

APPENDIX D

Socio-Economic Study Specific to Nak'azdli Band and Nadleh Whut'en First Nation, in relation to the proposed Coastal GasLink Pipeline Project

Part 2 of 2 Issues Scoping

Socio-Economic Study

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PART 2: Issues Scoping

April 14, 2014

Prepared by The Firelight Group Research Cooperative in consultation with the Carrier Sekani Tribal Council, the Nak'azdli Indian Band, and the Nadleh Whut'en First Nation.



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Part 2 of 2: Issues Scoping

April 14, 2014

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Disclaimer

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1 Introduction

This community-based socio-economic baseline-conditions profile and issues scoping study (the “Study”) for the Nak'azdli Band (“Nak'azdli”) and Nadleh Whut'en First Nation (“Nadleh Whut'en”) is specific to the Coastal GasLink Pipeline project (the “Project”) proposed by Coastal GasLink Pipelines Ltd. (“CGPL”). Nak'azdli and Nadleh Whut'en are collectively referred to herein as the “Nations”.

The purpose of the Study is two-fold:

1. To describe the Nations’ socio-economic baseline profiles relevant to the Project, and to identify the Nations’ social, economic, and cultural vulnerabilities from potential adverse effects from the Project, along with conditions that may limit or enhance the ability of the Nations’ members to benefit from potential opportunities from the Project.
2. To describe the Nations’ members perspectives of quality of life and well-being, and to identify the Nations’ priority issues and concerns with the Project in light of these perspectives and their baseline socio-economic conditions.

The Study identifies valued components (“VC”s) from the Nations’ perspectives, and characterizes the “fit” of the Project with the Nations’ values, goals, and aspirations. The Study also provides an appraisal of the Nations’ ability to take advantage of potential Project opportunities. In assessing this ‘ability to take advantage,’ the baseline and scoping data considers barriers and inequities in access to opportunities identified by the CGPL in relation to the Project.

The results of this Study are presented in two parts:

Part 1 provides an overview of baseline socio-economic conditions for Nak'azdli and Nadleh Whut'en. It begins with a brief description of the ethnohistory of Carrier Sekani people, including the two Nations. This includes a summary of the history of colonial influence and industrialization of the two Nations, which is imperative for setting the context within which the Nations’ current socio-economic conditions and the Project’s likely impacts on them can be understood. The baseline profiling is then described, which also provides a series of measures against which Project impacts may be monitored into the future. In addition, the baseline profiling describes the current ‘health’ of the VCs and how this has changed over time, which allows for the identification of vulnerabilities and resilience to further changes.

Part 2, which is presented in a separate accompanying report of the Study, provides a summary of the issue scoping. It describes key socio-economic aspects of the Project,

summarizes lessons learned from other similar projects, provides a scoping of what matters most to the Nations from the perspectives of quality of life and well-being, and summarizes concerns raised by the Nations' members regarding potential Project effects.

The results of Part 2 are organized as follows:

- Chapter 1 introduces the report and outlines the applicable scope, methodology and limitations of the Study.
- Chapter 2 provides a brief overview of the socio-economic aspects of the Project.
- Chapter 3 provides a scoping of what matters most to both Nations from perspectives of quality of life and general well-being.
- Chapter 4 provides an overview of lessons learned from similar projects elsewhere and potential project interactions.
- Chapter 5 includes a summary of concerns raised by the Nations on Project-specific concerns, potential Project interactions and cumulative impacts.
- Chapter 6 provides the summary and conclusions; and

Appendix "A" and Appendix "B" provides details on the specific concerns raised by Nadleh Whut'en and Nak'azdli, respectively.

1.1 Limitations and Disclaimers

The scope of this study is limited to the first two steps of a community-based socio-economic impact assessment (SEIA) – the issues scoping and baseline profile.

The study is not restricted to the valued components (VCs) identified by the Proponent. Consistent with proper community-based SEIA standards, Firelight allowed for valued components to be identified through community scoping and verification exercises (see Section 3).

For temporal scope this study uses a pre-industrial baseline approach. Thus, the study covers the time period before the start of extensive and large-scale industrial development of this portion of the Carrier Sekani traditional territory in the 1960s. As such, it represents a back-cast – to identify the historical cumulative effects that have altered and affected Nak'azdli and Nadleh society, economy and culture in the past half-century – setting the context of vulnerability and resilience into which the Project is being proposed.

Limitations

The study does not include any formal impact pathway identification, impact characterization, impact significance estimation, or mitigation identification exercises for Project-specific and cumulative effects. As noted in the study proposal and cover letter, the identification of impact pathways and mitigations was determined by the Proponent to be beyond the scope of the study (CSTC, 2013a). Further engagement with Carrier Sekani, Nak'azdli, and Nadleh to identify impact pathways and triggers/mechanisms, characterize and estimate the significance of residual impacts from the Project (alone and in combination with cumulative effects), and identify and implement appropriate mitigation and monitoring, will be necessary for the completion of a proper community-led socio-economic impact assessment.¹

In the absence of a full community-based impact assessment, this scoping report is a preliminary identification of concerns members have related to the Project but should by no means be considered to be a definitive or limiting list of concerns. The concerns raised in this scoping report should form the basis for further work with the community to identify and verify impact pathways, effects and mitigations. The historical cumulative effects concerns should also be treated as preliminary and in no way limiting and should form foundational materials for a properly scoped cumulative effects assessment.

1.2 Methodology

The study is based on both primary and secondary data collection and analysis. Primary data collection was done using qualitative research methodologies including: community meetings, focus groups and key informant interviews. Interviews and focus groups were semi-structured.² Focus groups and interviews were conducted with service providers, lands staff, economic development staff, contractors, workers, band-owned businesses and traditional and local knowledge holders. Firelight staff facilitated all interviews and focus groups. Interviews and focus groups were audio recorded and transcribed. All attendees were provided with informed consent sheets to sign before engaging in the interview or focus group process.

¹ See Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board (MVEIRB) *Socio-Economic Impact Assessment Guidelines* for a description of good practices for a community based socio-economic impact assessment and six steps in a proper SEIA (MVEIRB 2007).

² Semi-structured interviews are usually organized around an interview guide that contains key questions and topics, themes, or areas to be covered during the course of the interview in a flexible order and format. This compares with the structured interview, which is based on an interview guide with a clear sequence of questions to be asked consistently and in the same order across interviews. For a more detailed discussion of the differences, see SAGE Encyclopaedia of Social Science Research Methods, 2004, by Michael S. Lewis-Beck & Alan Bryman & Tim Futing Liao at <http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412950589>.

Secondary data collection included a variety of sources such as: studies conducted by the community on other similar developments, government statistics sources, community policy and planning documents, agency strategic plans and other guidance documents, and case studies of the effects of other similar developments on other communities.

Interviews and focus groups were transcribed and analyzed using qualitative research methods including thematic content analysis techniques (Sandelowski 2000). Data analysis involved coding key concerns and previously identified socio-economic impacts from both the transcripts and existing secondary data documents. These were input into Excel tables by valued component, impact theme, and key indicator. Case studies of the effects of resource development on other Canadian Aboriginal peoples were also incorporated into the identification of potential impact concerns. Data from the Red Flag Issues: “Coastal GasLink Proposed Project: Nadleh Whut’en and Nak’azdli Traditional Use Interim Report” was also considered and incorporated where relevant (Sharpe 2013).

Nak’azdli

The “what matters most” scoping meeting was conducted in the View Hotel in Fort St. James on August 29, 2013 with 10 community members. Firelight and the Nak’azdli subsequently conducted four focus groups with Nak’azdli members, band staff, councilors as well as staff from the Fort St. James District (Lands and resources; Education; Health and social services; and Employment and training). Researchers also conducted interviews with Band staff and conducted a workshop on February 12 and a verification session on February 24, 2014. A total of 30 Nak’azdli staff, leadership, and members participated during the primary data collection period (some by phone and the balance in the community on August 29 and 30, 2013). Primary data collected previously by the community was also incorporated, including a survey conducted for the Community Plan process (Nak’azdli 2013b to 2013f).

Nadleh

The “what matters most” scoping meeting was conducted at the Nadleh Community Hall on August 21, 2013 with 18 community members in attendance. Firelight and the Nadleh Whut’en First Nation subsequently conducted two focus groups: Health and education and Land users. The researchers also conducted four individual interviews. A total of 36 Nadleh staff and members participated during the field research period.

