elected to adopt a process of rolling informed consent that would not start and stop with a consent form; rather, it would be an ongoing discussion and process with participants that was continuously renegotiated (Somekh & Lewin, 2004, p. 56). Research involves some degree of unpredictability and uncertainty and it is difficult to assess the risks for participants, and what consent means to them, without first having met them (Palys & Atchinson, 2008, p. 86; Somekh & Lewin, 2004, p. 56).

In my case, while I did submit ethics applications to the university's ethics board and completed the required *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* program, I could not have accounted or anticipated the changes that were made throughout my research. Rolling informed consent allowed for a more realistic assessment of the risks to participants than what can be made without even going to the community and meeting participants. Interestingly, all of the participants interviewed me, either upon first meeting me or after our interview, before the more personal conversations were had and stories were shared. They asked me about my motivations for conducting this study, my goals for it, and what I hoped to do with it. They all asked me about my career aspirations. I answered their questions honestly, acknowledging my background, and my own perspectives regarding the progression of the mining industry and community engagement. In retrospect, I consider this aspect of my research process the most interesting.

Anonymity and confidentiality measures and procedures are key components of consent. Naming is important to acknowledging contributions (Somekh & Lewin, 2004, p. 6). Anonymity is important to protect participants from harm that can come from disclosure of their identity. For some, a benefit in taking part in a study is to publicly express their experiences and beliefs

(Given, 2008, p. 17). They may desire acknowledgement and seek ownership of their contributions to a study, and this should be given as much consideration as their concerns for privacy (Given, 2008, p. 17). Due to the degrees of separation between participants, and the size and nature of mining industry and projects operating on or near Aboriginal communities, contributions could easily be traced back to participants. As such, it was determined that if a single participant wished to remain anonymous, I would need to make all participant contributions anonymous to protect their identities. In the end, certain participants elected to remain anonymous, and while I would have liked to acknowledge participants by name, I had to respect the wishes those that indicated they wanted to remain anonymous.

Participants were either first contacted by me or by *Participant B*, and were asked if they would be willing to participate. Thereafter, almost all the participants, with the exception of *Participant D* and *Participant B* were emailed the questions to review before the interview. All the participants were sent a transcript shortly after the interview for their review and archiving. This way, they had an opportunity to step back and reflect on the questions, answers, and matters discussed. All participants had an opportunity to edit whatever they wanted. I indicated that I could keep their identities or any or all of their contributions confidential and anonymous. I also promised that I would send them an update with excerpts of my thesis describing the context in which their contributions were used for their review and approval. This ongoing process created a relationship that is representative of ethical research, and conducive to participant engagement in the processes of their participation and representation.

A significant component of ethics is compensating people for their time, effort, and contributions. My intent was to give back in a way that was representative of my own background that would symbolize time, consideration and effort. I got together with my



*Mémère* (paternal grandmother) and made several traditional French-Canadian *tortières* (meat-pies) and *fèves au lard* (pork belly beans) for research participants. The recipes were those passed down over several generations. I wanted to acknowledge my gratitude to those that helped me through this process in the most traditional and culturally relevant way I could think of.

### 3.6. Limitations Of Study

In the case of all research, there are certain limitations that are unavoidable. I feel as though the most significant limitations are regarding the research sample. As previously discussed, I did not have a relationship with most of the participants before the research process, or with the Aboriginal communities involved in mining. I did however, have contacts within the mining community. I was not able to select any of the participants. I had an opportunity to meet a practitioner of traditional knowledge during my research. He observed that I did not include participants with a more traditionally grounded background. Unfortunately, as an outsider, I did not know anyone with a traditional background and knowledge, and was not introduced to anyone. I consider this to be one of the challenges of community-research, and also not having prior relationships with First Nation communities, which would have been an asset for this research.

### 3.7. Chapter Summary

This research sought to identify the roles and contributions of Aboriginal women to mining negotiations and project development, while establishing the benefits of including a balanced gender approach to improving community engagement with mining companies, and improved sustainable outcomes from development through mining. Research participants came from a number of perspectives, backgrounds, positions and histories. As a result, qualitative research was selected as the primary methodology as it allowed for a flexible and inclusive research process. This research sought to highlight the personal experiences of people, and what we can learn from them moving forward. While this research is grounded in qualitative methodology, it was shaped by a feminist social action research approach. The variations of interview format reflect the differences among the participants. The interview model utilized for this project encompassed a hybridity and fusion of qualitative, feminist, responsive and informal conversational strategies.

My experience planning and executing the research component of this project highlighted the importance of persistence, gatekeepers and flexibility. When there is no established relationship, finding and convincing people to participate in a project can be a long and tedious process. People are busy, have their own lives and responsibilities, and my thesis was not necessarily among their priorities. In some cases, recruiting participants required months of weekly phone calls and emails, and even travel for the chance of a meeting that had not been confirmed. Continued persistence was one of the key contributing factors to successfully recruiting participants. While the process in some cases was slow, discouraging and humbling, I believe my dedication convinced some of the participants to participate in this research. Before starting the research process, I did not completely understand the importance and value of

gatekeepers. As I did not have prior relationships with the majority of my participants, it was a significant asset to have a person who had an established rapport with them and endorsed my character and my project.

My Gatekeeper not only assisted in making introductions, but also with recruitment through snowball sampling. He also became one of my participants. Our conversations on his professional experiences regarding community engagement, ethics, and natural resources were invaluable. I fully recommend to other students trying this style of research not to underestimate the value of the support and assistance of a Gatekeeper. Finally, in retrospect of the research process, when planning and executing qualitative research, flexibility is a necessity. Being open to changes as they come is necessary when planning and conducting qualitative participative research. As I did not know many of the participants prior to beginning the process, it was specially required of me. I needed to adapt to the changing circumstances of my research, relationships with participants, to varying factors and logistics of interviews and ethical considerations. When research is qualitative in nature, it must remain open to the methodological contributions of participants.

The ethics experiences with the university was frustrating, as it did not leave any space for the realities involved with relationship-building, and research logistics. I could never have anticipated the progression of the interview portion of this research. I also had different relationships with each of the participants, which modified the nature of the interviews. The ethics and consent component of research is very important, but needs to consider the significance of flexibility, and the importance of relationships and ongoing-consent.

## **Chapter Four: Data Analysis**

### **4.1. Chapter Introduction**

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the role and contributions of Aboriginal women in mining negotiations and project development. This chapter seeks to present and analyze the data collected from participants. The foundation of this research rests entirely on qualitative methodology, values and concepts, and was shaped by a feminist social action research approach. Six participants were interviewed for this research, from a variety of positions within the mining industry, with unique approaches, contributions, and experiences. Participants included men and women, Aboriginal and Euro-Canadian, from Aboriginal community leadership, governance administrators, corporate Indigenous relations coordinators and engagement coordinators. The multiplicity among experience and knowledge created a conversation and dialogue that acknowledged the contributions a variety of stakeholders to understanding the role and contributions of Aboriginal women in mining. I also attended the 2014 CAMA conference to further contextualize and position my research within the dialogue between Aboriginal stakeholders and mining development. This chapter will be organized in four sections. The first will provide an introductory overview of this chapter. Next, an outline of the data analysis methodology will describe methods used to unpack participant discussions. The third section will provide a comprehensive exploration of participant interviews. Finally, a chapter summary will revisit issues and topics discussed in this chapter.

## 4.2. Data Analysis Methodology

As part of the data analysis process of the research, all interviews were analyzed and participants were coded to identify recurring and common themes (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003). Codes such as motivations, benefits, impacts, traditional values, women, engagement, relationships, and advice were among those most common in all of the contributions and responses of research participants. Identifying repeating ideas that emerged in the interview transcripts highlighted necessary codes. Thereafter, an analysis was done to identify themes (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003). I sought to garner commonalities, differences, and relationships among data. During the process, notes were taken when patterns or themes emerged, and from there, a flow chart was created to demark intersections among these themes. This allowed me to keep track of the connections between the discussions of participants. In most cases, participant answers highlighted and emphasized the same themes. However, in some specific instances, answers were unique. Afterwards, when possible, I sought to connect the data collected through field research to relevant literature on gender, Aboriginal communities, and the mining industry, to identify and highlight the data's relevance and contributions to broader literature.

### 4.3. Findings

#### A. Motivations for Involvement

All participants came from various positions within the mining industry with different roles, jobs, and responsibilities. Participants were asked to discuss how they are involved in mining, and what their motivations were for getting involved. The women's motivations, as well as how they conceptualized their involvement were all different. Some approached the question from a more personal point of view, while others answered it with explanations of community motivations.

*Participants A and C* both described that they were asked to come back to their community, *to come home*, by community leaders. They explained that they always knew they would return to their community if and when needed. Neither one had previous experience with the mining industry, and had to learn from scratch. They both agreed that they loved their jobs, and that they would leave when it became about the money. It was implicit that they were working for their community. They discussed that if there was a job made for them, it was the one that they currently had as part of the mining team in community governance.

This is consistent among the literature focusing on the motivations of Aboriginal women in working for community governance and administration. According to Jo-Anne Fiske, Melanie Newell, and Evelyn George (2001) many women working in community governance and administration are asked to do so by the community and family members, who often viewed them as strong and effective potential leaders (p. 82). *Participants A and C* returned to the community at the request of leadership. Neither one had previous professional experience in natural resource industries, as such, someone had the confidence that they had the qualities, and the potential to do the work with excellence. Through emphasizing that they loved their work,

and that it had to remain more than a means to gain a salary indicated that they were guided by higher standards and goals beyond uniquely personal motivations.

In contrast, *Participant D* answered that her involvement in mining was through providing opportunities with joint ventures in mining services. She elaborated:

We have within our nation, a holding company, and through the holding company we looked at possible joint ventures with other companies or individuals, with whom we have shared interest and shared goals and shared vision. With regard to the company, we had met several different companies, and we finally partnered with [one], in development and construction of mines. So we don't own the mine, but we help, especially within our territory. The focus within our territory is to get contracts to help the First Nation who are in partnerships with other mines or companies, to develop the potential. So we submit bids in order to help facilitate the development of their mine.

This answer underscores the importance of relationships and due-diligence. For *Participant D*, finding companies that share common interests, goals, and vision are among the priorities. It took years of research before deciding which company to partner with. For her, involvement in mining meant creating opportunities for accessing contracts necessary in the construction of mines. This meant finding partners with the experience that was needed, while benefiting from dual-ownership. Yet, both of these answers emphasize that the main motivation were the needs and protection of the community.

