

Enabling Community Well-being Self-Monitoring in the Context of Mining: The Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikamach

Robert Klinck, Ben Bradshaw, Ruby Sandy, Silas Nabinacaboo, Mannie Mameanskum, Minnie Guanish, Phil Einish, George Guanish, and Stella Pien

ABSTRACT The Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikamach is an Aboriginal community located in northern Quebec near the Labrador Border. Given the region's rich iron deposits, the Naskapi Nation has considerable experience with major mineral development, first in the 1950s to the 1980s, and again in the past decade as companies implement plans for further extraction. This has raised concerns regarding a range of environmental and socio-economic impacts that may be caused by renewed development. These concerns have led to an interest among the Naskapi to develop a means to track community well-being over time using indicators of their own design. Exemplifying community-engaged research, this paper describes the beginning development of such a tool in fall 2012—the creation of a baseline of community well-being against which mining-induced change can be identified. Its development owes much to the remarkable and sustained contribution of many key members of the Naskapi Nation. If on-going surveying is completed based on the chosen indicators, the Nation will be better positioned to recognize shifts in its well-being and to communicate these shifts to its partners. In addition, long-term monitoring will allow the Naskapi Nation to contribute to more universal understanding of the impacts of mining for Indigenous peoples.

KEYWORDS community well-being, mining, Aboriginal communities, self-monitoring

Mineral exploration and development in Canada has generated substantial wealth for mining firms, governments, servicing companies, employees, and select local residents. At the same time, the sector has generated significant and often persistent environmental, social, and health problems, especially for residents of Aboriginal

communities proximate to mine sites (Gibson & Klinck, 2005; Hipwell, Mamen, Weitzner, & Whiteman, 2002; Keeling & Sandlos, 2009; Parlee, O'Neil, & Lutsel, 2007; Veiga, Scoble, & McAllister, 2001). Though a legacy remains, of late the relationship between mining firms and Aboriginal communities in northern Canada has unquestionably changed as a result of successful land claims, some key court decisions, mining act reforms, a shift in societal expectations of mining firms, and growing political efficacy within Aboriginal leadership. This rebalancing is evident in cases where Aboriginal communities have effectively used regulatory review to halt mine proposals (e.g. the 2010 and 2014 rejections of the 'Prosperity and 'New Prosperity' proposals in British Columbia) and more numerous cases where communities have established Impact and Benefit Agreements with mining firms to further mitigate the impacts of a local mine development and ensure delivery of community benefits (see IBA Research Network, 2015).

In Canada, as elsewhere, community determinations to resist or accept, with or without conditions, a proposed local mine can be highly variable (Ali & Grewal, 2007). Many of these communities are understandably torn by their distrust of the sector and their desire to improve material conditions. A key part of their challenge, be they vehemently opposed to, merely wary of, or outwardly supportive of mining, is their lack of knowledge of the likely impacts of a mine, especially with respect to community well-being. While it is becoming standard practice in Canada to track environmental and basic social outcomes from mine operations at regional scales (Independent Environmental Monitoring Agency, 2009; Government of the Northwest Territories, 2009), the same is not true at the community scale, especially with respect to community well-being as captured by indicators that have meaning to Aboriginal Peoples; sadly, this deficiency exists even within research aimed at gauging the degree to which Impact and Benefit Agreements are mitigating mining impacts and delivering benefits to communities (Dreyer & Meyers, 2004; Prno & Bradshaw, 2008).

It is evident that for communities concerned about their well-being in the context of local mine development, especially where such developments are accompanied by impact benefit agreements whose primary purpose is to ensure net benefits for signatory communities, there is a need to develop a means to track community well-being over time, ideally using community personnel and indicators that are meaningful to community members (Parlee, et al., 2007). Beyond offering an accurate picture of community change in light of mineral development, such time-series evidence also provides a basis for community leadership to revisit past decisions and set new courses if need be. The first step in such a process is to develop indicators and survey community members based on these indicators in order to establish a baseline of community well-being.