Specific concerns identified by Nadleh Whut’en and Nak’azdli are presented in Appendix A and Appendix B, respectively.

2 Project Overview

2.1 Project Description

CGPL, a subsidiary of TransCanada Pipelines Ltd. (“TCPL”), is seeking approval to construct and operate a 650-kilometre, 48-inch (NPS 48) (1,219 mm) diameter natural gas pipeline from Groundbirch, BC (approximately 40 km west of Dawson Creek) to a proposed liquefied natural gas (“LNG”) export facility near Kitimat, BC (TCPL 2012; Coastal GasLink 2014). The proposed right-of-way would require clearings of ranging in width from 60 metres in relatively flat areas up to 100 metres where temporary workspaces are required (Coastal GasLink 2014: 1-8). The Project also includes the construction and operation of metering facilities at the receipt and delivery points, and eight compressor stations and associated above-ground facilities including meter stations and mainline valves (Coastal GasLink 2014: 1-4). The Project would require temporary infrastructure during construction, such as access roads, temporary bridges, stockpile sites, borrow sites, contractor yards and construction camps (Coastal GasLink 2014: 1-14). New electrical power lines and facilities may be required for certain facilities; these are expected to be constructed, owned and operated by third-party power providers (Coastal GasLink 2014: 1-78).

The EIS indicates that a metering station is being considered for the Vanderhoof area, subject to the results of the NGTL open season near KP 299 (Coastal GasLink 2014: 1-9). The meter stations will involve the installation of metering runs, yard piping, isolation and control valves, electrical, control and telecommunication systems (Coastal GasLink 2014: 1-9).

The Project will also include construction and operation of up to eight compressor stations. One compressor station is proposed in Nadle territory (KP 162.9) and two are proposed for Nak’adzli territory (KP 259.3 and KP 329.4) (Coastal GasLink 2014: 1-11). All proposed locations for compressor stations would require the construction of new all-season road access and require about 10ha of land (Coastal GasLink 2014: 1-11).

.According to CGPL, the Project would have an initial capacity of approximately 2 to 3 billion cubic feet per day (“bcf/d”), with potential for expansion up to 5.0 bcf/d (Coastal GasLink 2014: 1-3).

2.2 Projected Economic Benefits

CGPL anticipates potential economic benefits from the Project to include employment, gross domestic product, labour income, government revenues, as well as the enhancement of workforce and business capacity (TCPL 2012). CGPL also predicts it could create short-term employment and contracting opportunities during planning and construction, and a limited number of long-term jobs during Project operations. CPL has committed to providing fair bidding opportunities for local contracting work (TCPL 2012: 46).

CGPL has stated that the Project construction and operation is anticipated to generate economic activity: “In BC, the construction and operations phases are estimated to generate up to \$4.3 billion in expenditures, \$2.1 billion in GDP, up to 24,000 person-years of employment and up to \$1.4 billion in labour income.” (Coastal GasLink 2014: 1-75).). Of the \$4.3 billion generated by expenditures, only 50% is actually generated in BC, while 33% will be generated in Alberta and smaller amounts in other provinces and territories (Coastal GasLink 2014: 1-74).

Further revenues are expected from provincial and federal taxes. Based on their calculations, CGPL claims that: “In BC, the proposed Project is expected to generate \$100.4 million in provincial tax revenues during the construction phase and \$24.1 million in provincial tax revenues during the operations phase” (Coastal GasLink 2014: 12-46).

Further, CGPL anticipates that the Project would provide an estimated \$20.9 million a year in property tax benefits in B.C., based on current assessment levels. A breakdown of the estimated \$20.9 million in annual tax payments would be generated by four regional districts in which the proposed project would operate (Coastal GasLink 2014: 12-46).

CGPL’s EIS fails to address how First Nations may be able to participate in any revenue or tax sharing agreements (Coastal GasLink 2014: 12-45).

2.3 Projected Employment

CGPL has estimated that the Project will create 800-1,200 jobs during construction (Coastal GasLink 2014: 12-49). CGPL states that: “Total Project expenditures are estimated to generate up to 44,500 person-years of full-time employment. This employment will be centred in BC with 54% of the resulting employment and in Alberta with 29%” (Coastal GasLink 2014: 1-75). This figure represents jobs associated with spinoffs and not direct employment from the proposed Project, however. CGL does not provide an estimate of full-time person years of direct employment in the EIS, which

renders the jobs estimate vague and useless. Without knowing the full-time person years of direct employment the Project may create, it is impossible to understand the nature and opportunities associated with the jobs figure. Further, Contractor and subcontractor hiring will fill most of these positions (Coastal GasLink 2014: 12). CGPL has failed to put forth any preferential Aboriginal employment and/or contracting policies.

Once the Project is operational, CGPL anticipates that 16 to 35 permanent full-time field positions would be required to support ongoing operations and maintenance (Coastal GasLink, 2014: 1-77). As such – even if all the permanent field jobs went to First Nations from the 27 Aboriginal communities and two Tribal Councils directly affected by the Project – there would be less than 1 permanent job per affected community. It is therefore clear that long-term employment benefits from the Project is very limited.

3 Valued Components: What Matters Most?

Key socio-economic Valued Components to the Nations emerged through the scoping session, focus groups and interviews (Table 1). Both Nations generally identified consistent VCs related to well-being and quality of life, which strongly reflected Dakelh and Carrier Sekani culture and values. These VCs fell into two main categories: (1) land-based VCs (2) community-based VCs. The latter community-based VCs were further separated into social/cultural aspects, and economic aspects. Although the VCs were categorized in this manner for the purposes of this Study, they are all closely interconnected.

VCs are not benign, non-directional attributes, but are rather goals or aspirational statements – in other words, a desired state of existence that both Nations want to maintain or move towards. The proper measure of the benefits or impacts of individual projects is their ability to contribute to or detract from progress toward these desired objectives.

Notably, the valued components proposed by CGPL for its environmental assessment (TCPL 2013) do not directly correspond with the VCs that emerged from the community engagement in this Study. The VCs identified by the Nations through the Study include CGPL’s identified valued components, but extend beyond these to better reflect the Nations’ realities and priorities. Although comprehensively assessing the Project interactions with the VCs identified by the Nations is beyond the scope of this Study, chapter 5 (below) summarizes some of the Nations’ concerns regarding potential Project interactions. This summary does not, however, replace proper impact pathway identification and effects characterization.

Table 1: Valued Components: What matters most to the Nations³

VC Category	Specific VCs
Land-based VCs	Healthy and undisturbed natural environment
	Healthy and abundant faunal populations
	Abundant and clean water
	Ability to meaningfully exercise Aboriginal rights in preferred locations within the Nations' Territories
	Meaningful engagement in stewardship and governance of the Nations' Territories
	Safety (road safety and safety from more hunters on the land)
Community-based VCs: Social/Cultural aspects	Language and cultural continuity
	Safety (personal safety and road safety)
	Community and family unity
	Access to safe, affordable transportation
	Healthy members and a healthy community (physical and mental health)
	High quality, culturally appropriate, Nation-directed education
	Appropriate access to adequate, affordable quality housing
	Access to culturally appropriate social services supports and programs
	Self-determination
Community-based VCs: Economic aspects	Ability to practice traditional economy and livelihoods
	Quality long-term employment, with opportunities for advancement
	Sustainable economic development and long-term opportunities for the Nations' businesses
	Adequate income and food security for families
	Access to appropriate training

³ Note: the order of VCs in Table 1 do not reflect any order of priority.

In scoping the issues that matter most to the Nations, the land was clearly a top priority. Associated VCs include healthy ecosystems, clean and abundant water, healthy and abundant wildlife and undisturbed land for future generations. Part 1 of this Study clearly conveys the primary importance of the land to both Nations. Stewardship responsibility towards the land is a key VC, with the Nations' members seeing it as their duty to maintain the health of the land for current and future generations. Both Nations consider the value of the land as far exceeding only the value derived from the use of resources therein – instead, land has inherent value that must be protected.

Both Nations also heavily emphasized the value of clean and abundant water. Nak'azdli Territory lies at the headwaters of the Fraser River and Arctic Watersheds. This location creates an important relationship with the whole watershed and the downstream communities (Nak'azdli TUS team workshop, February 12, 2014).