#### B. Choosing Participation Rather Than Exclusion

All participants that work at the community governance level indicated that their motivations to be involved with mining came from the fear that not participating in mining development meant that mining would still take place, only without their involvement. Being involved meant that they could shape the outcomes and mitigate the impacts on their communities. *Participant D* indicated that:

For a lot a people, especially in our territory... our nation, there's really no other alternatives except to get involved, especially if there is development taking place within our land. So we looked at it from the perspective that there will be development taking place, and we wanted to be active participants in the development, so that we have a say in the terms of how things get done within our territory. [Involved] by necessity through business opportunity [...] you either participate or you sit on the sidelines and don't get your say.

This argument indicates the concern that lack of involvement could translate to resource development still taking place with communities being left without any benefits. *Participants A* and *C* also discussed choosing participation over exclusion. Together, they had negotiated two IBAs for mining that were already taking place near their community, without having previously sought their involvement and consent, and they had signed a third IBA for a developing project. For them, involvement in mining meant they could shape relationships and benefits for their community:

Mining was already happening, and had happened, and we wanted to take part in the benefits. [Mining] is not perfect, but we wanted to be a part of it. [...] Mining has to be about relationships and partnerships. Community benefits need to be tangible, we have to see them [...] job-sharing, transferable skills, IBAs, MOUs, partnerships, joint ventures.

This statement reiterated Participant *D*'s motivations for involvement in mining, while enumerating what they consider to be benefits. *Participant E* also built upon on the motivations of *Participants A, C* and *D*:

I think about the tailings, the lake that will disappear, 1,200 men that will be up the street, drugs and the money. [But] [t]his project will bring tens of millions for my community, and what that can mean for us. The mine goes against our beliefs, but I know of the dangers of sitting along the sidelines watching the development of the mine. If it's going to happen, we need to be involved and part of the process. [...] It's about measuring the costs and what it will mean for the youth and their future. Must have meaningful work and management jobs.

Evidently, for *Participant E*, decisions to take part in mining meant compromising cultural beliefs. He explained that negative impacts would only be compounded if the resource



development took place without providing community benefits. Discussions on SLO establish that community approval is necessary for project development, as failing to obtain community support of projects can cause resistance that may impede project feasibility (O'Faircheallaigh, 2012, p. 4; Prno & Slocombe, 2012, p. 347). However, contrary to the literature, none of the participants on the community governance level hinted that blocking or resisting the projects was a solution. They all reiterated that the projects would take place with or without them, and their participation meant that they would be involved in shaping project development and directing community deliverables. This sentiment was often repeated at the CAMA conference. Many people had mentioned at various occasions in workshops, presentations, and panels that mining had happened and would continue to happen with or without the involvement of Aboriginal peoples and communities.

From the corporate perspective, *Participant B* provided an interesting discussion on the reasons community engagement is favorable. He indicated that in some areas (such Yukon, Northern Quebec, and Northwest Territories), companies do not have a choice but to work with Aboriginal communities, as it is demanded and expected by communities. Moreover, in some areas (like around Timmins), it is starting to be mandatory. He mentioned the company he works for began working with communities before community engagement became an industry standard, and that it has given them an advantage in developing relationships with First Nation communities. He discussed that not engaging with communities, many times, inhibits companies from procuring contracts or agreements. *Participant B* alluded that working with Aboriginal communities is a prudent strategy at the corporate level, as it increases project feasibility. Despite the participants' explanation that projects would proceed with or without them, his perspective explained that contracts and projects could not proceed without the consent or

approval of First Nation communities. The similarities and differences among corporate and governance perspective highlights an important component of SLO, community engagement and stakeholder relations. These responses emphasize that further research needs to be done to understand the subtleties of SLO theory in relation to natural resource development and Aboriginal engagement.

### C. Meaningful Work

Both *Participants B* and *E* discussed the importance of creating opportunities for meaningful work through mining. *Participant E* highlighted that: “It’s about measuring the costs and what it will mean for the youth and their future. Must have meaningful work and management jobs.” *Participant B* discussed job creation in a similar manner. He explained that in his experience, communities seek: “long-term jobs, not only as caretakers or cleaning the camps, but in human resources, for example. Not only the crumbs and secondary jobs.” This contribution focuses on creating long-term stability and jobs, not just the entry-level job opportunities. Creating opportunities to access jobs are an integral component of shaping organizational culture. This statement reiterates what *Participant E* considers to be job-related benefits of mining. At the CAMA conference I felt discussions on benefits brought by employment to focus overwhelmingly on positioning Aboriginal people, especially youth and women, in the maintenance and mechanical, trade and skilled, machinery and transportation related employment.

In a study focusing on mining in the Northwest Territories, women from communities impacted by mining stated that there must be training and employment opportunities for women beyond housekeeping, dishwashing, and in the kitchen (SWCNT, 1999, p.4). Participating women felt as though companies were not interested in hiring women in positions other than

cleaning and cooking, and that education and training initiatives should be geared towards facilitating access to non-traditional positions (SWCNT, 1999, p. 4). *Participants A* and *C* discussed the importance of creating opportunities in job-sharing, and in facilitating the acquisition of transferrable skills, whereas *Participant D* explained the importance of continuous capacity building for improved access to employment in mining industry.

#### D. Women- Community Protectors

Participants discussed the contributions of women in the context of creating balance, water, traditional motherhood, work ethic, and acting as community gatekeepers. *Participants A* and *C* discussed how their roles as mothers shape and influence their professional lives:

As women, we are mothers to our kids, but also of leadership and to the community... need to protect and think with heart and head at the same time. We are the frontline protectors of community leadership. So the role of mother extends to all aspects of our work and community. As women, we are protectors of the community, and sometimes we need to step away from our role on the mining team and give guidance to leadership.

This statement illustrates that their roles as mothers extend to all aspects of their lives, and that they engage a more protective approach to their work and decisions, as well as their colleagues.

*Participant B*, in reflecting on his own professional experiences coordinating joint-venture mining projects with Aboriginal communities, explained that agreements could take a long time. Often, meetings and discussions, sometimes spanning over several years, only began turning into concrete negotiations and planning when he would convince a woman, usually working in community development, of the merits of a proposed project. Once she was convinced, she brought the idea to council, and then the project started moving forward tangibly. In almost all his experiences working in mining, the gatekeeper to partnering communities was a woman. His thoughts reiterate *Participant A* and *C*'s views that their gender translates to the adoption of a

more protective approach to their work and community. For him, he had to *go through* a gatekeeper before negotiations went from discussing a proposed project to the planning stages. Considering the lack of literature discussing the thoughts and opinions of men regarding the participation and contributions of Aboriginal women to mining development on or near traditional lands, this acknowledgement that women often act community protectors or gatekeepers between mining companies and community governance is worthy of attention.

#### E. Negotiating Worldviews

While *Participant E* acknowledged the need to make space for balance at the negotiation table, he indicated that his main concern was that mining negotiators fail to understand Aboriginal worldviews:

There's rarely women at negotiations, but it is necessary to have balance. [I] can't speak on the topic, as a man, but I recognize the need for balance and giving space for women at the table. Women have different roles and responsibilities, especially as stewards of water. [...] There is an opportunity for women to get involved, but the biggest challenge for us is finding negotiators that understand our point of view, recognizing and acknowledging our beliefs, and understand our worldviews.

This explains that it is important for women to be involved and create space for balance among perspectives. *Participant E's* recognition that women, while rarely represented at negotiations, would create more balanced outcomes for communities due to differences among cultural and social roles and responsibilities. However, he acknowledged that he considers the challenge of finding negotiators that understand First Nation perspective on what these projects mean to be of significant importance. It is common that negotiators fail to understand Aboriginal cultural beliefs and perspectives. He highlighted that there are opportunities for women to be involved in negotiations and project planning. However, different worldviews often lead to challenges at the

negotiation table, which impedes the consideration of the potential benefits and impacts of proposed projects.

#### F. Gender and Flexibility

*Participant F* discussed the role of women in mining passionately and spiritually. She indicated that most of the current issues with mining are due to a lack of balance between male and female values within the industry itself:

Women are the traditional protectors of water. A couple times in my career, I was able to feel the significance of water and my role as a woman and how it relates to mining. Once, I was underground, in this very male-dominated industry, which is run with overwhelming male values. And I could see water coming in all around me through the crevices. And the water was clean, pure, and crystal clear. To me, that showed me how much this industry is begging for the female. It's crying for it. More involvement of women, more consideration of the female perspective and the approach of women. Everyone knows it has to happen for the industry to move forward. It's going to be hard, and there will be resistance, as with all kinds of change. But it has to happen. The nature of the extractive industry is male and it needs balance. The intellect is traditionally the domain of men, as is numbers, money, accounting, etc. Women think and feel with their hearts and intuition. That is what is lacking. It's that we have to feel whether or not decisions are ethical, be guided by our intuition, and do right for the community. It's not about money and profits, it's about being responsible for and about the decisions that are being made, and for the communities in which we operate. [...] We can talk about the glass-ceiling, status-quo, etc. But the difficulty is that the values of this industry are male. It's hard to make space for who we are as women, acknowledging and accepting that we are who we are, and that these are good things. Emotions, feelings, intuition, are all qualities that are female and should be embraced. It translates to more CSR [Corporate Social Responsibility].

*Participant E's* thoughts highlight the many benefits of making space for women in the mining industry. She acknowledges that the industry is shaped and organized by overwhelming male values, and that the way forward is to celebrate diversity of approach. Being flexible to the differences in perspectives and priorities is necessary in changing the status quo in mining. She acknowledges that women have different approaches to decision-making, and that making space

for balance would solve many of the problems currently plaguing the mining industry. Celebrating balance would solve the dreaded glass ceiling and status quo that frustrate women in the workplace. It would also make CSR, community engagement, ethics, and relationships intrinsic in all decisions and projects, and not a strategic measure to minimize potential resistance.