Exemplifying community-engaged research, this paper describes the execution of this first step in fall 2012 as undertaken by the Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikamach, within whose traditional territories mining has long been a significant activity and

looks to become so again. The Naskapi Nation is located in the subarctic of Quebec, Canada, fifteen kilometres from the town of Schefferville, where recently two mining firms—Labrador Iron Mines Holding & New Millennium—have resurrected abandoned iron ore projects, signing Impact and Benefit Agreements with the Nation to further mitigate project impacts and ensure the capture of benefits by locals. To ensure this occurs, the Naskapi Nation was keen to develop a means to track community well-being over time using indicators of their own design.

Through an existing partnership with the Canadian Business Ethics Research Network (CBERN), the Naskapi Nation co-developed plans to establish such a tool with researchers from the University of Guelph. As is increasingly the norm with research partnerships between university researchers and Aboriginal communities in Canada, the research was undertaken consistent with the principles of Ownership, Control, Access and Possession (OCAP) (First Nations Centre, 2007). The Naskapi *own* their cultural knowledge; the process through which a well-being baseline was developed based on Naskapi-generated indicators has had no bearing on this ownership. As for *control*, the Naskapi co-designed the process for the conduct of the research, including the development of the process for managing the resulting information. Further, the Naskapi Nation secured the majority of funds that were used to cover research expenses, including those needed to employ community researchers and to enable effective engagement of community members. More significantly, the goal of the research—to establish a tool to track well-being in light of mine development—perfectly reflects the Naskapi Nation's efforts to *control* better their existence given the interest of miners in their natural resources. As the co-designer of the process for managing the research information, the Naskapi ensured their *access* to it. Given confidentiality concerns, however, the Naskapi Nation elected to access only aggregated results. Finally, the Naskapi *possess* the aggregated research results, but were keen to share some of these results with the outside world. This paper is one way in which this is being done.

The paper follows in five further parts. In the next section, some relevant scholarship is reviewed, which serves to contextualize the exercise and highlight its importance given past practices of mine development. Following this, some background on the Naskapai Nation is offered. From here, the process for developing the well-being baseline is described in detail, after which some results of the exercise are shared. In the final section, some conclusions are offered.

Scholarly Context

This section offers a brief review of scholarship that serves to contextualize the research. By reviewing topics such as Aboriginal rights, community consultation, the socio-economic impacts of mining, and the resilience of communities, readers are better positioned to appreciate some of the challenges that Aboriginal communities face through mine development and, ultimately, the necessity for communities to develop a means to monitor change in vital community conditions.

Understanding Aboriginal rights and evolving law helps to make sense of the actions of the Naskapi Nation, and especially its growing relationships with mining firms. Aboriginal peoples' legal position in Canada is based on the precept that they occupied and governed lands in North America prior to European colonization. Recognition of this use, occupancy, and government is referred to as 'Aboriginal title' (Hipwell, et al., 2002). Aboriginal groups across Canada hold unique rights which do not apply to all Canadian citizens. Specific and unique privileges include collective ownership of reserve lands, and the right to use natural resources, both on- and off-reserve. Title and rights are outlined through modern day treaties, land claim settlements, and case law (Adkins & Paul, 2011).

Land claim settlements, transfer of programs from state to local control, and the reorganization of power from federal to Aboriginal governance are some obvious forms of self-sufficiency in terms of governance. Another expression is the increasing negotiation of Impact and Benefit Agreements with would-be mine developers. These confidential agreements, signed between Aboriginal communities and mining corporations, assure to communities specific benefits and enhanced mitigation of project impacts. In exchange for these benefits, mine developers expect support from the community for the lifespan of the mine.

In 2010, Canada endorsed the United Nations *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. The Declaration stated that governments "shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the Indigenous people concerned through their own representative institutions to obtain their free and informed consent prior to the approval of any project affecting their lands or territories or resources" (as cited in ICMM, 2008). Free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) recognizes Indigenous peoples' inherent and prior rights to lands and resources. FPIC derives from Indigenous peoples' right to self-determination and it is closely associated to peoples' rights to lands and territories based on the historical and customary connections with them (Colchester & Ferrari, 2007). In the Canadian context, FPIC has been promoted in legislation including the *Yukon Oil and Gas Act* (2002), and the *Nunavut Final Agreement* (1993) (Weitzner, 2009). Even more significantly, the Haida and Taku River Tlingit Supreme Court of Canada decisions of 2004 established and clarified the Crown's duties to consult and accommodate Aboriginal communities when undertakings such as a mine are proposed that can adversely affect an Aboriginal right. This duty typically requires more than mere consultation, and can include the securing of consent (Weitzner, 2009).