Another key VC identified by both Nations was self-determination.⁴ As described in Part 1 of this Study, both Nations place a high priority on the principle of free prior informed consent ("FPIC").⁵ FPIC is generally applied in the context of the rights of indigenous or Aboriginal peoples to give or withhold consent to actions that affect their lands, and territories and natural resources that they utilize (Boreal Leadership Council 2012). From the Nations' perspective, consultation is inadequate; proper and full application of the principles of FPIC is required. Self-determination is also tied to the values associated with traditional knowledge and traditional governance, and the requisite respect thereof by those who wish to access resources in the Nations' Territories, or who wish to conduct business with the Nations.

⁴ For the purposes of this Study, the term "self-determination" includes self-governance and the Nations' abilities to determine how their Territories will develop, and how their societies, economies and livelihoods will evolve. Notably, self-determination is also a key social determinant of Aboriginal health (Loppie-Reading and Wien 2009).

⁵ For more information on First Nations perspectives on FPIC and examples, see "Free, Prior, and Informed Consent in Canada: A Summary of Key Issues, Lessons, and Case Studies Towards Practical Guidance for Developers and Aboriginal Communities." The Firelight Group on behalf of the Boreal Leadership Council. 12 September 2012.

4 Lessons Learned from Similar Projects

Experiences with oil and gas pipeline development elsewhere highlights patterns of impacts to Aboriginal peoples that should be considered in the assessment of this Project. The summary in this chapter is drawn from the authors' experiences with coal mining in southern BC, oil and gas projects in northeastern BC, and oil sands in northern Alberta.⁶ This chapter also draws on a Carrier Sekani Tribal Council ("CSTC") survey of other First Nations' experiences with pipeline and oil and gas development (Aasen and Hughes 2006).⁷

This chapter does not provide a complete list of potential Project impacts and interactions; instead, it is a preliminary summary of key findings on similar projects. For a full socio-economic impact assessments ("SEIA"), comprehensive Project-specific impact pathway identification and verification exercises, fully informed by the Nations' perspectives, are required.

4.1 Promised Economic Benefits

Although proponents often promise that extensive economic benefits will accrue to First Nations – such as education, jobs, improved local economies and heightened business capacity – these are rarely actualized in their full promised form. Case studies highlight some common issues that have consistently led to such unfulfilled promises:

- The skills that many First Nations' members held at the outset of a project were rarely sufficient to secure more than sporadic and seasonal employment. Given the short timelines of pipeline construction, there was limited time for interested

⁶ For details of the specific case studies see Gibson and MacDonald 2012 and 2013; MacDonald 2011 and 2012 a, b and c; and Macdonald and Gibson 2012. Case studies include, oil sands mines, other mines, pipelines, LNG terminals, and northern all season roads.

⁷ Case studies in the Aasen and Hughes report include: Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, Norman Wells Pipeline, Trans-Alaska Pipeline (Fairbanks), oil and gas development in Treaty 8 First Nations (northeastern BC) territories, development of the Alberta oil sands, oil and gas development in the territories of the Lubicon Cree, and oil and gas development in south central Alberta.

individuals to obtain the training they needed to secure employment. Where training was available, there was a lack of overall long-term planning for training and employment. Training efforts were often ‘too little too late’ to ensure access to First Nations’ members.

- Where First Nations’ members did get access to project employment, it was predominantly short-term and tied to the construction phase of the project. Those workers who did secure short-term and/or seasonal employment experienced feelings of expendability within the workforce. Lack of security in the workforce, compounded with a shift from subsistence activities to wage labour, left many families in unstable situations.
- Many First Nations’ workers experienced institutionalized racism, discrimination and tokenism both in training and on the job.
- Some First Nations’ contractors and service providers did experience financial benefit. However, as the majority of the First Nations’ members did not generally share proportionately in those benefits, or where negative impacts were left unaddressed, the overall effect was a division in the community.
- Increasingly frequent camp-based development can limit the local economic stimulus effect as economic multipliers are much lower for both employment and business procurement and that development can seem to hardly ‘touch down’ in the local and regional economy; workers were not living with their families in the nearby towns buying services and supporting local businesses, school and other infrastructure.. With workers in a camp outside of town, workers are not living with their families in the communities nearby using schools, services and local businesses.

4.2 Social & Cultural Impacts

The literature reviewed for this Study (see footnotes 7 and 8 in section 4) highlighted social and cultural impacts from the projects. Key impacts on social cohesion, self-determination, social services and infrastructure, culture, and accelerated pace of development, amongst others are summarized below:

Social Cohesion

- Project development often undermined social cohesion as some First Nations’ members benefit while others suffer – in this manner, project development increases the divide between the ‘haves’ and ‘have-nots’. In some cases, a number

of First Nations' contractors have had to compete for a small number of contracts, which undermined the social cohesion of the community.

- Some First Nations have experienced severe adverse effects from the jarring shift from poverty to sudden prosperity during resource booms. When introduced rapidly to impoverished communities and without proper planning, resource royalties and other forms of income often exacerbate social problems, instead of solving them. In a number of the case studies, First Nations experienced increases in suicides, violent deaths, alcoholism and drug abuse, and high school dropouts following a sudden influx of revenue from oil and gas development and associated high-salary incomes to a select demographic of the population.
- Increased exposure to outside influences (e.g., in-migration of non-Aboriginal people or exposure to other values at work camps) resulted in a loss of social and cultural cohesion, leading to an increase in risky behaviours (i.e. addictions suicide and prostitution).
- Family cohesion was undermined by increased income and temporary employment where there were already problems with addictions and mental health issues (see social and cultural impacts, below).
- Even the hint of development has created both internal and external conflict for a number of affected First Nations. For example, the exercise of determining whether to oppose or approve a project has frequently caused division and political upheaval. In addition, many First Nations report having to invest much of their resources, brain trust and even financial capital into environmental assessments and regulatory processes for major projects to avoid adverse effects (government and industry supports for meaningful engagement being limited), with minimal ultimate returns in terms of benefits and appropriate mitigation.

Self-determination

- First Nations' knowledge of potential impacts has been consistently devalued as unscientific, despite the fact that, in several of the case studies, many of the impacts that First Nations had predicted proved accurate during monitoring activities.
- First Nations' participation in government-led regulatory processes is inconsistent and rarely ensures that Aboriginal rights and title are protected or that the members' voices are heard and adequately addressed.
- Regulatory and environmental assessment processes are site-specific to the regional and local study area, and do not adequately take into account broader

impacts on the land or the context of cumulative effects of both historical and other proposed projects.

- In the absence of treaties or modern land claim claims agreements, linear developments such as pipelines, often cause internal and external political disruption for First Nations. Although treaty or land claim negotiations may be underway, development rarely slow-down or stops while such negotiations take place, thereby further alienating lands that are frequently the subject at negotiation tables.
- During resource booms – be it mining, oil and gas, forestry, etc. – the volume of consultation referrals made to First Nations increases. These all require consultation, accommodation and monitoring, which impose significant burdens on First Nations and their limited resources; thereby prohibiting their meaningful engagement in projects developed in their territories.
- Division among First Nations is aggravated by outside parties who either wish to invest and who oppose the project, as well as by competition between different First Nations for limited employment and contracting opportunities (as quoted by one Nation leader, this leads to “fighting over the crumbs that fall off the table”).

Social services and infrastructure

- Resource booms can reduce access to already limited housing and social services (see Part 1 of this Study). This can create negative impacts on income and food security, as well as housing conditions (such as crowding) and access to health and other social services and infrastructure.

On infrastructure pressures:

“Any time there’s money coming in there’s always drugs and alcohol to follow and then you look at prostitution is one of them, that comes in with it. Then you look at the strain it puts on our medical services ...the strain it puts on our infrastructure, our water, sewer, our highways, our power.”

Nak’azdli community meeting, August 29, 2013.

Aboriginal rights

- Traditional harvesting and gathering sites have been directly and indirectly impacted by seismic lines, right-of-ways, roads, well sites and other developments. The trapline was once the site of cultural knowledge transmission; in many cases this is no longer viable. Elders express feelings of frustration and depression upon visiting their territories that are increasingly alienated by resource developments.
- Right-of-ways open up new areas of access to sport hunters, fishermen and other non-Aboriginal recreational users. Examples include increases in number of moose

shot by recreational hunters, which creates negative pressures on First Nations' abilities to exercise their Aboriginal rights. Increased numbers of hunters also made First Nations' members feel unsafe when traveling in their territories to exercise their Aboriginal rights, including harvesting and ceremonial uses.