At CAMA's only workshop on women in mining, *Creating a Balanced Workforce: Women in Mining*, sought to "[1] Introduce and showcase a variety of women in leadership roles in mining; [2] Discuss similar approaches, skills and qualities among Aboriginal female mining leaders; [3] Debate the importance and impacts of diverse leadership on creating positive work spaces and innovative business practices (CAMA, 2014)." I was looking forward to hearing about the experiences and backgrounds of featured presenters, and their thoughts on the role of women in mining and contributions mining and community development. Each presenter was involved with mining in different capacities, and discussed their backgrounds and experiences for less than a minute. The moderator had all workshop attendees break off in groups and discuss the benefits of having women in mining. While these kinds of discussions are useful, while the panelists were all accomplished in their own areas of expertise, I would have preferred to hear from them of their thoughts on the topics of discussion.

There is a significant increase of literature examining the contributions of women to corporate culture. These works closely reflect *Participant E's* discussion on the benefits of increasing balance among gendered approaches to mining and resource development. Gender shapes approaches to decision-making. It is argued that men take more risks, especially when surrounded by other men (Shipman & Kay, 2009). Women, on the other hand, are more cautious and prefer taking less risk in favor for more stable and long-term growth (Shipman & Kay,

2009). Women are also less competitive and prefer horizontal management and rely more on consensus and collaboration (Shipman & Kay, 2009).

One research paper seeking to investigate gender and economic performance found that women were most likely to emphasize sustainability (Apesteguai, Azmat, & Iriberry, 2012). In creating a variety of teams made-up by different gender combinations and by simulating a business environment, it was found that teams formed by only women “were significantly outperformed by all other gender combinations (Apesteguai et al., 2012, p. 78).” The differences in performance were attributed to distinctions in decision-making and priorities. More specifically, the teams of women were “less aggressive in their pricing strategies, invest less in research and development, and invest more in social sustainability than does any other gender combination (Apesteguai et al., 2012, p. 78).”

Kellie A. McElhaney and Sanaz Mobasseri’s (2012) review literature focusing on the approaches and contributions of women in upper management to shaping corporate culture. They argue that adding more women to upper management of businesses, especially to directorial boards, may help move from prioritizing short-term profit maximization towards broader focus on long-term goals, including positive environmental, social, and governance impacts (McElhaney & Mobasseri, 2012, p. 1). Furthermore, they suggest “companies that explicitly place value on gender diversity perform better in general, and perform better than their peers on the multiple dimensions of corporate sustainability (McElhaney & Mobasseri, 2012, p. 1)”. These arguments highlight the necessity of encouraging gender diversity among all levels of mining to improving sustainability.

Similarly, a report published by the Yukon Status of Women Council and Yukon Conservation on Aboriginal women and mining industry, stated that most mining companies

have little or no female members of their board of directors. They argue that: “until women are active at all levels of the mining industry, significant change in how the industry impacts and benefits women – as workers and community members – will likely not occur (YSWC & YCS, 2000, p. 4).” *Participant E* acknowledged that the industry is shaped by male values, and that diversity in approach and perspective would solve many of the current problems within the industry by encouraging more community engagement, corporate social responsibility and ethics, and improved sustainable community outcomes. She argued that current industry focus, priorities and decisions are shaped by male perspectives, and that the only way the industry can move forward, is to embrace the approach of women to decision-making, corporate culture, and corporate-community engagement. Encouraging diversity in approach and perspective would solve many of the current challenges faced by the mining industry whose roots problem are derived from a lack of flexibility to gender diversity. Her reflection on balance in mining builds upon the need to look beyond short-term profits for corporate stakeholders to emphasizing ethics and the impacts of decisions on local communities. She reiterated that embracing diversity in resource development projects increases CSR, and results in better outcomes for the local communities involved. Furthermore, she discussed the dangerous cycle of assimilation and socialization into industry culture:

A lot of time, women to fit in, try and adopt the attitudes, qualities, and approaches of men. That just continues the cycle. We need to accept who we are, the differences between and among us, and the contributions that diversity bring. Being a woman enables me to see through the issues at what the core problems are. Most of the time, problems come down to a lack of balance.

All of the participants had much to contribute to what women have to contribute to the nature of mining and First Nations. Balance among perspective and the role of community protectors



are among the recurring themes found in the discussions with all participants surrounding the topic.

#### G. Guiding Principles

Participants discussed what their priorities were in developing opportunities through mining. *Participant E* emphasized that values and ethics in guiding negotiations, goals, and decisions should not be compromised. *Participants A* and *C* discussed the importance of focusing on value versus dollar and how decisions impact communities. They explained the importance of maintaining an ethics code guiding all decisions and relationships. Furthermore, maintaining these ethics are valuable, and more important than any dollar amount. These values should in no way be compromised for any potential benefits. For them, it was important to look towards the future and stay focused on the youth by keeping in mind what the situation will be like in 15, 20, or 30 years. In this sense, reclamation would be important for future generations and would continue to create and provide opportunities for them. *Participants A* and *C* also discussed the importance of education for youth. They considered the importance of knowledge, academic, traditional and community-based, and that all community-members have their own strengths and potential to contribute to the community in their own way.

*Participant D* insisted on the importance of traditional teachings, and how it provided a framework structuring her own career and professional experiences. She explained that:

I can speak as an Aboriginal person, when we look at negotiations or potential projects within our territory, we always have the teaching of the seven generations, where anything that we do today, that we have to think forward towards the generations to come. So the work I do today will have an impact on the future. That is always for me at the back of my mind, when I do my work, my day-to-day job, it is there, even if it is unspoken, there is a reason for what I am doing. It is to protect our environment, and to protect the future of our people. Those are influences that are utilized when speaking of any kind of development within our territory. Those are very high in priority. For example, you go into negotiations for an IBA, for me, it is important that you start thinking about

reclamation right away, you don't put it in as an afterthought. Because it is so important, the environment is so important to us, our land is important, and so is the future of our people. You put those things up front when you begin discussing potential projects.

Her comment, like those of *Participant A* and *C*, also puts reclamation at front and center of her approach to mining, while emphasizing the importance of considering the legacy of current decisions on future generations. Benefits extracted in the present should not come at the expense of the wellbeing of future generations, which promotes the consideration of inter-generational equality. Both of these answers reiterate the same message: the values and ethics that are at the core of their work, shaping mining development, must always take into consideration the impact of today's decisions on future generations.

I found that conversations such as these were not adequately brought up at CAMA, in fact most presentations sought to advertise Aboriginal-owned or joint ventures. I recognize the importance of networking and creating relationships that will improve community-development, encourage entrepreneurship, and opportunities for Aboriginal-owned business. However, I felt not enough of the difficult conversations were had to unpack the compromises that have to be made when debating community development through mining. There were little to no discussions on best practices, the importance of social infrastructure, thoughts and concerns of youth and Elders, and run-off opportunities for community development endeavors. It seemed that most presentations and panels seemed to be an ongoing advertisement advocating that communities are open, ready and enthusiastic of mining development.

#### H. Advice for Communities

All participants provided advice for communities and companies looking to develop mining projects with Aboriginal communities. They explained how to better integrate sustainability

within the mining industry and how to engage local communities. They discussed the values and ethics that would create better projects, as well as strategies for communities and companies to utilize moving forward. Advice for communities considering getting involved in mining included discussions on IBAs, deadlines, capacity building, values as guiding principles, and the importance of being prepared.

i. Standardized IBAs- bound to fail

*Participants A and C* were animated in addressing growing societal discussions promoting the need for standardized mining IBAs. They indicated that a standardized IBA template could and would never work, as IBAs need to reflect the realities of the communities they are addressing. They explained that the cost of construction varies significantly based on community isolation, communities' employment needs, desire to receive royalties, etc. The unique necessities of each community need to be reflected in the IBA, and a standardized IBA could never create the amount of flexibility needed to address the unique concerns of each and every community.

ii. Challenge of deadlines

The issue of deadlines appeared frequently in research data. *Participants A, C and D* all exhibited a certain amount of wariness toward rushing through the planning process and the imposition of deadlines in decision-making. *Participant D* stated that:

I always say [to community members], don't feel rushed or pressured. Maybe the mining companies are putting additional pressure. For example, there were uranium people that were trying to develop on our territory and as people started to understand, you know, they are fearful of uranium, as many other people are fearful of uranium mining. I always tell the people, you know, don't feel pressured. Do your homework, study, prepare, you know, ask other communities what their best practices are, what works for them. Go into any type of development, or mining, well prepared, [...] what is involved in mining, understand the industry, [and] the companies [involved], be very proactive.

Her contributions to this discussion emphasize making sure that communities are prepared, informed, and knowledgeable about the industry, specific companies, and the experiences of other communities. This all must be completed before any decisions should be made. Companies may impose pressure on communities, but communities should never compromise their own due-diligence.

The standard confidentiality of IBAs, as previously discussed, could inhibit their review by external parties, and due-diligence with surrounding communities or those that have previous similar experiences, as a result reducing bargaining power (Caine & Krogman, 2010, p. 86). Confidentiality inhibits communities from learning from one another and prevents them from negotiating from a more informed and strategic position (Hitch & Fidler, 2007, p. 58; Caine & Krogman, 2010, p. 86). *Participants A and C* mentioned that communities should be wary of deadlines. For them, while some agreements have taken years to reach, others have taken mere hours. They indicated that communities should take their time, and coordinate and reflect on building agreements properly.

### iii. Building Capacity

Capacity-building was another area of concern among some of the participants. They advocated that communities must to be ready for when projects arise and to take full advantage of opportunities as they come. *Participant D* explained that:

[Capacity building] is one area where I think we lag, not only as First Nation communities, but in general and in general population. We have so many miners that will be retiring in the near future. Yet, there are still many mining projects coming up. So, who is going to take over those mining jobs, especially in our own territory? We are still building capacity. We are still training people to go into the mining industry, training people in milling and processing, training people in blasting. So, that is the key right there, in terms of preparing for capacity. Build your capacity in advance. Let's say, the Ring of Fire in Northern Ontario... they know there is a huge mine there and the potential is great. For me, if I were a leader in that area, I would be looking at ensuring the people are trained to take

the jobs that are out there. And that people are ready not only for set aside contracts, but that people are employed and that they benefit from the extraction of the resources of their own land.

She expressed that ownership of a mine would be the ideal situation, but that it is not realistic for any community. As such, that the best alternative is ensuring that the communities have the capacity to access job opportunities as they come, rather than playing catch-up when opportunities start to come forward.