The securing of consent would constitute a dramatic change from the past. Historically, Aboriginal peoples had minimal say regarding mineral exploration and mine development even within their traditional territories (Hipwell, et al., 2002). More recently, considerable progress has been made to include Aboriginal knowledge and perspectives in decision-making. One key vehicle for this has been an Environmental Assessment, to which mine developments are almost always subject. Another vehicle has been through direct relations between Aboriginal communities and private firms, including mining companies. The development of these relations stems from growing recognition by individual firms and their larger industry associations

that regulatory processes like environmental assessment fail to generate mutual understandings between proponents and their opponents and often lead to delays in approvals (International Council on Mining & Metals, 2010). Where these relations are contractualized in an Impact and Benefit Agreement, communities' impact on project decision-making and even project design can be significant (O'Faircheallaigh, 1999).

In addition to ensuring the delivery of benefits, Impact and Benefit Agreements can augment existing efforts to mitigate the environmental and social impacts of mine construction, operation, and closure. Globally, these impacts have historically been problematic, especially for Indigenous communities. Environmental concerns have been expressed about, for example, the fate of mine tailings, many of which are toxic and must therefore be kept perpetually contained or isolated. An equally serious problem is acid rock drainage from underground workings, open pit mine faces, waste rock piles, and tailings storage areas. Such environmental effects disproportionately impact Indigenous populations because these populations typically rely more heavily upon their surrounding environments for foodstuffs, their livelihoods, and the sustaining of their cultures (Gibson & Klinck, 2005).

Many of the more significant social impacts of mining stem from the rapid influx of monies into communities (Ballard & Banks, 2003; Gibson & Klinck, 2005; Hipwell, et al., 2002). Mining tops all other resource sectors as the highest wage occupation in Canada. How employees choose to spend their earnings can generate both positive and negative impacts. Imbun (2006) identifies those who invest in traditional activities such as hunting for food as "tribal strategists," while those who work to enable consumption of western goods are labeled as "worker strategists." In addition, mining schedules create hardships for residents as they call for: cyclical work (two weeks on—two weeks off); high mobility and transience; and considerable time spent in remote locations, cut off from family.

Though many of the social impacts described here have been realized in communities that have partnered in a mine development, many communities have successfully captured positive benefits such as personal enrichment and improved food security, and shown resilience in terms of their capacity to sustain their traditional cultures (Gibson & Klinck, 2005). Some scholars have argued that this resilience stems from Indigenous communities' special relationships with land, their spirituality, their family strength and larger support networks, their regard for elders, their ceremonial rituals and oral traditions, and their sense of identity (Burack, Blidner, Flores, & Fitch, 2008; HeavyRunner & Marshall, 2003). Many communities are investing in these attributes as a way to build resilience and maintain or augment community well-being. In the case of the Naskapi, an evident open-mindedness exists not only to think deeply about their well-being but to start measuring it in more systematic ways.

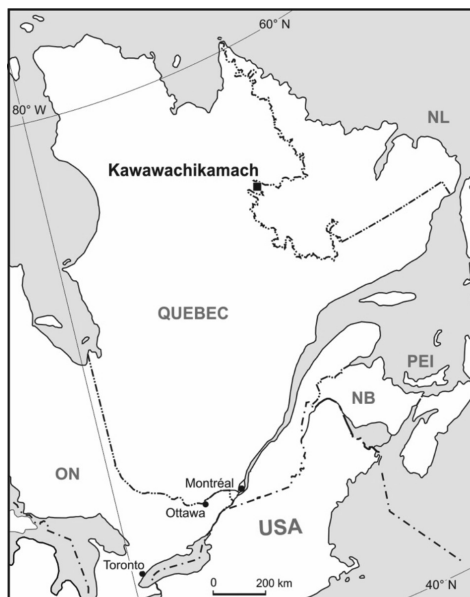
Background: The Naskapi Nation and Regional Mining Interests