- The exercise of Aboriginal rights, including hunting, fishing, and gathering, are limited through a variety of impact pathways from drinking water access to landscape disturbances.
- Actual contamination, as well as the perception of risk thereof, causes First Nations' members to move away from preferred areas in which to exercise their Aboriginal rights. Increased distances, and loss of preferred areas, have severely impacted many First Nations' exercise of their Aboriginal rights, thereby reducing their access to traditional foods which has led to a host of adverse socio-economic effects (for example, reduced food security, income security, and physical and mental health).

Accelerated pace of development

- Large pipeline developments are often the first phase of oil and gas development projects, with these often making new oil and gas rich areas financially feasible (Aasen and Hughes 2006). Pipelines are likely to be followed by a progression of feeder lines, roads, and seismic lines in oil and gas rich areas. Pipelines and the ensuing development creates a web of inter-related projects, including opening access for other forms of use and development, all of which contribute to a host of problems, including landscape degradation and fragmentation, with adverse effects on First Nations and their exercise of Aboriginal rights.

4.3 Environmental Impacts

All of the case studies highlighted environmental impacts from resource development. These include, but are not limited to, the following:

- Wildlife and fish populations have been seriously disrupted by oil and gas activities. Effects include altered migration patterns and changes in species behaviour; population decline; loss, damage and fragmentation of habitat; disruption of food webs and contamination of the food chain; contamination and degradation of water supplies.

- Project construction and reseeded activities have introduced invasive plant species, and contaminated soil and water.
- Wildlife are also impacted through habitat changes, increased access for non-native hunters and recreational users, changes in predator-prey balance.

4.4 The Nations' Past Experiences

Both Nations already have experience with one pipeline through their Territories. Neither Nation was consulted prior to this development proceeding, nor did either Nation receive economic benefits from it. Concurrently, both Nations have experienced adverse effects from the existing pipeline, including habitat fragmentation, increased access by non-Aboriginal peoples to their Territories and harmful spraying in previously preferred areas for exercising their Aboriginal rights.

Both Nations have also experienced mining projects in their Territories, with mixed results. Nadleh Whut'en did operate a camp for the Endako Mine, with resulted in a temporary increase in employment. However, when the camp closed, this employment was lost, without a sufficient replacement thereof, leaving unemployment quite high (see Part 1 baseline for details of current conditions).

Nak'azdli had mixed experiences with the Mount Milligan Mine (Nak'azdli TUS team workshop, February 12, 2013). Members report that Mount Milligan is a prime example of the failure of economic promises to materialize. Nak'azdli was promised that the mine would bring growth to the town of Fort St James, which was suffering after the decline in the forestry industry. However, the camp was constructed away from town. Nak'azdli were also initially told the camp would be temporary; the mine has, however, kept the camp running, and made it permanent. As such, few if any associated benefits have accrued to the community: schools are still in decline, and businesses are still closing their doors. In this "helicopter model",⁸ the business of the mine hardly touches down in the local economy. Local businesses are seeing little to no business from the mine development. Nak'azdli was relying on the Milligan Mine for procurement opportunities, but the operation, and associated economic benefits, effectively by-passes their town all together.

⁸ For the helicopter model of resource extraction, see Carter, Angela V. (2011). *Environmental Policy in a Petro-State: The Resource Curse and Political Ecology in Canada's Oil Frontier*. (PhD), Cornell University, Ithaca.; and Jim Stanford. 2003. "Does Growth Matter? GDP and the Well-Being of Newfoundlanders." Speech to the Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Labour Convention.

In terms of employment, there has been some limited success with training programs that are tied to employment at the local college in Fort St. James. However, Nak'azdli members report that job turnover is high at the Mt. Milligan Mine and quotas seem to be being filled by short-term employment rather than quality long-term jobs with advancement opportunities. Where Nak'azdli members do get jobs, the camp set-up and shift rotations are hard on their families, effectively creating single parents of the parent left at home.

On the social side, Nak'azdli members see the negative effects that the Mt. Milligan Mine camp has had on Fort St. James. Nak'azdli has seen an increase in all of the risky behaviors (i.e. prostitution, drugs, etc) and an increase in sexually transmitted diseases. With a predominantly single-male camp population, there are also safety issues for women.

Nak'azdli also report evidence of the 'development leads to development' effect with the Mt. Milligan Mine (Nak'azdli TUS team workshop, February 2014). The choice to build additional right of ways for hydro lines is one example.

The Kenny Dam is another project that has created a strong sense of cynicism for the Nations' members. Before the dam was built, Nadleh Whut'en members were promised jobs and economic improvement, and were assured that there would be no unemployment in the community. However, no jobs were created for Nadleh Whut'en members, and few were created for people in surrounding areas (Nadleh, 1992).

4.5 Summary

This survey of lessons learned from similar resource development projects indicates that, on the whole, First Nations have not benefited from these projects. More often than not, these projects have been touted as a cure-all for First Nations' socio-economic problems, but reality has proven otherwise.

Overall, building resource development projects in First Nations' territories has diminished their members' abilities to meaningfully exercise their Aboriginal rights. Access roads and infrastructure have triggered more development and have fragmented the landscape. Traditional trails have become private roads. Trapping areas have been fenced off and are no longer accessible to land users and traditional knowledge holders. Communities situated near resource projects, including pipelines, live in fear of the debilitating and lethal effects of a potential spill or accident, and the long-term impacts thereof on their Territories and continued exercise of their Aboriginal rights.

Although it is beyond the scope of this Study to identify impact pathways, the similarity of the Project to the case studies reviewed here renders it highly likely that the Project, if it proceeds, would create similar impacts on both Nations. Baseline socio-economic conditions (as described in Part 1 of this Study) and the Nations' goals, values and

aspirations must be viewed within this context and used to inform the impact assessment and mitigations identification and implementation of the Project, while also taking into account cumulative effects and impacts from past, current and reasonably foreseeable projects in the Nations' Territories.

5 Concerns about the Project

My biggest fear is that it will make all of this worse and we will have nothing, nothing for our kids (NWFN Focus group social, 2013).

Nak'azdli alone, we're dealing with 25 forestry companies and their subcontractors, 7 mining companies, 4 natural gas projects, that's just, just off the top of my head and that's what?, 36 companies right there? And that's the prime companies, let alone their subcontractors... (NFN Community Meeting, August 2013).

There's no strategic plan for development is the problem, it's just a free-for-all. And that's the government, I would say, that's the government's responsibility; it needs to be more strategic in resource development (Nak'azdli Community Meeting, August 2013).

No comprehensive cumulative effects study has yet been conducted in the CSTC member Nations' territories. This is an overarching concern expressed by both Nations' members in this Study, who are anxious that existing effects in their Territories are not well known while new projects continue to be proposed at an alarming rate.

The scope of this Study does not, however, permit a full socio-economic review of cumulative effects. Nevertheless, the preliminary review of industrial and colonial change presented in Part 1 of this Study indicates that existing cumulative impacts on the Nations from resource development, particularly forestry, are considerable. This is exacerbated by recent development of other industries (including wind power, mining, oil and gas, bio-energy, and agriculture) and corresponding increased recreational use by non-Aboriginal people.

During the primary data collection, both Nations' members consistently referred to cumulative effects and the potential effects of the Project as interrelated and often overlapping concerns (see Appendices A and B for details of the Project specific and cumulative effects concerns of each Nation). This chapter provides a summary of these concerns, and how members view them as interacting and exacerbating one another.

As per the VCs identified in Chapter 3 (above), the members' concerns are organized into two themes: *on the land* and *in the community*. As described in the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (2008), these two themes are closely interconnected:

Stripping Aboriginal people of their land base has meant depriving them of their means to make a living, their cultural identity, and their spiritual place of worship...Without land First Nations lose their means of production, their work, their social system, their place of worship. They lose their community.

The importance of the land to the Nations was documented in Part 1 of this Study, as were the implications of land and water impacts on their socio-economic wellbeing.

As discussed in Section 1.1 of this report, the concerns raised herein are preliminary and do not represent a complete list of the potential interactions or impacts at each phase of the Project development. Concurrently, this merely presents a preliminary list of the cumulative effect concerns from a socio-economic perspective. A full cumulative effects study is required, with further engagement with the community to identify and validate impact pathways, effects and appropriate mitigations.