#### iv. Emphasizing Equality

Equality was a central component of the interview with *Participant A* and *C*. While they explained many different instances that highlighted the importance of maintaining equitable relationships, they stated that:

You can't always get what you want [in negotiations and project development in mining], but it is important that everyone remain equal. Equality is a guiding principle for all the mining team, everyone has to be working towards the same goal and have to be in synch. Equality is important between community and company. Even if two people leave a meeting unhappy, at least they are still equal [in their unhappiness].

Equality extended to almost all aspects of their interview, as relationships and sharing common values were among their motivations in shaping agreements with different stakeholders.

#### v. Engaged Consultation

*Participant F* spent much time discussing the importance of relationships and engagement for companies seeking to develop projects on traditional lands of Aboriginal communities. She stated that:

The companies that are engaging with communities need to be open to talking to everyone. Some companies are scared to consult with communities in fear that they'll resist or make things more difficult. They consult and engage as little or as far as they can to get the project to move forward. But, those voices that [the companies] are silencing will always be heard in the end. Companies need to engage them from the start, and need to be open to listening and considering their points of views. If you silence people or groups of people,<sup>85</sup>

ignore and don't listen to them, they'll always be heard in the end... and they'll be angry that they were silenced.

Her discussion on the importance of consulting and engaging communities throughout the development process is especially relevant in all natural resource development. Building relationships, encouraging community engagement and using a multi-stakeholder approach to project planning provides the space for better outcomes and securing SLO. Ignoring groups of people from decisions that will impact them only generates anger and resistance.

vi. Accountability and Transparency

*Participants A and C* elaborated on the importance of community engagement through maintaining accountability and transparency. They mentioned the importance of keeping *your* community aware of what is going on, and to keep them updated. They indicated that Elders are always invited and welcome to all governance meetings.

vii. Corporate-Community Relations

*Participant B* emphasized the importance of honesty in engaging with First Nations communities. He stated that: "Relationships start, not with a presentation, but with a cup of tea. [Explaining] this is who we are and what we do. We think there is a financial benefit here, but there will be for you too. Respect, relationships are about respect." This approach may be counter-intuitive to habitual organizational culture of many companies, but big technical presentations may be received as impertinent by First Nations governance teams. Sitting and discussing proposed projects and ideas are the best way to start a dialogue leading to developing relationships with First Nations communities. One person I spoke to laughed at the approach many corporate people from *big cities* use when meeting with community members. The participant explained that overly technical specialized language utilized in presentations inhibits

community-members from fully understanding issues being discussed. As a result, community members may agree without fully understanding the discussions.

viii. Staying united

*Participant E* explained that when projects impact various communities, they need to remain united in negotiating. He stated that: “Communities in the Ring of Fire need to stay united and stop fighting amongst each other and need to organize. United you’ll be able to negotiate from a better position.” This indicates the challenges brought by community fragmentation.

ix. Preparing for negative impacts

*Participant E* also discussed the necessity of preparedness in anticipation of negative impacts brought by mining:

I look at the Ring of Fire and ask whether or not they are ready for it. Are you ready for the negative impacts? Big change is coming whether you are ready or not. Money brings problems. Are you ready to deal with these problems? All the drugs? When we started talking about this mine [the one they are currently negotiating], I wanted to bring my council to Fort McMurray to show them what development can cause [as a cautionary tale].

His contributions to ensuring communities are pro-active about coordinating measures and have the social infrastructure necessary in place to respond and to mitigate possible negative outcomes of mining projects.

x. Having goals

*Participants A and C* discussed the importance of always having a goal, knowing yourself and those you represent, as well as what is needed and wanted. They indicated that community governance should always have a goal in mind when making decisions regarding mining, and once a goal is satisfied, to replace it with another one. Communities always need to work for and towards a particular goal.

## xi. Importance of Identity

Finally, the topic of remember who you are, where you came from, and where you are going was also brought up at various points during participant interviews. *Participant F* advanced that:

Remember who you are, where you came from, what your rights are, why you have Treaty rights and what that means to you. You can hire people to do due-diligence, negotiate, etc. You need to remember who you are, and what that means to you. I've seen community trauma because of mining. [...] The environmental and social impacts are serious. Consider mining and what that means in relation to those values, your history and who you are as a people and community. Be guided by those values and worldviews, and be strong. I worry that some communities are not strong enough in their approach to mining and considering its impacts to the land and community. It's hard to start developing projects with companies, and there's usually so much going on. But you really need to put your history and values at the core of what you are doing, and remember who you are doing it for.

Her discussion reiterates the importance of thinking about where you came from, who you are, and where you are going. She also hinted that pressures brought by companies, such as the imposition of deadlines, could hinder a community's ability to fully reflect on what mining means to them.



#### 4.4. Chapter Summary

Participants came from a number of backgrounds, positions, and experiences. Their contributions to this research resulted in dynamic findings on the nature of mining and engagement with First Nations communities, especially in regards to the perspectives and contributions of women. This chapter sought to analyze data gained through utilizing qualitative research methodology, with a feminist social action research approach. Participants discussed the importance of relationships, ethics and values, history and knowing yourself and where you are going. Research findings emphasized the need for taking time, be guided by history, values and ethics, promote inter-generational equality, ensure readiness for projects and all that they bring, and encourage engagement and relationships among all stakeholders and community-members.

## **Chapter Five: Conclusion**

### **5.1. Chapter Introduction**

The literature on Aboriginal women in mining negotiations and project development discusses the promising benefits of embracing a gendered perspective of resource development and its impacts on First Nations communities. The decisions on natural resource development on traditional and treaty territory, which have had significant economic, social, and cultural impacts on Aboriginal communities, have largely been relegated to provincial and federal governments and businesses (Campbell, 2003, p.48). Lack of input and control over the development of traditional and treaty territories continues to be one of the most critical issues facing Aboriginal communities today (Mann, 2000). Mining remains a male-dominated industry, and decisions guiding natural resources and its impacts on Aboriginal communities often fail to embrace meaningful contributions of Aboriginal women in negotiations and project development.

This chapter will first provide an overview of literature reviewed, methodology, interviews, and findings. Thereafter, it will contextualize research findings within the framework of the research questions that guided this project. The contributions and significance of research to broader academic scholarship will be discussed, along with the strengths and limitations of the project. Finally, future directions of research on natural resources on and near traditional lands will be noted.

## 5.2. Research Overview

Literature highlights the importance of identifying Aboriginal women as specific stakeholders and leaders in mining. Aboriginal women have specific demands, needs, priorities, as well as contributions to resource development. This research sought to include a multi-stakeholder approach to examining the role and contributions of Aboriginal women to mining negotiations and project development. Interviewing several participants, all from different backgrounds, positions, and with varying experiences, provided the foundation for an analysis of the similarities and differences among their contributions and thoughts on the engagement and leadership of Aboriginal women in mining development.

In identifying how and what Aboriginal women contribute to mining, participants emphasized the importance of employment, acknowledging differences among worldviews, and the significance of making space for diversity. Employment for community-members is often pushed as the main benefit of mining, and was at the center of motivations for participation in mining. The creation of meaningful work, job-sharing, as well as transferable skills and capacity building were considered benefits of mining. Participants also acknowledged differences among worldviews between companies and communities, as well as among genders. This lack of understanding of differences between and among gender was said to impede consideration of the full range of impacts of resource projects on communities. Many participants also discussed that women carry with them increased emphasis on the intersections among values, ethics, and responsibility within decisions and corporate culture. Through examining the ways that Aboriginal women are involved in decision-making related to mining, participants reiterated that women are underrepresented in negotiations. However, it was acknowledged that motivating factors directing the engagement and leadership of Aboriginal women in mining was for the

improvement of community. The emphasis of male participants illustrates the importance of involving women to provide increased balance to negotiations and project development, as well as women's adoption of the role as community protectors. The acknowledgement of men in the industry accentuates the necessity for more women at all levels of mining development, needs to be celebrated as noteworthy.

The experiences of Aboriginal women directing their contributions and approach to mining negotiations and development with communities also generated discussion and reflection. Participants felt that there was no alternative except community participation in mining, as projects would move forward with or without their involvement, and impacts would only be compounded without directing and shaping outcomes for the community. Thus, participants acknowledged that communities have very little agency on deciding whether or not mining would happen. Interestingly, participants also acknowledged, in regards to joint ventures, that community engagement was necessary in accessing mining contracts. Arguably, mining is already going forward at the stage where joint ventures are negotiated and coordinated.

Women participants alluded that the roles and responsibilities brought by motherhood extended to their professional lives. This provided women with the motivations to protect their communities, and often adopting the role of gatekeeper. Participants also discussed the importance of considering future impacts of their decisions. Keeping youth, and future generations in mind shaped the values and ethics directing their work.

### 5.3. Discussion

The aim of this research was to assess the *role and contributions of Aboriginal women in mining negotiations and project development*. In order to meet the research aim, three specific objectives were pursued: identify how and what Aboriginal women contribute to mining negotiations and project development; examine the ways in which Aboriginal women are involved in decision-making relating to mining; and outline what the experiences of Aboriginal women contribute to developing mining negotiations with Aboriginal communities.

#### i. **Contributions of Aboriginal women to mining negotiations and project development**

Women involved in mining negotiations and project development were motivated by a strong sense of community. Participants were driven by a commitment to create long-term benefits and opportunities for community-members, such as meaningful and flexible employment, as well as opportunities in education and capacity building. They also accentuated the importance of maintaining considerations of the legacy of decisions on the wellbeing of future generations. Considerations of environmental, social, economic, and cultural impacts were at the foundation of their approach to mining development.

The priorities and motivations discussed by participants are consistent among those advanced in literature. Within literature, it is argued that when women are involved in project development, programs tend to be more focused on immediate development needs, such as health, education, and capacity building (Eftimie et al., 2009, p. 20). Women also increasingly focus on infrastructure projects (Eftimie et al., 2009, p. 20). Considering gender diversity in mining must go beyond analyzing “the intersections of ethnicity, age, sexual orientation and class” towards considering and unpacking “the relationship with the environment, opportunities for participations in extractive industries and political leadership, household and community

divisions of labor, and appropriate gender behaviors” (O’Shaughnessy & Krogman, 2011, p. 136). Gender is not an obvious component of resource development, and this statement highlights the subtleties needed in considering gender’s role in mining and impacts on local communities. Only through involving women in the processes structuring resource development, will issues traditionally viewed as important to women, such as community development, education, safety, health and social issues, will be put at the center of projects and negotiations (Archibald & Crnkovich, 1999, p. 12).