Historically, the Naskapi were a nomadic peoples centred in present-day northern

Quebec. For a variety of reasons, in 1956 they moved from Fort Chimo (Kuujjuaq) to the newly established mining community of Schefferville. In the 1970s, after years of living alongside the Montagnais (Innu) of Lac Jean, the Naskapi entered into negotiations with the Crown to settle a claim. In 1981, they secured a 16 square mile parcel of land on which they constructed the community of Kawawachikamach. The community is located fifteen kilometres from Schefferville within the subarctic of Quebec bordering Labrador (see Figure 1). The Naskapi Nation has 1,056 registered members, 643 of whom reside in Kawawachikamach. The Nation still preserves many aspects of its traditional culture (Naskapi, 2012); the Naskapi practice subsistence trapping, fishing and hunting for food and other raw materials (Naskapi, 2012).

During the period of mineral extraction by the Iron Ore Company of Canada, from 1954 to 1982, the Naskapi were excluded from any benefits associated with operations and yet experienced many of the environmental impacts generated by mining (CBERN, 2015). More recently, companies New Millennium Iron and Labrador Iron Mines have resurrected abandoned mining projects proximate to Kawawachikamach. New Millennium is a co-owner of a small brownfield development that began shipping ore in 2013. More significantly, it controls a 210 kilometre long iron ore (taconite) belt called the Millennium Iron Range. With funding from Tata Steel, a feasibility study was completed, which, in March 2014, revealed positive techno-economic results. With iron ore prices at a low, further developments have been slow to come. Labrador Iron Mines began operations in 2010; in 2013, it shipped roughly 1.7 million tonnes of saleable iron ore. Operations were suspended in 2014 and 2015 due to low prices.

Figure 1. Map of Kawawachikamach located in Quebec's subarctic bordering Labrador



These mining developments have undoubtedly affected and will continue to affect this remote and relatively small First Nation. To manage these impacts and secure benefits, the Naskapi Nation signed Impact and Benefit Agreements with New Millennium in June 2010 and with Labrador Iron Mines in September 2010 (IBA Research Network, 2015). Furthermore, environmental impact assessments were submitted to the Quebec, and Newfoundland and Labrador governments. The proposed mines were approved by the provincial governments and received relatively high levels of support from the Naskapi Nation. This is primarily due to a view held by many Naskapi that mining is one of the few economic activities that could allow for sustained employment in Kawawachikamach. The Naskapi are fearful that if they are not able to capitalize on this opportunity, future generations will leave their home in search of employment elsewhere (CBERN, 2015). Though they are open to partnering in mine development, they are not prepared to do so at a cost to their well-being. This determination led to their interest in developing a means to track their well-being over time relative to a baseline.

Development of the Naskapi Nation Well-Being Baseline

The development of a well-being baseline involved a number of steps, all of which required active leadership and direct contribution from members of the Naskapi Nation. The first step required engagement with the leaders and members of the Naskapi Nation to gain project support and construct a research/steering committee. Following this, community values and mine-related hopes and concerns were identified and documented. In step three, the expressed community values and mine-related hopes and concerns were converted into a set of community-relevant indicators that represent Naskapi well-being. Finally, these indicators were used to construct a survey that was administered with Naskapi Nation households. Each of these steps is described in detail.

Community Engagement

The Naskapi Nation was very concerned and wished to understand how best to respond to new mining developments in their traditional territory. Some Naskapi shared their concerns with the Canadian Business Ethics Research Network (CBERN), with whom they had developed a relation. A well-being baseline study was then suggested to the community to identify values that define the priorities of the community and track how these might change over time. To conduct a well-being study that correctly depicts the community's conditions requires meaningful consultation with local participants throughout every phase of the project. This close association began with an endorsement of the project by the Naskapi Nation chief and council. Based on their guidance, as well as direction from initial key informant interviews with band employees, schoolboard members, and two directors of the Naskapi Development Corporation, a number of individuals were identified as candidates for a study steering committee. Six Naskapi members were recruited

due to their experience and knowledge of the community. The steering committee included the director and two administrative assistants of the Naskapi Development Corporation; an economic development councillor; an environmental coordinator; and a former chief and linguistic service coordinator.¹