5.1 Effects on the Land

This section summarizes the concerns about the Project that the Nations' members raised with regards land and fish, fauna and wildlife in their Territories. Appendices A and B provide more details of the concerns for each Nation. Contaminants in water, air, animals and plants were mentioned in association with existing logging (and pine beetle), hydro, agriculture and mining activities. Along with local ranchers, First Nations have previously raised concerns about the use of glyphosate-based herbicides and monosodium methane arsonate by the forest industry to control vegetation in the central interior of BC (BC Environmental Appeal Board 2003).

Municipal development is also a change that needs to be considered in the context of water quality and contamination. Both Nations have concerns with regard to municipal waste and associated impacts on the quality of lake and river water.

As a result of landscape disturbances, including but not limited to habitat and viewscape degradation and fragmentation, the members from both Nations report that wildlife populations are less abundant and less healthy. There are concerns that ongoing pipeline vibration/noise levels could have impacts for fish populations where the pipeline is close to spawning areas.

Access roads, seismic lines and other linear disturbances that increase access to the Nations' Territories has also led to increased competition from outsiders, with corresponding impacts on safety, abundance of wildlife populations, and predation pressures on depleted wildlife populations.

Less abundant or accessible wildlife has serious cultural implications where it impedes the exercise of Aboriginal rights, including hunting, cultural practices, etc. For example, Nadleh Whut'en members report that the lack of wildlife, particularly moose, has already made it difficult for boys to participate in the tradition of making their first kill, which is an important transition into adulthood (Nadleh community meeting, August 21, 2013).

Table 2: Land-based VCs: Existing Cumulative Effects & Project Concerns

Land-based VCs	Existing Cumulative Effects	Project Concerns
Healthy and undisturbed natural environment	<p>Reduced availability of undisturbed habitat for animals and for the Nations’ members to exercise their Aboriginal rights, due to landscape disturbances, including habitat fragmentation.</p> <p>Contaminant load from herbicide use, mining and other resource development pollution and growing municipalities.</p> <p>Introduction of invasive species.</p>	<p>Increased land disturbances and habitat fragmentation.</p> <p>Increased access by non-Aboriginal peoples.</p> <p>Increase contamination of land and water.</p> <p>Introduction of invasive species.</p>
Healthy and abundant faunal populations	<p>Poor health of faunal resources, especially moose and fish.</p> <p>Reduction in availability of wildlife due to existing impacts on the land.</p> <p>Changes in predator-prey balances.</p>	<p>Increased linear disturbance, habitat fragmentation, soil, air and water contamination and predation effects with adverse impacts on wildlife habitat, changing migratory patterns and abundance.</p> <p>Land disturbance, increased traffic, and increased non-aboriginal hunters and recreational users changing wildlife patterns and availability, and reducing access to the Nations’ members.</p>
Abundant and clean water	<p>Existing development impacts have negatively impacted both the availability and quality of water in lakes, rivers and springs in the Nations’ territories.</p> <p>Industrial and municipal expansions has created real and perceived risks of quality of water for drinking water purposes, with resulting effects on mobility and cost of exercising Aboriginal rights on the Nations’ territories.</p> <p>Some Nadleh Whut’ en members no longer fish at their preferred locations in their Territory due to concerns about impacts on fish due</p>	<p>Contaminants from soil disturbance, erosion, spills, air emissions, and riparian and aquatic (e.g., in-stream works) activities producing run-off that negatively affects the availability of and/or quality of water in the lakes, rivers and springs used by the Nations.</p> <p>Decreased fish populations due to contaminants in the water, and disruptions of riverbeds and aquatic habitat.</p> <p>Further actual and perceived risks of quality of water for drinking water purposes, with corresponding impediment of the Nations’</p>

	from local contaminant loads (Lowe 2009; Nadleh Community meeting, August 21 2013).	members' access to their Territories (due to increased costs and travel difficulties caused by lost access to clean drinking water sources).
Ability to meaningfully exercise Aboriginal rights in preferred locations within the Nations' Territories	Above-listed conditions relating to the land, wildlife and water have already limited the ability to meaningfully practice traditional livelihoods and culture.	If the Project results in impacts any of the areas listed above, it would further limit the ability to meaningfully practice traditional livelihoods and culture. Landscape disturbance may cause members to avoid the area. It would increase access for non-Aboriginal users coming in for recreation or hunting, making it less safe for Nak'azdli members.
Meaningful engagement in stewardship and governance of the Nations' Territories	The above-listed effects, in combination with colonial legacies, have already reduced the Nations' abilities to meaningfully engage in stewardship and governance of their Territories.	If the Project results in impacts in any of the areas listed above, thereby further reducing the Nations' ability to access their Territories, it will further limit their ability to meaningfully engage in stewardship and governance of their Territories. Where CGPL fails to respect the principles of FPIC in engaging with the Nations before accessing their Territories, CGPL impedes the Nations' abilities to meaningfully engage in stewardship and governance of their Territories.
Safety (road safety and safety from more hunters on the land)	Increased traffic on all roads with less road safety (more accidents) More non-Aboriginal hunters and an increased risk of getting shot while on the land exercising Aboriginal rights. Pine beetle epidemic has created a higher risk of widespread forest fires.	Further erosion of road safety from increased traffic. More (primarily non-Aboriginal) hunters, thereby further increasing risks of accidental shooting accidents. Risks of contaminant spills. Increased risks of accidents. Risk of an accident involving fires is a higher concern, in conjunction with the pine beetle damage and forest fire risk.

5.2 Effects in the Community

This section summarizes the concerns that the Nations’ members raised with regards to effects of the proposed Project in their communities. Appendices A and B provide more details of the concerns for each Nation. As documented in Part 1 of this Study, both the industrial and the colonial legacies (including residential schools) have had lasting effects on both Nations and have contributed to socio-economic inequality between their members and non-Aboriginal peoples.

Table 3: Community-based VCs: Existing Cumulative Effects & Project Concerns

Social/Cultural VCs	Existing Cumulative Effects	Project Concerns
Language and cultural continuity	<p>Members already report that the lack of wildlife, particularly moose, has reduced their ability to transmit culture through generations.</p> <p>The lack of wildlife affects the Nations’ members abilities to share with other members (including more vulnerable members), as sometimes there is only one healthy animal successfully harvested in the season.</p> <p>Reduced ability to harvest has affected the Bah’lat tradition: land and wildlife disturbance can mean less traditional food for the Bah’lat.</p> <p>The residential school legacy has reduced the cultural transmission of many traditional practices.</p>	<p>Reduced access to the land and reduced abundance of healthy animals</p> <p>Further reductions of cultural continuity by reducing the members’ ability to transmit culture out on the land, their ability to share traditional food, and their ability to hold Bah’lats.</p>
Safety (personal safety and road safety)	<p>More predators coming into the Nations’ communities.</p> <p>Increased traffic on all roads with less road safety (more accidents).</p> <p>Safety concerns for women with the increased transient single male population.</p>	<p>Further erosion of road safety from increased traffic.</p> <p>Risks of contaminant spills.</p> <p>Increased risks of accidents.</p>
Community and family unity	<p>Unequal distribution of impacts and benefits between members is undermining community and family cohesion.</p>	<p>Exacerbation of existing inequalities and tensions, further undermining family and community unity.</p>

	Influx of money can undermine family unity where members do not go home because of increased access to drugs and alcohol.	
Access to safe, affordable transportation	Lack of transportation to and from jobsites affects access to employment and members' abilities to take advantage of project benefits (note this is particularly a concern for Nadleh Whut'en, which is a more remotely-situated community). Lack of access to transportation is already a barrier to accessing health care and education.	The pipeline provides few job opportunities, but where those are available, transportation barriers need to be addressed or the project risks fuelling the status quo of low benefits and distributional inequality.
Healthy members and a healthy community (physical and mental health)	Reduced access to and confidence in traditional foods (due to actual and perceived risks of their health / contamination). Poorer physical health status, widely perceived as tied to contaminants, reduced access to traditional foods, and dietary change. There are serious concerns of heightened cancer rates being linked to the availability and health of traditional foods, as well as contaminants in the food chain. Increased development has increased the availability of drugs and alcohol to the Nations' members. Increased social issues (addictions, etc) have increased demand for and pressure on social services. Legacy of colonialism and extensive resource development have reduced the Nations' members' abilities to exercise their Aboriginal rights, while increasing mental health issues, addictions and suicide rates, all of which are higher than the non-aboriginal population. This has also increased pressures on already limited social services and infrastructure.	Risk of additional contaminants, which would exacerbate existing health problems and further undermine confidence in traditional foods (due to health concerns and impacts on availability). Exacerbate existing substance abuse issues. Further impact access to wildlife and clean drinking water sources for exercise of Aboriginal rights, thereby further reducing traditional foods in the daily diet. Reduced ability to exercise Aboriginal rights would have further impacts on physical and mental health.
High quality, culturally appropriate, Nation-directed education	There are inequities in educational access and outcomes faced by First Nations due to historical inequities in access to education and training, as well as the residential school legacy that has left	The ability to take advantage of jobs and procurement opportunities related to the Project are in part limited by historical and current barriers faced by both Nations.