Participants acknowledged that women often adopt roles of community protectors that give direction to their own professional lives. Emphasizing the importance of adopting the role of community protector may be considered an extension of traditional role of motherhood. Women explained the self-motivated adoption of a more protective attitude towards their colleagues, leadership, and community-members. Women elaborated by mentioning that it was not uncommon that they step away from the responsibilities of their professional positions, to provide guidance to their colleagues.

Similarly, *Participant B* also acknowledged that, in his experience, women often act as gatekeepers of communities, regulating who can approach leadership and for what purposes. Often, long-lasting meetings and discussions to develop projects only began transitioning into concrete negotiations and planning through convincing a woman, usually working in community development, of the merits of the proposed project. He discussed that once she was convinced, she brought the idea to council, and then the project began moving forward. His thoughts reiterate *Participants A* and *C’s* views that gender translates to the adoption of a more protective approach to their work and community, as for him; he had to *go through* a gatekeeper before negotiations went from discussing about a proposed project to the planning stages. Similarly,

literature also accentuates that agreements with women, though harder to reach, last longer and are more definitive (Eftimie et., 2009).

Participants underlined that women were highly principled when approaching mining as a means of community development, and discussed the many values and ethics that structured their deliberations, decision-making, and leadership. Remaining accountable and transparent towards community-members and colleagues, and promoting equality among stakeholders provided direction shaping the outcome of the work of participants. Ethics and values, such as anticipating impacts on future generations, and working towards specific goals, provided a framework that shaped all decisions, actions, and considerations.

**ii. Nature of involvement of Aboriginal women in decision-making relating to mining**

Participants described the nature of their involvement in mining different and emphasized working towards the improvement of the community at the center of their motivations. Some women were asked to come home; others were elected in positions of leadership, or considered involvement in mining as a natural progression of their own life experiences. The nature of what participants considered to be improvements differed based on their respective role in negotiating and project development and included benefits brought directly by negotiations or creating opportunities through joint ventures, working for the community was at the foundation of their reasons for engagement in mining development.

Participants explicitly stated that the choice to participate came from the fear of being otherwise excluded from the perceived benefits and opportunities brought by mining. Choosing to participate meant that communities could shape the direction, deliverables, and have the ability to mitigate the impacts of projects. Choosing not to participate would mean that mining would still happen, without involvement of communities, like it had for the many years prior in

the area. Negative impacts would only be compounded without community input into shaping and mitigating impacts of mining. This finding underlines the challenges with SLO. Literature and industry argue that procuring SLO is necessary in the development of mining projects, and community resistance can impede on project feasibility if communities feel that they perceive cost outweighs the benefits (O'Faircheallaigh, 2013, p. 224). Community trust is a strong determinant of the social acceptance of a project, and that it rests on measures to manage and mitigate project impacts, and community engagement (Moffat & Zhang 2013, p. 62). Participant discussions on the necessity to engage with mining companies and projects, at the risk of otherwise being completely excluded from the projects underscores the nuances of SLO. Participants did not consider resistance to be an option.

While participants also acknowledged that while there is space for women to get involved in mining negotiations and project development, they also eluded that it is often rare to have women at the negotiation table. Participants discussed the need for the mining industry to create a culture that is flexible and celebrates diversity in approach and contributions in creating an environment that is conducive to attracting and retaining women. Women have often discussed being left out of community consultation processes involved with mining, as Aboriginal women are often underrepresented in community leadership positions, and that mining companies usually only engage with leadership (Brockman & Argue, 1995, p. 2). Community-based research has also acknowledged that Elders and youth are also not often involved in consultation processes (Brockman & Argue, 1995, p. 12). Gibson and Kemp advance that the best opportunity for women to get involved is during the initial negotiation phase, when mining companies are most susceptible to local demands' (2006, p. 115). Perception, stakes, and outcomes can be



negotiated at the early stages as identities of stakeholders and occupational structures are just being formed (Gibson & Kemp, 2008, p. 115).

*Participant F* discussed that many companies only engage with as few people necessary during project development for fear that broadening the scope of those they consult and engage with will create complications to project feasibility. She discussed that the people that are silenced through consultation and engagement processes will always be heard in the end, and those that are silenced will be angry. The message reiterated in the aforementioned statement has been explored in literature, as Aboriginal women have acknowledged that despair and anger would be expected if the community felt a loss of agency over their land, if community perceived no benefits, whether communities were marginalized politically and economically with mining projects, and any resulting environmental damage (Brockman & Argue, 1995, p. 8).

### **iii. Experiences of Aboriginal women with mining negotiations and projects development**

Participants involved with mining acknowledged that women are significantly guided by intuition, and recognized the need to feel that they were making the right decisions, and do right for the communities involved. Decisions need to be shaped by more than financial consideration, and need to focus on the legacy of mining and related decisions on the local communities involved. Participants recognized that the mining industry has been shaped by male attitudes and behaviors, and necessitates the involvement of more women. Often, women can look past habitual ways of doing and are not so easily absorbed into industry-culture. Making a space and celebrating diversity in mining would encourage dynamism and creativity within the industry, and would improve CSR, ethics, and sustainability.

Within literature on gender behaviors and decision-making, the role of gender in business culture has been widely acknowledged. Literature argues that men take more risks, especially when surrounded by other men (Shipman & Kay, 2009). Women, on the other hand, are more cautious and prefer taking less risk in favor of more stable and long-term growth (Shipman & Kay, 2009). Women were also shown to be less competitive and preferred horizontal management that relies on consensus and collaboration (Shipman & Kay, 2009). One research paper seeking to investigate gender and economic performance found that women were most likely to emphasize sustainability as guiding their decisions (Apesteguai et al., 2012). Furthermore, women in upper management can shift corporate culture from prioritizing short-term profit maximization, to focusing on broader long-term goals, such as positive environmental, social, and governance impacts (McElhaney & Mobasseri, 2012, p. 1).

Building on the importance of creating a culture that is conducive to encouraging the consideration of intuition in decision-making, participants acknowledged the importance of flexibility within the industry. Flexibility creates an environment that celebrates difference. People are the product of surrounding environment, experience, and history, which provides a framework and context to how they engage in their work and the decisions they make. Flexibility ensures that companies and projects remain innovative, and prioritizes ethics and principles, and community impacts.

Participants also recognized the importance of remaining strong, united, and keeping history at the center of all decisions. Women participants warned against deadlines imposed by companies, and highlighted the need for due-diligence and community-preparedness. Participants discussed the importance of having the necessary social infrastructure to mitigate

negative outcomes, and the necessity of being united to improve bargaining power. Research participants also considered obligation of keeping treaty and traditional rights at the center of all considerations, and to remember for whom you are considering and developing mining. Histories, values, a sense of home are all key pillars of sustainable communities, and economic decisions should strive to strengthen these pillars (Wismer, 2003, p. 413-414).

#### 5.4. Contributions And Significance

The multi-stakeholder approach and methodology of this project acknowledges the diversity among the thoughts and concerns of those involved with mining in relation to Aboriginal women. Participants came from a variety of backgrounds, positions, and experiences. Men, women, Aboriginal, Euro-Canadian, band-council administrators, and Aboriginal relations coordinators, as well as leadership and joint ventures were all represented. While there were certain distinctions among responses, participants reiterated similar concerns, priorities, and motivations shaping how and why they are involved in mining. All acknowledged that Aboriginal women bring a unique approach to resource development and its impacts on their communities. While women are at negotiating tables signing agreements, like some of the women participating in this research, efforts must be made to increase the presence of women.

Coming from a Euro-Canadian background brought certain methodological challenges in the conception of this research. The intent was to highlight tensions involved in navigating relationships, scholarly ethics requirements, and working with a difficult and often controversial topic with stakeholders who may have competing interests. The importance of remaining flexible and open to changes and modifications was quickly accentuated at the beginning of research process. Some cases required several weeks of persistent communication prior to receiving an

invitation for a meeting. Most interestingly, my relationships with some of the participants continue to grow. I have met with some of them since the interviews, and we continue to keep in touch. One of the participants recently contributed to a panel on women in mining at a conference and asked me to attend.

Each of the participants necessitated different interview approaches, as my relationships, and the nature and logistics of interviews varied. Traditional scholarly ethics requirements could have not anticipated the flexibility and the variety of approaches needed to accommodate participants in order to complete this project. I hope that this project highlights my experience and the methodological complications that develop from having to build new relationships.

Finally, this project offers important insights of future directions of mining on or near traditional and treaty territories. The discussions of participants highlighted the importance of social infrastructure to mitigate negative impacts brought by mining, making sure consultation involves all community stakeholders, working for the future, the importance of reclamation, and the significance of making space for diversity within the mining industry.

## 5.5. Strengths And Limitations

The most significant limitation of this research is the participant sample. While this research includes the perspective of participants from a multitude of positionality, it lacks the incorporation of a more traditional perspective. I would have liked to include contributions from participants with a traditional knowledge and background, as I believe it may have contributed alternative views on the topic. However, I did not have the luxury to select from a wealth of participant volunteers, as I did not have prior relationships with the participants. Despite the lack of a participant with increased traditional knowledge and background, I am confident that my current findings would be consistent with a different or larger participant sample. Though this research relies on a small participant sample, the literature consulted and reviewed supports research findings.

While a small research sample may be considered a limitation, I feel that the various backgrounds and experiences of the participants can also be considered an asset. It includes reflections from a multitude of stakeholders involved with mining in Aboriginal communities, from community governance, to companies, as well as leadership and politics. Speaking to men and women on their views of the impacts of women in the mining industry also created dynamic contributions and analysis. The intersections represented through this research created an important dialogue, from different perspectives, of the same topic. The participants that contributed brought a wealth of knowledge and experience to the discussion.

Flexibility at every stage of research was one of the most significant strengths of this project. All of the participants required different interview approaches. While some were more conversational, others required a certain amount of decorum. Certain participants allowed me to record conversations, while others required me to engage in active listening in order to recount

conversational patterns after the interview took place. I feel as though all participants had a notion of what they wanted to discuss, and how they wanted to discuss it, which had to be respected. Through the process, participants received updates, transcripts, and drafts, creating space for ongoing consent. Moreover, this allowed participants to change and edit their contributions at every step of the process. I am confident that this openness created a product in which all those involved can be proud.