Identification of Community Values, Hopes, and Concerns

Multiple methods were utilized to engage with each of the major demographic groups within the Naskapi Nation. Each method was selected based on the direction of the steering committee members, who emphasized the employment of conversational methods as a means to gather knowledge. In consequence, the central means of detecting Naskapi values, hopes, and concerns included semi-structured interviews with community leaders and administrators; informal interviews with Elders and select local residents; focus groups with key community demographics; and participant observation.

During October and early November 2012 a total of twenty-six interviews were conducted with a wide range of individuals from the Naskapi Nation. With guidance from the steering committee, interviews were conducted with members from each of the various departments of the community, including the Department of Public Works, the Band Office, the Naskapi Development Corporation, and the local Jimmy Sandy Memorial School. Additionally, interviews were conducted with elders and select local residents. An interview format with a limited structure created a comfortable setting, allowing participants to express their comments at leisure. Seven focus groups comprising a total of sixty-six participants were conducted to bring together individuals with a shared history, background, or experience. Small groups of participants produce a more comfortable environment, can diminish the impact of the researcher-participant dynamic, and create a shift of focus to participant-participant interaction (Flick, 2007; Barbour, 2007). Table 1 identifies the particular demographics targeted within each of the seven focus groups.

Table 1. Focus Group Participants

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Naskapi Development Corporation: 8 participants 2. Naskapi Band Office and Chief & Council: 17 participants 3. Youth ages 13 to 17: 8 participants 4. Youth ages 13 to 17: 7 participants 5. Naskapi Teachers: 6 participants 6. Young adults, ages 18 to 35: 5 participants 7. Adults (35+) and Elders: 15 participants |
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¹ Ethics approval was received from University of Guelph Research Ethics Board (REB#10SE043) and resubmitted October 9, 2015.

The steering committee suggested that select groups should be targeted during work hours to ensure higher rates of participation. For this reason, several focus groups were administered over lunch hours. The radio and prizes were also used as community tools and proved successful in attracting participants to focus groups conducted in the evenings. These interviews and focus groups were driven by questions related to community understandings of well-being, Naskapi values, and members' hopes and concerns in relation to renewed mine development. All the questions were reviewed and selected by the steering committee to ensure the clarity of the questions, their appropriateness, and to ensure a comfortable setting could be established.

In addition to the data generated from the ninety-two participants, participant observation and field notes produced supplemental data. Participant observation aimed to gain familiarity with the Naskapi Nation and its practices through involvement with events, families, and the population as a whole. All the data collected from each method were presented to the steering committee, the members of which played a significant role in summarizing and then categorizing the results into domains and eventually into relevant indicators of community well-being.