	generally negative attitudes towards education.	Any Project that does nothing to remove or reduce these systemic barriers is only fueling the status quo of low benefits and distributional inequality.
Appropriate access to adequate, affordable quality housing and culturally appropriate social services	Services are already inadequate to meet current demands. Gaps in local services include addictions and mental health counselling, amongst others.	Increased pressures on housing and social services from the increased population in the area. Increased population and income in the area would increase access to and participation in addictions, prostitution and other social challenges.
Self-determination	Lack of engagement by existing project proponents on the basis of FPIC principles. There is a sense that industry does not value traditional knowledge. Members report feeling a lack of fairness in terms of the benefits that flow to non-native society. They report a lack of access to and unfair distribution of economic opportunities. Lack of a sense of ability to control change and perceptions of lack of respect undermine self-determination.	Additional development that is conducted in the “business as usual” manner runs would further exacerbate this lack of self-determination and failure to respect these key principles.
Economic VCs	Existing Cumulative Impacts	Project Concerns
Ability to practice traditional economy and livelihoods	Reduced ability to practice traditional cultural practices due to a combination of on the land and in the community impacts ranging from landscape disturbances to the colonial legacy.	It would exacerbate all of the existing cumulative impacts from industrial development, and further erode the ability to practice traditional culture and rights through impacts on the land that further erode access to and quality of harvested resources and cultural practices.
Quality long-term employment, with opportunities for advancement	Few long-term employment opportunities are available to community members in existing industry.	Due to minimal number of long-term jobs estimated by CGPL, members are concerned that the Project would offer little, if anything in the way of short or long term employment for members. Opportunities are not the same thing as jobs for First Nations who face external and internal barriers to access. Without strong commitments to actual jobs, access will be limited.

Sustainable economic development and long-term opportunities for the Nations' businesses	No strategic planning by government for economic development.	Lack of regional sustainable economic development or strategic management / planning suggests that the Project will provide little sustainable economic development to the Nations and business owned by the Nations and their members.
Adequate income and food security for families	Cumulative impacts from past and existing projects have resulted in less abundant and accessible wildlife, thereby increasing costs to traditional foods, while concurrently reducing reliability thereof (in terms of health of populations). Less abundant wildlife has also reduced members' abilities to share with more vulnerable members.	If members are able to secure employment, this could improve food and income security. For most members, however, there will be limited if any access to Project jobs. Concurrently, the Project might reduce access to traditional foods or increase the costs of accessing those foods; as such, both food and income security would be negatively affected.
Access to appropriate training	Community members expressed concerns that lack of training remains a barrier to employment in local industries.	Without a long-term plan well ahead of the proposed construction, inadequate training will have been carried out, thereby creating barriers to the Nations' members' abilities to take advantage of the Project.

5.3 Summary

As indicated in this chapter, development in the Nations' Territories to date has already created ongoing adverse effects on the Nations and their members' abilities to meaningfully exercise their Aboriginal rights within their Territories.

The scoping of concerns with members of both Nations highlights issues that need to be addressed with relation to each of the identified Valued Components.

The concerns raised by members indicate direct health and cultural impacts from changes on the land—including cultural loss. The adverse outcomes of cultural loss have been affirmed through academic study both qualitatively (e.g. Alfred 2009) and quantitatively (e.g., Chandler and Lalonde 2008; Kirmayer and Valaskakis 2004). Further, low cultural continuity and family/community cohesion are linked to mental health, resiliency and risk of addictions and suicide (e.g., Chandler and Lalonde 2008; Loppie-Reading and Wien 2009).

Decreased access to traditional foods has been correlated in the academic literature with an increase in the consumption of high-cost, store-bought foods, including processed meats and other products with less-than-ideal nutritional value. Health effects such as increases in obesity rates, high blood pressure and diabetes have been linked to this shift

in diet in Canadian Aboriginal peoples (Lawn and Harvey 2006). This is combined with the obvious physical health impacts of contaminants and reduced access to the land, which include both lower physical activity and the physical risks of contaminant exposure (food, water and air).

Further engagement with both Nations on the potential impacts of changes on the land and in the community is required to more comprehensively assess impact pathways, significance thereof and the potential for mitigation.

6 Conclusions

This report presents the results of Part 2 of the socio-economic Study completed for Nak'azdli and Nadleh Whut'en with regards to the Project.

Nak'azdli and Nadleh Whut'en continue to exercise their Aboriginal rights throughout their Territories, and rely heavily on the traditional Aboriginal economy. With such a high reliance on traditional foods and harvesting, the Nations are particularly vulnerable to changes on the land that impact their ability to exercise their rights. The Nations are particularly concerned about the cumulative effects from past and existing developments, as well as from the myriad of projects currently being proposed across their Territories. The Nations are also particularly vulnerable to impacts within the communities due to colonial and residential schools legacies.

Key findings from Part 2 of the Study are as follows:

- The Nations have already been adversely impacted by development, including hydro, commercial fishing, mining, forestry, agriculture, major infrastructure and oil and gas. Oil and gas activity is ramping up with a total of five gas pipelines currently proposed in the Nations' Territories. The Territories are also impacted by the pine beetle infestation. No comprehensive cumulative effects assessments have yet been completed.
- The Nations and their members have been impacted by discriminatory laws, widespread settlement and residential schools. Associated and adverse legacies on both Nations' socio-economic conditions continue to create barriers to their members' access to education and employment, as well as mental health and addiction problems.
- Both Nations are concerned about observed impacts of contaminants on the health of wildlife throughout their Territories. Some members are harvesting fish outside their preferred locations due to fear of contaminants associated with hydro, forestry and mining activities, including herbicides and fire retardants.
- Members report that wildlife is both less abundant and of poorer quality throughout their Territories. Several wildlife species, including moose and fish, have been reported as being ill. Members also report having to go further to find wildlife and they are harder to find/catch which means it is more expensive to harvest food and the harvest is smaller. Collectively, this reduces the Nations' ability to meaningfully exercise their Aboriginal rights.

Pipelines do not create long-term employment opportunities. Based on employment figures provided by CGPL, and the unreasonable assumption that all such positions would

go to First Nations, there will be less than one long-term job per First Nation community along the Project corridor. The bulk of the jobs will be short-term construction-phase jobs. Members of both Nations are interested in employment opportunities, but view short-term employment as associated with higher risks to their economic and mental health well-being. Concurrently, there are barriers (both external and internal) to accessing available jobs and historic inequities in access thereof.

While the benefits are limited, the adverse effects and costs to both Nations could be significant. Both Nations are already impacted by resource development, including mining, forestry and hydro. Concurrently, the Nations' members are heavily dependent on harvesting traditional foods, which plays an important role in food and income security. Reduced access to and quality of traditional food is already an issue for both Nations and their members. Impact pathways associated with reduced access to traditional foods correspond to impacts on health, food and economic security, family and community cohesion, and cultural continuity.

In addition to specific concerns about the human and biophysical environmental effects of the Project, the Nations are also concerned that access to international markets, facilitated by the construction of large LNG facilities in Kitimat and Prince Rupert, and proposed natural gas pipelines that link to the natural gas fields in northeastern BC, will greatly increase demand for, and production of, natural gas in and around their Territories. Further expansion of oil and gas activities in and around the Nations' Territories, facilitated by an expanding LNG export industry, would have very serious, irreversible impacts on the lands, waters and air in CSTC territory, on the practice of CSTC traditional rights and livelihoods, and on the CSTC way of life.

This Study has documented that the cumulative impacts on the land, and in the community where the Nations' members exercise their Aboriginal rights are inherently connected to the socio-economic conditions of members both on and off reserve. A comprehensive impact assessment is required to fully understand the cumulative effects of past and existing development, as well as reasonably foreseeable development (including the Project), to fully understand the ability of the Nations to continue to exercise their Aboriginal rights in their territories in a meaningful manner.