## 5.6. Future Research

While there continues to be growing literature focusing on engagement and consultation in procuring SLO, completing dynamic EAs and IBAs, the importance of TK and TEK, there are number of areas required more study. First, the ways in which mining changes and alters community relations with government agencies, such as the implications of the signed agreements on traditional title and traditional territories, and the ways in which they could potentially alter or change Aboriginal rights. Second, the benefits of resource development should broaden beyond the discussion regarding employment, such as creating funds that generate interest to support community development projects. Communities should be discussing opportunities and success in initiatives facilitated by mining, and build on past experiences to improve the promise of success. Third, a comprehensive study and analysis of IBAs negotiated by men and women needs to be undertaken, to establish their similarities and differences.

While the need for literature focusing on mining and Aboriginal communities, especially as it relates to women, is necessary, there is a critical need to focus on youth and their thoughts on mining. Women in this project emphasized the importance of making decisions today for future generations. As a result, the importance of asking youth what they want for their collective

futures, and the role of mining in achieving their vision. The CAMA conference did feature a youth panel organized as a Jeopardy-game, however, I felt as though the questions that were asked to the participating youth were leading towards corporate-rhetoric styled answers.

## **Chapter Six: Recommendations**

### **6.1. Communities**

#### **i. Make it easy for women to get involved.**

Encourage and ask women to participate and contribute to mining negotiations and project planning. The main motivation of the participants in community governance and leadership was for the benefit of the community. Participants and literature highlighted that many women become involved in community governance and administration at the request of their communities (Fiske et al., 2001, p. 82). Often, it is the suggestion of friends, family, and leadership that motivates women to become involved. It is said that there is always space for women to get involved in mining negotiations and project development. However, it is of my belief that it would be more impactful to recruit and encourage women to contribute by asserting that they are needed, highlight the reasons, experiences, and the contributions that would make them assets for the community, whether in leadership, governance, or administration.

#### **ii. Carefully consider what it means to say no.**

Many participants acknowledge that refusing mining meant that it would still take place, albeit without community consideration or involvement. Participants considered the opportunity to shape and direct resource development and community deliverables preferable to refusal, to mitigate known impacts of mining. This research underscored the subtleties of Social License to Operate. While it is argued that corporate procurement of SLO of local communities is at the foundation of ensuring project feasibility, participants argued that mining projects would develop with or without their consent. This contradiction in SLO theory calls attention to the barriers faced by communities in effectively refusing mining development on traditional or treaty territory. Authoritative refusal would require significant organization, mobilization, strategic



alliances, publicity and media, all to develop widespread societal support. Communities that choose to refuse mining development face significant obstacles, such as those related to finances and capacity, while companies have many resources at their disposal to quash any movements. This is not to say that successfully blocking mining is impossible, but it would require significant financial resources, effort, and commitment.

**iii. Create opportunities for meaningful work.**

Target jobs whose skills may be transferable to other industries, opportunities, and to other people. Build capacity for mining as soon as it becomes a possibility. Consider advocating for alternative work-schedules, such as job-sharing and traditional leaves, to facilitate women acquiring work and for those that are concerned about being unable to pursue traditional subsistence activities due to stringent work requirements and schedules. This would require ensuring that companies make a commitment to creating meaningful opportunities for Aboriginal peoples, as well as mandating a framework that would create an environment conducive to job-retention and reducing the usual high turnover. Often, companies and communities do agree that creating employment opportunities for Aboriginal peoples is needed, but fail to recognize the unique challenges of retaining Aboriginal employees. Companies need not only create jobs, but also provide the support needed to retain employees. Additionally, while various job-quotas or employment-equity programs are often included in various mining agreements and corporate policy, locating practical monitoring efforts proves difficult. Companies and communities should work together to create culturally relevant monitoring programs and report hiring and retention efforts to the community, as well as upper-management.

**iv. Be wary of deadlines. Keep community values, ethics and goals at the foundation of all decisions.**

Establish goals early on and what you are and are not willing to compromise. Keep in mind the reasons motivating mining development, and whom you are doing it for. When companies begin organizing and developing mining projects the process hastens with the imposition of deadlines. It is important to make sure community judgment does not become muddled. Developing and agreeing on a list of goals, values, and ethics can provide a framework to direct decisions, and while protecting them from external influence. Focus on creating thorough research, planning, and due-diligence, rather than rushing to meet imposed deadlines. Make sure the projects are well planned, as the impacts are significant, and most of the time mining is often short-lived.

**v. Remain transparent and accountable to those you are representing.**

Keep community-members up to date on all decisions and processes. Confidentiality agreements were often criticized in the literature. It is said that they limit the bargaining powers of communities by narrowing the scope of due-diligence. Confidentiality can also limit access to information by community-members, which may have longstanding consequences in creating conflict within communities and limiting potential judicial capacities. Participants stressed the importance in engaged and thoughtful consultation within communities and by companies. Those that are silenced in consultations will always be heard in the end, and they will be heard with a vengeance.

**vi. Unity among communities increases bargaining power.**

Avoid community fragmentation, which creates tension that can be used to limit bargaining ability and communication among communities. Companies may consider fragmentation within

and among communities as a strategic action in negotiating mining projects, as it can distract community members from organizing and mobilizing together to improve bargaining power. Communities should strive to work together, and develop demands, as well as a values and ethics framework to guide their decisions. Participants stressed the importance of staying united and strong, while avoiding conflict within and among communities.

vii. **Ensure social-infrastructure is in place to respond to and mitigate negative impacts.**

Participants and literature actively call attention to the necessity of developing adequate social-infrastructure to mitigate known negative outcomes of mining. Resource-based communities encounter elevated levels of substance abuse, violence, and crime. The impacts of mining may be compounded in communities that already have high levels of poverty as dependence on a narrowing scope of resources limits community and individual resilience. Participants and literature detailed the importance of making sure social infrastructure is in place before mining development begins, to mitigate the negative outcomes. Programs that support employees and families by providing safe-spaces, rehabilitation programs, counselors, shelters, security and monitoring, and clinics are all among the well-documented recommendations to pro-actively mitigate negative impacts brought by resource development.

viii. **Consider mining and its implication on history, rights, and values.**

Keep your history and values at the core of your decisions. Mining can potentially modify community's traditional rights, as well as relationship with governmental agencies. It is important to fully consider the impacts and changes brought by mining agreements. Mining may also alter a community's relationship with their traditional land, which can have broader consequences on subsistence activities and cultural continuity. Participants discussed the

importance of maintaining traditional values at the foundation of decisions and projects, as well as considering history and rights.

## **6.2. Companies**

### **i. Engagement and relationship building.**

Engagement is the most important factor in building effective relationships between corporate stakeholders and Aboriginal communities. Look to consultation as an opportunity rather than an obstacle. Values of honesty, ethics and sharing should be guiding principles in building relationships. Making space for engagement from the start is beneficial as it increases project feasibility and improves project sustainability. Participants discussed the dangers of selective engagement. Companies may believe that narrowing the scope of who is consulted limits conflict and barriers, and that their duty to consult and accommodate only extends so far to secure for project approval. Engagement needs to involve all of the community. The consideration of a multitude of different perspectives and opinions brings innovation and dynamism. It results in project that are more equitable, as benefits and impacts on a multitude of community stakeholders are considered. It also improves relationships between the community and company, which have additional long-term benefits for all those involved. Failing to execute thoughtful and thorough consultation and engagement is inviting protest.

### **ii. Agreements with women, though harder to reach, tend to be more definitive.**

Women adopt the role of protectors of their communities, and often become gatekeepers. Look to engage with women as an opportunity for building stronger community relationships. Building on discussions of engagement, companies should invite women to contribute and participate in project negotiations and development. Women carry different perspectives, backgrounds, and positionality, which contribute to different priorities, concerns and

approaches to resource development. Consider Aboriginal women as a specific group of stakeholders. Invite, encourage, and celebrate their involvement in project planning.

**iii. Make space and respect differences among worldviews.**

Different perspectives often lead to challenges at the negotiation table, which impedes the considering potential benefits and impacts of proposed projects. However, companies should consider different perspectives an asset in creating more attentive and dynamic projects. Mining development entails the negotiation of Indigenous and western knowledge paradigms. Stakeholders involved may not understand one another, but they can acknowledge and appreciate respective opinions, concerns, vision and contributions. Most of the environmental, social and economic impacts of mining are experienced at the local level. As such, it is important to operate ethically within the communities in which they operate.

**iv. The mining industry needs to make space for diversity.**

Being flexible to the differences in perspectives and priorities is necessary in changing the status quo in mining. Flexibility of approach would make CSR, community engagement, ethics, and relationships intrinsic in all decisions and projects, and not a strategic measure to minimize potential resistance. If companies fail to create space for diversity of approaches, corporate-culture becomes rigid, and employees will eventually become socialized and all adopt the same mindset. Participants highlighted the challenges brought by lack of balance within the industry. Creating an environment that celebrates and welcomes diversity of opinions and approach would contribute to transitioning the mining industry towards improved ethics, responsibility, and sustainability.

## **6.3. Policy**

### **i. Standardized IBAs are bound to fail.**

IBAs need to reflect the particularities of projects and communities, and standardized IBAs can never create enough flexibility to address the differences among them. Participants discussed ongoing talks of standardizing IBA templates with concern. While it can be a tool to guide mining companies in developing IBAs, the agreements need to remain flexible and address the unique conditions, concerns, and circumstances of each respective community.

### **ii. Consider the implication of recent changes in consultation requirements in Environmental Assessment policies.**

Consulting with a wide-array of stakeholders improves dynamism and sustainability for all those that will be impacted. The people that want to be heard, that are silenced in consulting stages, will always be heard in the end. It would be beneficial to engage them from the start and to facilitate ongoing-consent and relationship building. Considering a broad scope of opinions, concerns, and contributions creates projects that are more equitable and sustainable.

### **iii. Reevaluate the role of government in emergent context of IBAs.**

At present time, IBAs are agreements between companies and Aboriginal stakeholders. The role of government in their conception and evaluation needs to be examined. Governments have significant information about mining projects, their successes, and failures. This information should be available to Aboriginal communities considering mining development on traditional lands to provide them with the opportunity to make informed decisions regarding their future. Government should be involved in an evaluative capacity. This process should be external and independent, and the goal should be to provide communities with the information and advice necessary to make the best-informed decisions regarding mining.