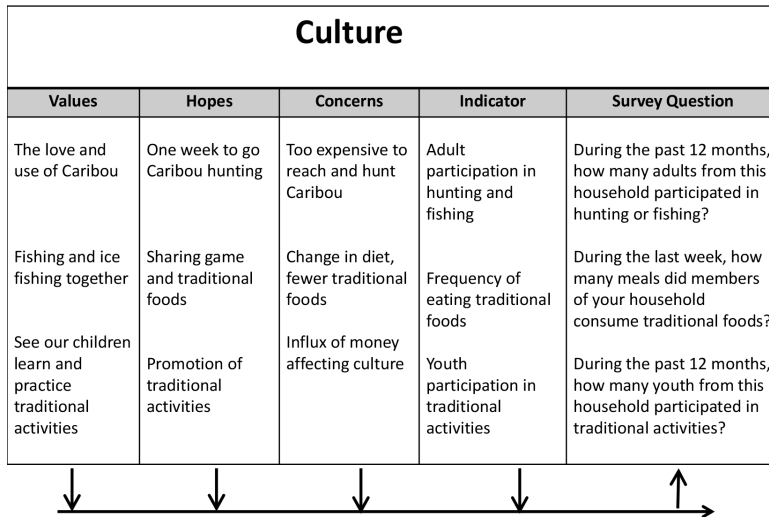
Indicator Development

The conversion of community values, hopes, and concerns into practical indicators of well-being was a challenging process. The realization of this stage was made possible only through a substantial contribution from the steering committee, who met on a number of occasions, often for considerable periods of time, to review community-generated data and create indicators of relevance to the Naskapi. Data were provided to the steering committee in hard copy, consisting of interview and focus group transcripts as well as the participant observation notes. Each member then identified and recorded common themes from the data, which in turn were discussed and refined by the group. A total of thirteen common themes, or what came to be known as Well-being domains, were developed. From here, the steering committee generated sixty indicators based on issues present in the well-being data (see appendix). To achieve this, Naskapi values, hopes, and concerns with commonalities were linked in order to create indicators that best represented the data expressed by respondents. For example, a dominant Naskapi value was the love and use of caribou; a common mining-related hope was to have a free week to hunt caribou; and a common mining-related concern was that it would be too expensive to reach and hunt the caribou. Combining these, the steering committee created the indicator, "adult participation in hunting and fishing" and the survey question, "During the past 12 months, how many adults from this household participated in hunting or fishing?" (see Figure 2).

Survey Development & Data Collection

Based on the sixty indicators, a household survey was developed and administered within Kawawachikamach with the assistance of the steering committee and

Figure 2. The indicator-development process: values, hopes and concerns with commonalities were linked in order to create indicators



community researchers. The steering committee decided that the surveys should be completed at the household level based on a face-to-face interview with a household member who was prepared to speak on behalf of the household. The sixty indicators were transformed into relevant questions that could be answered by a knowledgeable individual from each household. Each question was structured in a manner such that the solicited responses could represent all household inhabitants. Kawawachikamach has a total of 146 houses and 15 apartments. The study team was able to solicit responses from 147 of the 161 total households, which translated to a 91% participation rate. The successful participation rate can be partly attributed to the issuing of gift certificates for food at the local store for each household that completed the survey. At the same time, the high rate of participation was clearly also a function of community sentiments surrounding the ownership of the study and the pride associated with a Naskapi self-generated product.

Results

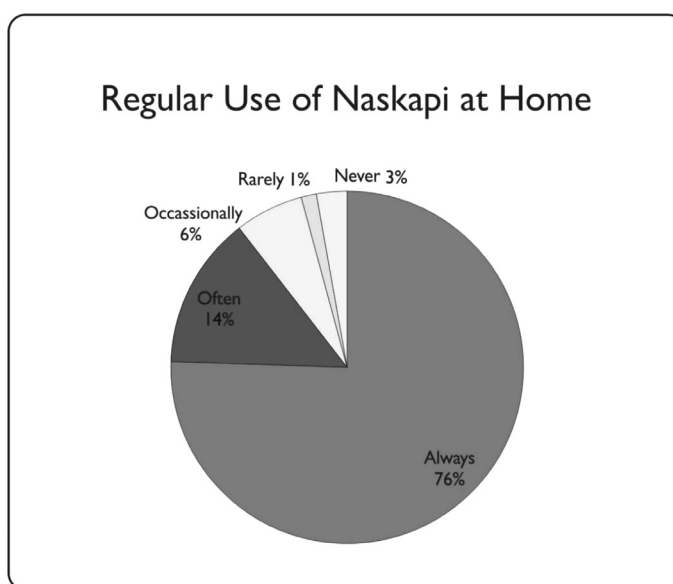
This section offers results for a few indicators, selected by the steering committee and approved by the Naskapi Nation chief and council. Where possible, the steering committee suggested that the results be portrayed in a manner that allowed for all members of the Naskapi Nation, including children and elders, to comprehend. For that reason, as a complement to conventional graphic representations of the results, a local artist was commissioned to produce artistic interpretations of a few key results. The artist ensured that the interpretations stayed true to the data within the indicator. The artistic interpretations served to spark notable interest among elders and youth, who were less accustomed to academic graphical representations. Herein, we present

results in a mix of forms, some conventional and some artistic.