The concerns raised in Study should form the basis for further work with the Nations to identify and verify impact pathways, effects and mitigations. Gaps identified in this Study should be filled in to properly assess the potential Project interactions and effects. This includes a proper cumulative effects assessment completed on a Territory-wide basis.

This Study does not include any formal impact pathway identifications, impact characterizations, impact significance estimations, or mitigation identification exercises for Project-specific effects. Further engagement with the Nations to identify impact pathways and triggers/mechanisms, characterize and estimate the significance of residual impacts from the Project (alone and in combination with cumulative effects), and identify

and implement appropriate mitigation and monitoring, is necessary for the completion of a proper community-led socio-economic impact assessment.⁹

⁹ See Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board (MVEIRB) *Socio-Economic Impact Assessment Guidelines* for a description of good practices for a community based socio-economic impact assessment and six steps in a proper SEIA (MVEIRB 2007).

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Appendix A: Nadleh Whut'en Project-specific concerns

Nadleh Whut'en has 'significant and justifiable' concerns with regards to the Project (Sharp 2013).

Concerns raised by Nadleh Whut'en members highlight the higher value placed on the long-term health of the land than short-term financial gains. As one member succinctly stated (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013):

When an Elder went to treaty meetings at the tribal council they always said money goes in one hand and out the other the land is forever...so basically you are talking about short term benefits and long term affects.

When asked about potential concerns regarding the Project, one member summed up the issues as follows (NWFN Focus Group, Social 2013):¹⁰

(It) impacts everything we do – cultural and traditional things – berries, medicines, habitat for animals... all these things.

The following discussion summarizes the issues raised by Nadleh Whut'en members regarding the valued components identified in this Study.

Land-based VCs

Healthy and undisturbed natural environment

- To Nadleh Whut'en, ties to the land are all encompassing: the land provides food, medicine, spiritual sustenance, cultural teachings, and a way of life that is intrinsic to the Nation.
- The need for a healthy natural environment is not just tied to the use of land for sustenance, but also inherent in the value of undisturbed nature for wildlife

¹⁰ Note, this section needs to be read in conjunction with the Traditional Use study for the Project (Sharp 2013) where site specific and non-site specific land based use and potential impacts are addressed.

populations and future generations. One community member stressed the importance of the land by explaining that: “the land is all-important to me ... the safety, the animals ...”; another member added the importance of “the beauty and wholesomeness of it” (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013).

- As stewards of the land, Nadleh Whut’en members were equally concerned about the effects of increased industrialization for their own way of life as for that of wildlife: “Land base is taken away from us and wildlife” (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013).
- When Nadleh Whut’en members were shown the Project corridor, they raised the following key land-based concerns, amongst others (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013):
 - There is a lot of hunting in those areas: moose, deer, elk are hunted in that area as well as gathering of berries and medicine plants; and
 - There are a lot of traplines in that area, they are trapping beaver, lynx, martin, and other fur bearing animals are trapped in that area.
- Cumulative effects were frequently raised – ranging from effects from land disturbances to water contamination. Both mining and forestry were specifically mentioned. The combined effects of deforestation from logging and the pine beetle epidemic were specifically mentioned. Both land disturbance and contaminants were mentioned in association with logging, mountain pine beetle and mining.

Healthy and abundant faunal populations

- Quality of the wildlife is a major concern to Nadleh Whut’en, whose members repeatedly expressed their deep concerns that the reduction of wildlife quality is closely tied to the industrialization of portions of their Territories.
- One of the key wildlife species that are hunted for food by Nadleh Whut’en members is moose, and there were many concerns expressed over the health of moose: “The moose are coming out sicker and sicker, the men go hunting and the moose have cysts all over them, and more so since the expansion of the mine. I can speak for my family because we hunt a lot, and the animals are becoming really sick” (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013). Another member stated, regarding moose: “My cousin had to put down a mom and her babies because they were covered in green cysts. Like half dead running around out there” (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013).
- Fish is another dietary staple for Nadleh Whut’en and effects of industrialization and non-aboriginal fisheries were considered responsible for the declining quality of fish and reduction of fish stocks.

- Reduced availability of wildlife was a common theme in the community meeting and interviews. Reduction in the availability of wildlife is a concern for all fur bearing animals and fish. As noted by one member: “The fish, they are getting less and less. This year is the worst year I think.” (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013)
- One Nadleh Whut’en member expressed concerns over the effects of the Kenny dam and the water level on the fish: “...when they let the water flow too high, it makes it hard for them to come here, affects our fish.” (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013)
- The potential impacts of new pipelines on wildlife migration and movements were a concern for hunters. One Nadleh Whut’en member stated, “...if the pipeline affects where they naturally move they have to move further up. That does impact our way of life.” (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013). Less availability of wildlife also means that it costs more to hunt and takes more time.

Abundant and clean water

- Quality of the water for fish and for human consumption was a key concern raised by Nadleh Whut’en members. Access to safe drinking water is important while out on the land and on reserve. Water is crucial for making traditional medicines: in order for medicine to be made properly, it must be made with water from the springs (Nadleh-04 October 2014).
- Water is also used in cultural ceremonies, such as sweats where it is traditional to wash with flowing water (that never stops flowing) to wash away pain (Nadleh-04 October 2014).
- Contaminants in the water is a concern to Nadleh Whut’en members:
 - Nadleh Whut’en members talked about how they used to drink local spring water but felt it was no longer safe to do so. “The industry has the water so polluted that we cannot drink it. We have to bring our water in bottle, it’s so hard” (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013).
 - Effluent was mentioned by some Nadleh Whut’en members: “The Village of Fraser Lake and Stallako are dumping effluent into Fraser Lake. So that is an impact... Water quality is just not there; we do not use the river or the lakes for drinking water” (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013).
 - Nadleh Whut’en members are suspicious of claims by local industry that water quality is safe and the water is usable: “They say it is cleaned up, but there is still chemicals in there that is supposed to dissipate” (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013).

The Kenny dam is also a concern for Nadleh Whut'en: "...when they let the water flow too high, it makes it hard for them to come here; it affects our fish" (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013). Members report that the dam changes the flow of the rivers and lakes and fish populations have been impacted (Nadleh 02 August 22, 2013; Nadleh 03 August 22, 2013).

Community-based VCs

Social/cultural aspects

Language and cultural continuity

- Land concerns spill over into cultural issues. Less abundant or accessible wildlife has serious cultural implications where it impedes the practice and teaching of traditional culture. For examples, Nadleh Whut'en members already report that the lack of wildlife, particularly moose, has made it difficult for boys to participate in the tradition of making their first kill – an important transition into adulthood (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013).

Community and family unit

- Nadleh Whut'en has a strong sharing culture and sharing is not restricted to clan or family members. Nadleh Whut'en ensures that Elders are provided for. Additionally, some members who do not hunt will pay those who go out hunting a portion of their costs and for a share of the harvest; such members often lack the time or means to go out hunting themselves and the hunter may be short on resources for gas and the costs of the trip. Additionally, there is a local food bank program for sharing canned salmon and other foods, which is operated as part of the preschool for low-income parents (NWFN social focus group August 21 2013).
- Nadleh Whut'en members report that the lack of wildlife, due to increased industrialization, affects their ability to share as sometimes there is only one animal hunted in the season (Nadleh 01, August 22 2013).
- Reduced ability to harvest could also affect the Bah'lat tradition; land and wildlife disturbance can mean less traditional food for the bah'lat (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013).
- Inequality also undermines community cohesion. Members report that industrial development has increased inequities within the community: "...the division between the haves and have nots is getting wider; Its a systematic problem...." (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013).

Self-determination

- Frustration with lack of access to economic opportunities is evident, as the former Nadleh Whut'en Chief stated, "Well, we've been kept out of the, the business in terms of any revenue sharing" (Nadleh 03 August 22, 2013). In an effort to place themselves in a better position to deal with industry in the area, Nadleh Whut'en is in the process of developing a stewardship policy for their Territory, including for the development of oil and gas, mining and mineral resources.
- Nadleh Whut'en is committed to having FPIC principles applied. Members report that this level of self-determination has not been applied in the past: "We have seen with Alcan and Forestry, we are always left out of the loop and always have to fight for the crumbs that fall off the table" (Nadleh-02, 03 October 2013).
- Members report feeling a lack of fairness "... our people are trying to get what falls off the tables of the non-native society. What crumbs that fall down we can't survive on." (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013). Another example that was raised was the PNG pipeline which was built through their territory with no consultation or compensation.