## Works Cited

- Adger, W. (2000). Social and ecological resilience: Are they related? *Progress in Human Geography*, 24, 347–364.
- Apestequai, J., Azmat, G., & Iriberry, N. (2012). The impact of gender composition on team performance and decision making: Evidence from the field. *Management Science*, 58(1), 78-93.
- Archibald, L., & Crnkovich, M. (1999). *If Gender Mattered: A case study of Inuit Women, Land Claims and the Voisey's Bay Nickel Mine*. Ottawa, ON: Status of Women Canada.
- Auerbach, C. F., & Silverstein, L. B. (2003). *Qualitative Data: An introduction to coding and analysis*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Baker, D., & McLelland, J. (2003). Evaluating the effectiveness of British Columbia's environmental assessment process for First Nations' participation in mining development. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 23, 581-603.
- Baldwin, C. (2014, September). Two roads converge: Shuswap chief Ronald Ignace on where traditional knowledge meets science. *CIM Magazine*, 48-49.
- Barbour, R. S. (2008). *Qualitative Research: Social Sciences*. Los Angeles, CA & London, UK: SAGE.
- Beavon, D., Newhouse, D. & Voyageur, C. (2005) *Hidden in Plain Sight: Contributions of Aboriginal Peoples to Canadian Identity and Culture*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Berkes, Fikret. (2009). Indigenous ways of knowledge and study of environmental change. *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, 39(4), 151-159.

- Blaser, M., Feit, H., & McRae, G. (2004). *In the Way of Development: Indigenous Peoples, Life Projects, and Globalization*. London, UK & New York, NY: Zed Books.
- Brockman, A., & Argue, M. (1995). *Review of the NWT Diamonds Project Environmental Impact Statement: Socio-Economic Impacts on Women*. Ottawa, ON: Status of Women Canada.
- Caine, K. J., & Krogman, N. (2010). Powerful or just plain power-Full? A power analysis of impact and benefits agreements in Canada's north. *Organization Environment*, 23(1), 76-98.
- Cajete, G. (2000). *Native Science: Natural laws of interdependence*. Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light.
- Campbell, T. (2002) Co-Management of Aboriginal Resources. In R. Anderson and R. Bone (Eds). *Natural Resources and Aboriginal People in Canada: Readings, Cases and Commentary*. (47-52). Concord, ON: Cactus Press.
- Canadian Aboriginal Mining Association. (2014). Seeking Certainty, Mining New Ground: 22<sup>nd</sup> Annual Conference. Toronto, ON: CAMA.
- Canadian Aboriginal Mining Association. (2015). *About Us*. Retrieved from: <http://www.aboriginalminerals.com/about/about-us.html>.
- Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency. (2013, 05 04). *Environmental Impact Statement Guidelines for the Review of the Voisey's Bay Mine and Mill Undertaking*. Retrieved from Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency: [www.ceaa-acee.gc.ca/default.asp?lang=En&n=92EE44AF-1&offset=3&toc=show](http://www.ceaa-acee.gc.ca/default.asp?lang=En&n=92EE44AF-1&offset=3&toc=show).
- CCSG Associates and Mining Watch. (2004). *Overburdened: Understanding the impacts of mineral extraction on women's health in mining communities*. Toronto, ON: Mining Watch.



- Chapin, F.S., Chapin, M., Folke, C., Kofinas, G. (2009). *Principles of Ecosystem Stewardship Resilience-Based Natural Resource Management in a Changing World*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Cleghorn, C. (1999). *Aboriginal Peoples and Mining in Canada: Six Case Studies*. Retrieved from MiningWatch Canada:  
[http://www.miningwatch.ca/index.php?/Indigenous\\_Issues/Aboriginal\\_Case\\_Studies](http://www.miningwatch.ca/index.php?/Indigenous_Issues/Aboriginal_Case_Studies).
- Corsiglia, J. & G. Snively. (2003). *Knowing Home: Nisga'a Traditional Knowledge and Wisdom Improve Environmental Decision Making*. In R. Anderson and R. Bone (Eds). *Natural Resources and Aboriginal People in Canada: Readings, Cases and Commentary*. (pp. 103-116). Concord, ON: Cactus Press.
- Cox, D. J. (2013). *Environmental Impact Assessments and Impact Benefits Agreements: The Participation of Aboriginal Women at Voisey's Bay Mine*. Open Access Dissertations and Theses, Paper 7796.
- Crow, G., Wiles, R., Heathm, S., & Charles, V. (2006). Research ethics and data quality: The implications of informed consent. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 9(2), 83-95.
- Cultural Survival. (2001). *Gender issues in consultation processes*. Retrieved from Cultural Survival: [www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/canada/gender-issues-consultation-processes](http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/canada/gender-issues-consultation-processes).
- Czuzewski, K., Tester, F., Aaruaq, N., & Blangy, S. (2014). *The Impact of Resource Extraction on Inuit Women and Families in Qamani'tuaq, Nunavut Territory*. Retrived from Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada: <http://pauktuutit.ca/wp-content/blogs.dir/1/assets/Final-mining-report-PDF-for-web.pdf>.

- Devlin, J., & Yap, N. (2008) Contentious politics in environmental assessment: blocked projects and winning coalitions. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 26(1), 17-27.
- Doelle, M., & Sinclair, J. (2006) Time for a new approach to public participation in EA: Promoting cooperation and consensus for sustainability. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 26, 185-205.
- Eftimie, A., Heller, K., & Strongman, J. (2009). *Mining for Equity: Gender dimensions of the Extractive Industries*. Washington, DC: World Bank
- Elias, B. D., & Yassi, A. (1998). Situating Resistance in Fields of Resistance: Aboriginal women and environmentalism. In M. Lock, & P. A. Kaufert (Eds.), *Prognatic Women and Body Politics* (pp. 260-286). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Fedirechuk, G. K., Labour, S., & Niholls, N. *Traditional Knowledge Guide for the Inuvialut Settlement Region*. Volume 1: Literature Review and Evaluation Environmental Studies Research Funds, Report 153.
- Findlay, I. M., & Wuttunee, W. (2007). *Aboriginal Women's Community Economic Development: Measuring and Promoting Success*. Montreal, QC: Institute for Research on Public Policy.
- Fiske, J., Newell, M. and George, E. (2001). First Nations Women and Governance: A Study of Custom and Innovation among Lake Babine Nation Women. *First Nations Women, Governance and the Indian Act: A Collection of Policy Research Reports*, 55-116.
- Flick, U. (2007). *Designing Qualitative Research*. London, UK: SAGE Publications, Ltd.
- Fouillard, C. (1996, March 15). *The Innu Nation Taskforce on Mining Activities- Final Report*. Retrieved from Ryakuga: [www.ryakuga.ca/best/innuresport/html](http://www.ryakuga.ca/best/innuresport/html).

- Gibson, G., & Kemp, D. (2008). Corporate engagement with Indigenous women in the minerals industry: Making space for theory. In C. O'Faicheallaigh, & S. Ali (Eds.), *Earth Matters: Indigenous peoples, the extractive industries and corporate social responsibility* (pp. 104-122). Sheffield, UK: Greenleaf Publishing.
- Gibson, G., & Klink, J. (2005). Canada's resilient north: The impact of mining on Aboriginal communities. *Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health*, 116-139.
- Gibson, R. B. (2002). From Wreck Cove to Voisey's Bay: the evolution of the federal environmental assessment in Canada. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 20(3), p. 151-159.
- Gibson, R. B. (2006). Sustainability assessment and conflict resolution: Reaching agreement to proceed with the Voisey's Bay Nickel mine. *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 14(3), 334-348.
- Given, L. (2008). *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods* (Vol. 1). Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Hammersley, M. (2013). *Qualitative Research*. London, UK: Bloomsbury.
- Hipwell, W., Maman, K., Weitner, V & Whitman, G. (2002). *Aboriginal Peoples and Mining in Canada: Consultation, Participation and Prospects for Change*. Ottawa, ON: North-South Institute.
- Hitch, M., & Fidler, C. (2007). Impact and benefit agreements: A contentious issue for environmental and aboriginal justice. *Environments Journal*, 35(2), 49-69.
- Hoonard, W. & D. Hoonard (2013). *Essentials of Thinking Ethically in Qualitative Research*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, Inc.

- Iglis, Julian. (1993). *Traditional Ecological Knowledge: Concepts and Cases*. Ottawa, ON: International Program on Traditional Ecological Knowledge and International Development Research Centre.
- Innu Nation and Mining Watch. (1999, 10 10-12). *Conference Results- Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Aboriginal Communities and Mining*. Retrieved from [www.miningwatch.ca/sites/miningwatch.ca/files/Abo\\_conf\\_booklet.pdf](http://www.miningwatch.ca/sites/miningwatch.ca/files/Abo_conf_booklet.pdf)
- Jamieson, D. (1998). Sustainability and beyond. *Ecological Economics*, 24(2), 183-192.
- Kapelus, P. (2002). Mining, corporate social responsibility and the "community": The case of Rio Tinto, Richards Bay Minerals and the Mbonambi. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 39(3), 275-296.
- Keck, J., & M. Powell. (1996) Working at Inco: Women in a Downsizing Male Industry. In M. Kechnie & M. Reitsma-Street (Eds.), *Changing Lives: Women in Northern Ontario* (pp. 147-162). Toronto, ON & Oxford, UK: Dundurn Press.
- Kothari, R. (1994). Environment, technology, and ethics. In: Gruen, L., Jamieson, D. (Eds.), *Reflecting on Nature: Readings in Environmental Philosophy* (pp. 228-237). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Kovach, M. E. (2009). *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*. Toronto, ON: Toronto University Press.
- Kuyek, J. & C. Coumans. (2003). No Rock Unturned: Revitalizing the Economies of Mining Dependent Communities. Ottawa, ON: Mining Watch Canada.
- Labonne, B. (1999). The mining industry and the community: joining forces for sustainable development. *Natural Resources Forum*, 23, 315-322.