Use of the Naskapi language

Use of the Naskapi language was widely regarded as a defining value of the Nation. Naskapi is the principal language in the community; English is a second language. This prominent feature of Naskapi culture was confirmed by surveying. As seen in Figure 3, 76% of households always speak Naskapi at home, and another 14% often do. Just 10% of the households in the community ‘occasionally’ (6%), ‘rarely’ (1%), or ‘never’ (3%) speak Naskapi at home.

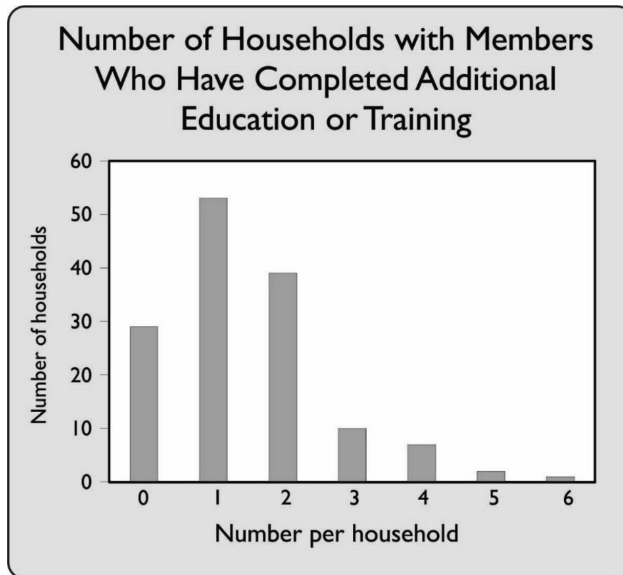
Figure 3. Percent of households speaking Naskapi in the home



Additional Education or Training

When asked about their hopes in regards to mineral development, many Naskapi indicated that they would like to benefit from further training and education. This translated into an indicator and the survey question “How many household members have completed additional education or training?” Additional training was defined as any completed training or education after high school. Thirty households had no members with additional training, while the remaining households had at least one member; that is, 79% of respondent households had at least one member who had completed additional education or training. As can be seen in Figure 4, in many of these households, more than one member had completed additional education or training.

Figure 4. Number of household with members completing additional education or training



Mine-related Employment

The Naskapi Nation expressed genuine interest in mine-related employment and was therefore keen to track it at the household level. Surveying revealed that 30% of households have at least one member with mine-related employment. Figure 5 offers an illustrated version of this result. In this illustration, each icon represents approximately 14 households in the Kawawachikamach community. Hence, ten icons equal 100% of the community, or approximately 140 households. Three of the icons (30% of the community) are represented by mining machinery; this indicates that 30% of the households in the community have at least one person employed at the mines. Seven icons (70% of the community) are represented by people; this indicates that 70% of the households in the community do not have anyone working at the mines.

Figure 5. Number of households with members with mine-related employment



Level of Happiness

As revealed through both interviews and focus groups, it was evident that happiness was a particular value of the Naskapi. Using a Likert scale, the respondents were asked, “Best indicate your household’s level of happiness.” Having one member assess an entire household’s level of happiness is a challenging task; however, the steering committee felt that one member could successfully gauge the overall sentiment of the household. The selection of this indicator shows the open-mindedness of the Naskapi to tracking their well-being in a unique way. This indicator was especially

Figure 6. Proportion of households claiming to be happy.



well received by the community. In figure 6, each individual represents approximately 14 households in the Kawawachikamach community. Hence, ten people equal 100% of the community, or approximately 140 households. Of these, five (50% of the households) reported to be 'very happy', four (37% of the community) reported to be 'somewhat happy', and one (13% of the community) reported to be 'undecided' (9%), 'unhappy' (2%) or 'very unhappy' (1%). As will be done for each indicator, the Naskapi Nation aims to survey its members every three to four years to see if the level of happiness among households is changing, especially if the region surrounding Kawawachikamach once again becomes home to large-scale iron mines.