- Lahiri-Dutt, K. (2011). *Gendering the Field: Towards Sustainable Livelihoods for Mining Communities*. Canberra, AUS: ANU E Press.
- Lertzman, D. A. & Vredenburg, H. (2005). Indigenous peoples, resource extraction and sustainable development: An ethical approach. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 56(3), 239-254.
- Lowe, M. (1998). *Premature Bonanza: Standoff at Voisey's Bay*. Toronto, ON: Between the Lines.
- Macdonald, I., & Rowland, C. (2002, November). *Tunnel Vision: Women, Mining, and Communities*. Retrieved from: [oaus.s3.amazonaws.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/OAusTunnelVisionWomenMining-1102.pdf](http://oaus.s3.amazonaws.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/OAusTunnelVisionWomenMining-1102.pdf)
- Macintyre, M. (2011). Modernity, Gender and Mining: Experiences from Papua New Guinea. In *Gendering the Field: Towards Sustainable Livelihoods for Mining Communities* (pp. 21-32). Canberra, AUS: ANU E Press.
- Mann, M. (2000). Capitalism and the dis-empowerment of Canadian Aboriginal peoples. *The Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development*, 1(2), 46-54.
- Marshall, B. (n.d). *Facts & Figures of the Canadian Mining Industry*. Retrieved August 15, 2014, from The Mining Association of Canada: [mining.ca/sites/default/files/documents/FactsandFigures2013.pdf](http://mining.ca/sites/default/files/documents/FactsandFigures2013.pdf)
- Mazzocchi, F. (2006). Western Science and Traditional Knowledge. *EMBO Reports*, 7(5), 463-466.

McElhaney, K. A., & Mobasser, S. (2012, October). *Women Can Create A Sustainable Future*.

Retrieved November 8th, 2014, from Center For Responsible Business, Haas Schools of Business, University of California, Berkeley:

[responsiblebusiness.haas.berkeley.edu/Women\\_Can\\_Create\\_Sustainable\\_Value\\_FIN\\_AL\\_10\\_2012.pdf](http://responsiblebusiness.haas.berkeley.edu/Women_Can_Create_Sustainable_Value_FIN_AL_10_2012.pdf).

McNish, J. (1999). *The Big Score: Robert Friedland, Inco, and the Voisey's Bay Hustle*. Toronto, ON: Doubleday Canada.

Menzies, C. (2006). *Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Natural Resource Management*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Mining Journal. (n.d.). *Mining Explained*. Retrieved April 5, 2014, from Mining Journal: [www.mining-journal.com/knowledge/mining-explained](http://www.mining-journal.com/knowledge/mining-explained).

Moffatt, K., & Zhang, A. (2013). The paths to social license to operate: an integrated model explaining community acceptance of mining. *Resource Policy*, 39, 61-70.

Nadasdy, P. (2003). The politics of TEK: Power and the “integration of knowledge”. In R. Anderson and R. Bone (Eds). *Natural Resources and Aboriginal People in Canada: Readings, Cases and Commentary* (79-102). Concord, ON: Cactus Press.

Norris, F., Stevens, S., Pfefferbaum, B., Wyche, K., & Pfefferbaum, R. (2007). Community resilience as a metaphor, theory, set of capacities, and strategy for disaster readiness. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 41(1-2), 127–150

O’Faircheallaigh, C. (2006). Aborigines, Mining Companies and the State in Contemporary Australia: A New Political Economy or “Business as Usual”? *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 41(1), 1–22.

- O'Faircheallaigh, C. (2010). Aboriginal-mining contractual agreements in Australia and Canada: Implications for autonomy and community development. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 30(1-2), 69-86.
- O'Faircheallaigh, C. (2011). Indigenous women in mining agreement negotiations: Australia and Canada. In K. Lahiri-Dutt (Ed.), *Gendering the Field: Towards Sustainable Livelihoods for Mining Communities* (pp. 87-109). Canberra, AUS: ANU E-Press.
- O'Faircheallaigh, C. (2013). Community development agreements in the mining industry: An emerging global phenomena. *Community Development*, 222-238.
- O'Reilly, K., & Eacott, E. (2000). *Aboriginal Peoples and Impact and Benefit Agreement: Summary of the report of a national workshop*. Retrieved from [www.carc.org/pubs/v25no4/2.html](http://www.carc.org/pubs/v25no4/2.html).
- O'Shaughnessy, S., & Krogman, N. T. (2011). Gender as contradiction: From dichotomies to diversity in natural resource extraction. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 27(2), 134-143.
- Paci, C., & Villbrun, N. (2005). Mining Denendeh: A Dene nation perspective on community health impacts of mining. *Pimatisiwin*, 3(1), 71-86.
- Pain, I., & Paddon, T. (2008). *Negotiating Agreements: Indigenous and Company Experiences: Presentation of the Voisey's Bay Case Study From Canada*. Retrieved from United Nations: Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights: [www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/indigenous/docs/workshop/Vale\\_Inco\\_Canada\\_Voiseys\\_Bay\\_case\\_Moscow\\_Workshop.pdf](http://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/indigenous/docs/workshop/Vale_Inco_Canada_Voiseys_Bay_case_Moscow_Workshop.pdf).
- Palys, T.S. & Atchison, C. (2008). *Research Decisions: Quantitative and Qualitative Perspectives*. Toronto, ON: Thomson Nelson Press.

- Patton, M. (2002). *Qualitative Research and Evaluative Methods* (3 ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. (2004). *Enhancing the Role of Indigenous Women in Sustainable Development*. Retrieved September 30, 2012, from IFAD: Enabling poor rural people to overcome poverty:  
[www.ifad.org/englisg/indigenous/pub/documents/indigenouswomenReport.pdf](http://www.ifad.org/englisg/indigenous/pub/documents/indigenouswomenReport.pdf) .
- Potts, K. & Brown, L. (2005). Becoming an Anti-Oppressive Researcher. In K. Potts and L. Brown (Eds.). *Research as Resistance* (pp. 255-286). Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars Press/Women's Press.
- Prno, J. (2013). An analysis of factors leading to the establishment of a social license to operate in the mining industry. *Resource Policy*, 38(4), 577-590.
- Prno, J., & Slocombe, S. (2012). Exploring the origins of social license to operate in the mining sector: Perspectives from governance and sustainability theories. *Resource Policy*, 37(3), 346-357.
- Ramazanoglu, C., & Holland, J. (2002). From truth/reality to knowledge/power: Taking a feminist standpoint. In C. Ramazanoglu, & J. Holland, *Feminist Methodology* (pp. 60-80). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Reinharz, S., & Davidman, L. (1992). *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Reo, Nicholas. (2011). The importance of belief systems in traditional ecological knowledge initiatives. *International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 2(4), 1-4.
- Robinson, J. (2004). Squaring the circle: Some thoughts on the idea of sustainable development. *Ecological Economics*. 48(2004), 369-384.



- Rubin, H., & Rubin, I. (2005). *Qualitative Interviewing: The art of hearing data* (2 Ed.). Los Angeles, CA: SAGE.
- Scales, M. (2010). Inuit Embrace Mining to Secure Future. *Canadian Mining Journal*, 131(6), 28-30.
- Shipman, C., & Kay, K. (2009, May 14). *Women Will Rule Business*. Retrieved from Time: [www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1898024\\_1898023\\_1898078,00.html](http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1898024_1898023_1898078,00.html)
- Sneddon, C., Howarth, R.B., & Norgaard, R.B. (2006). Sustainable development in a post-Brundtland world. *Ecological Economics*, 57(2), 253-268.
- Somekh, B., & Lewin, C. (2004). *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*. London, UK: SAGE Publications.
- Status of Women Council of the N.W.T. (1999, March 5). Review of the Diavik Diamonds Project Socio-Economic Environmental Effects Report: Impacts on Women and Families. Yellowknife, NWT.
- Stevenson, M. (2001). *Can't Live Without Work: North Slave Metis Alliance- Environmental, Social, Economic and Cultural Concerns: A Companion to the Comprehensive Study Report on the Diavik Diamonds Project*. Retrieved November 27, 2012, from Mackenzie Valley Review Board: [http://www.ngps.nt.ca/Upload/Intervenors/North%20Slave%20Metis%20Alliance/061128\\_NSMA\\_Submission\\_withoutwork.pdf](http://www.ngps.nt.ca/Upload/Intervenors/North%20Slave%20Metis%20Alliance/061128_NSMA_Submission_withoutwork.pdf).

- Tongamiut Inuit Annait Ad Hoc Committee on Aboriginal Women and Mining in Labrador. (1997, 04 16). *52% of the Population Deserves a Closer Look: A Proposal for Guidelines Regarding the Environmental and Socio-Economic Impacts on Women from Mining Development at Voisey's Bay*. Retrieved from [web.archive.org/web/200301011235924/www.innu.ca/womenguidelines.html](http://web.archive.org/web/200301011235924/www.innu.ca/womenguidelines.html).
- Trebek, K. (2007). Tools for the disempowered? Indigenous leverage over mining companies. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 42(4), 541-562.
- Turnbull, D. (2009). Futures of Indigenous knowledges. *Futures*, 41(1), 1-5.
- United Nations. (1987). *Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future*. New York, NY: United Nations.
- Usher, P. J. (2000). Traditional knowledge in environmental assessment and management. *Arctic*, 53(2), 183-193.
- Wasylycia-Leis, J., Fitzpatrick, P., Fonseca, A. (2014). Mining communities form a resilience perspective: Managing disturbances and vulnerability in Itabira, Brazil. *Environmental Management*, 53(3), 481-495.
- Weitzner, V. (2006). *"Dealing Full Force": Lutsel-K'e Dene First Nation's Experience Negotiating with Mining Companies*. Retrieved from The North-South Institute: <http://www.nsi-ins.ca/english/pdf/li-en.pdf>.
- Wiles, A., McEwan, J., & Sadar, M. H. (1999). Use of traditional ecological knoweldge in environmental assesment of uranium mining in the Athabasca Saskatchewan. *Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal*, 17(2), 107-104.

Wismer, S. (2003). The Nasty Game: How Environmental Assessment is Failing Aboriginal Communities in Canada's North. In R. B. Anderson (Ed.), *Natural Resources and Aboriginal People in Canada: Readings, Cases and Commentary* (pp. 412-421). Concord: Cactus Press.

Yukon Status of Women Council and Yukon Conservation Society. (2001). *Gaining Ground: Women, Mining and the Environment*. Whitehorse, YT: Yukon Status of Women Council and Conservation Society.