Conclusions

For some time now, the Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikamach has contemplated partnering in mine development to enable economic opportunities for their youth, especially given the limited potential for other economic activities like forestry and hydroelectric development. For many Naskapi, mining is seen as a double-edged sword; though it offers opportunity, it could also serve to erode the cultural traditions of the unique First Nation. Given this mixture of openness and wariness, the Naskapi were keen to develop a means to track community well-being over time using indicators of their own design. This paper has described how this was done through a number of community-engaging activities. In addition to fulfilling the goal of establishing a baseline of community well-being against which the Naskapi Nation can measure change in coming years, the completion of the study generated a number of additional benefits. Through the various community engagement exercises, the Nation was able to create opportunities for its people to engage in internal dialogue and to communicate their hopes and concerns about mining. In addition, the research empowered members of the steering committee and the community researchers, all of whom effectively managed the project and ensured its success. Lastly, given its high level of participation, the study offers an excellent example of community engaged research.

Given the level of existing and projected mineral development within traditional Naskapi territory and the possible implications for the community, producing an instrument to track well-being over time is essential. Through the remarkable and sustained contribution of many key members of the Nation, a comprehensive baseline of community well-being was indeed established. If on-going surveying is completed based on the chosen indicators, the Naskapi will be better positioned to see shifts in their well-being and to communicate these shifts to their partners. This will allow them to critically evaluate mineral partnerships or agreements, and lobby governments for support where needed. If the study is on-going over many decades of mining-induced community change, the Naskapi Nation will also be ideally positioned to contribute to more universal understanding of the impacts of mining for Indigenous peoples.

About the Authors

Robert Klinck, MA University of Guelph. As a graduate student at the University of Guelph, Rob was able to pursue his research interests in the North, Aboriginal communities and mining development. Rob continues to work in the mining sector and is directly involved in Aboriginal relations.

Ben Bradshaw (*corresponding author*), Associate Professor, University of Guelph. Ben is a Canadian scholar with a research program centred on mining in the Canadian North, and especially the use of Impact and Benefit Agreements. Ben is the founder of the cross-sector, multi-disciplinary IBA Research Network. He has an extensive history of collaboration with Indigenous communities, industry, and federal and provincial government agencies. Email: bbradsha@uoguelph.ca

Ruby Sandy, Administrative Director, Naskapi Development Corporation, Kawawachikamah, Quebec. Ruby works as the Administrative Director for the Naskapi Development Corporation. Her work aims to relieve poverty for Naskapi, encourage education, and assist in the preservation of the Naskapi language, values, culture, and traditions.

Silas Nabinacaboo, Councillor, Economic Development, Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikamah, Kawawachikamah, Quebec. Silas has been a councillor of economic development for multiple terms in Kawawachikamah. He also works as a translator and assists in the preservation of the Naskapi language.

Mannie Mameanskum, Secretary-Receptionist, Naskapi Development Corporation, Kawawachikamah, Quebec. Mannie has worked at the Naskapi Development corporation for numerous years. Her knowledge and ties within the community made her an invaluable member of the steering committee.

Minnie Guanish, Bookkeeper, Steering Committee, Naskapi Development Corporation, Kawawachikamah, Quebec. Minnie maintains the records and accounts for the Naskapi Development Corporation. As a member of the steering committee, Minnie participated in each phase of the project.

Phil Einish, Former Chief, Translation and Linguistics Services Coordinator, Naskapi Development Corporation, Kawawachikamah, Quebec. Phil was the chief of the Naskapi Nation for six years. He was instrumental in introducing the well-being study to the community due to his close ties with the Canadian Business Ethics Research Network. Phil now works as a translator and linguistic service coordinator.

George Guanish, Environmental coordinator and Translator, Naskapi Nation of

Kawawachikamach, Kawawachikamah, Quebec. George works at the Band Office in Kawawachikamach as a translator and environmental coordinator. George has been involved in multiple projects regarding Caribou herds in northern Quebec.

Stella Pien, Special projects coordinator, Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikamach, Kawawachikamah, Quebec. Stella Pien works as a special projects coordinator for the band office and Kawawachikamach community. Stella has committed to lead future well-being community monitoring.

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