Safety

- While hunters are forced to go further afield to find wildlife, Nadleh Whut'en members indicated that there are more predators coming into the community, which is a concern and considered a result of increased industry in the area. One member said: "I live on the north shore and I cannot let my kids out to play without having to be around them constantly" (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013).
- According to a Nadleh Whut'en Council member, the increased traffic flow during the construction phase is a concern for the safety for hunters. Back roads that were once quiet are now as busy as some of the highways (Nadleh-02, August 22 2013).
- The risk of a spill or accident was a concern. Nadleh Whut'en members also consistently raised concerns regarding accountability; they were concerned about potential lack of accountability for costs and clean-up if something were to go wrong with the Project. An Alberta example where the First Nation was left with the costs of clean up in a spill situation was raised as an example.
- Project safety concerns were exacerbated by mountain pine beetle impacts. "We are living in middle of a sea of dead timber that is going to be nothing but fuel. And when ignited we will have a pretty little snake of gas running through our territory and when things start to go who is going to sit here and try to deal with it? We are." (NWFN Community meeting, August 21, 2013). Forest fire risk and the pipeline safety were also mentioned.

- Meetings to date between Nadleh Whut'en and the pipeline industry have not inspired confidence. Company staff is not familiar with the Territory and cite examples that are not relevant (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013).

Economic aspects

Nadleh Whut'en members reported wanting increased employment, but that it should be long-term quality jobs with opportunities for advancement. Both lack of employment and increased employment were associated with addictions and mental health challenges:

- High unemployment has plagued Nadleh Whut'en in recent years and members were anxious about the social issues this triggers, particularly the lack of hope associated with unemployment. "Most of us are unemployed and have nothing to do so a lot of us party to get rid of the boredom. And it is not our fault; it's the economic system here. To feel hope you need to be self-sufficient and feel better about yourself." (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013).
- "If they do actually manage to hire a handful of our people – increased disposable income will mean they will snort it up, smoke it up and drink it up. It is a smash and dash, inject all this money into a small community with all these social issues and then leave. We will be worse off than we were before." (NWFN focus group, Social, 2013).

There were more positive attitudes towards long-term employment, but members were not optimistic that such employment would materialize: "Permanent employment would be better but they reserve those for their own white people. The people from here would get the short term only." (Social focus group 2013)

Experience with development to date has raised the following concerns:

- When it comes to industry, experience indicates that there are a lot of promises with little to show for them: "They always talk about jobs for First Nations. It doesn't amount to very much." (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013).
- Quality of the jobs available to Nadleh Whut'en members was another major issue mentioned, with many members stating that the jobs offered to them are menial. One member summed it up as follows: "...any time they talk about jobs with First Nations...janitorial work that is about all they get. We would like to get more." (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013).
- Employment was not seen as a replacement for revenue sharing. "That's the main concern is the jobs and they don't think about sharing the millions and millions of dollars that they are taking off the land and sharing instead of just talking about jobs." (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013).

- Employment sustainability was also raised, as jobs are often short-term and the ability to build capacity is limited. Additionally, it was noted that a short-term job can be worse for mental health than no job: "... these jobs are short term. So you feel good about yourself and making yourself a little bit of money and then boom, it's done. And you are back were you started or lower" (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013).
- Racism and stereotyping of First Nations was reported as a major barrier to employment with Nadleh Whut'en members citing their experiences with past and existing industrial activities in their Territory as examples. "There again working with Endako mines over the years, we found that our people are not given a proper chance to work at the mine usually they run into some guy that has issues with first nations, so it's difficult for our members to get a job there to start with and hold on to it." Another Nadleh Whut'en member and long-term mine employee added, "... in order to get ahead you have to be twice as good as the white person doing a job where you get promoted" (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013).
- Those Nadleh Whut'en members who have worked for local industry stated that they felt they were often at a disadvantage and would watch helplessly as non-aboriginal colleagues surpassed them, "...you have someone come in and start and entry level and quickly get the training needed and moving up while working at the company. And our people don't have the opportunity ...discrimination is blended in with policy" (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013).
- Along with formal employment there is a need for more financial literacy. With employment comes increased financial opportunities but lack of literacy can mean unmanageable increases in debt.
- Having employment also increases the dependency on employment, "It's good, but then it ties you to things. You go and get loans" (Nadleh Community meeting August 21, 2013).

Appendix B: Nak'azdli Project-specific concerns

Nak'azdli has 'significant and justifiable' concerns with respect to the Project (Sharp 2013).

Key concerns include disruptions to the Stuart River, which is a key source of salmon, and the length and width of the Project corridor through Nak'azdli Territory which is likely to dramatically change wildlife habitats and use corridors, while increasing predator and invasive species distribution throughout Nak'azdli Territory (Sharp 2013). Cumulative effects are also of key concern as in addition to the Project and past and existing development, there are four other proposed gas pipelines in Nak'azdli Territory; additional projects could pose significant and adverse impacts to Nak'azdli Territory (Sharp 2013).

Land-based VCs

Healthy and abundant faunal populations

- Wildlife quality may be impacted in a number of ways – including:
 - The introduction of invasive species; as described by one member:

“...up where our family goes camping, and they de-commissioned a mine and I’m thinking after they finished the right-of-way and stuff like that, that, they said that they were going to put back the, the original plants, allow the original plants and stuff. And they ended up like, sowing Kentucky Blue Grass and other kinds of plants that weren’t native to that area...” (NFN Community Meeting, August 2013)
 - Contaminants from soil disturbance, erosion, spills, air emissions, and riparian and aquatic (e.g., in-stream works) activities may produce run-off that further affect water quality especially in the river; water quality in the springs was also raised.
 - Decreased fish populations due to water contaminants.
 - Increased contaminant load (members mentioned specific concern with regards to the current contaminants and health of moose and fish).

- Wildlife abundance and quality may be impacted in a number of ways – including:
 - Nak’azdli members expressed concern that increased linear disturbance and habitat fragmentation and predation effects may change wildlife migratory patterns, abundance and distribution.
 - Increased access along new roads and other linear disturbances also means more non-aboriginal hunters and recreational land users, leading to a lower abundance of food, and changing migration patterns, which also affects abundance. In the words of some Nak’azdli members:

“... the pipeline doesn’t go through my Keyoh but it might impact the migration of animals that come into my Keyoh, if there’s right-of-ways that the animals will start using instead of the traditional wildlife trails that they usually use...it’ll impact” (NFN Community Meeting, August 2013).

“...one of the impacts I could see of what’s coming out of that is more hunters means less opportunity for us to hunt the food we need. So, it’s taking away more opportunity per se...” (NFN Community Meeting, August 2013)

Ability to meaningfully exercise Aboriginal rights in preferred locations within the Nations’ Territories

Nak’azdli has already formally raised concerns about the contaminant load in its Territory and successfully brought legal action against the spraying of pesticides by the forest industry (BC Environmental Appeal Board 2003). That appeal was based on Nak’azdli’s claim of adverse effects on its Aboriginal rights and title, which would effectively be extinguished by the pesticide uses authorized under the forestry approval at issue, and that the use of pesticides would adversely affect the livelihoods and health of Nak’azdli members who use trap lines, hunting grounds, salmon streams, and medicinal and food plants in the areas to be treated.

Notably, Nak’azdli have continuously voiced their “no pesticide in Nak’azdli Territory” stance to all industry and other users of their Territory.

Nak’azdli members were concerned that the Project construction and right of way may impact the health of the land and may reduce the ability to access and use the land for traditional and cultural practices through a number of pathways:

- Landscape disturbance and real and perceived and contamination may cause members to avoid the area; and
- Members may avoid the area due to increased presence of non-Aboriginal users.

Community-based VCs

Social/Cultural Aspects

Language and cultural continuity

- Cultural continuity, reduced access to their Territories and preferred areas to exercise their Aboriginal rights, coupled with reduced abundance of healthy animals may reduce the ability to transmit culture out on the land. “Our language is best learned on the land; our culture is dependent on our connection to the Keyoh” (NAK’AZDLI 2013b).

Safety

- Road safety from increased traffic due to increased industry was raised as a concern.
- Personal safety was of concern from an increase of non-aboriginal land users for activities such as hunting. More (primarily non-Aboriginal) hunters mean more chances of getting shot.

Community and family unity

- Inequality caused by increased disposable income for some members and individual Keyoh level impacts/benefits can undermine community cohesion. Increased disposable income can exacerbate social issues and undermine both community and family cohesion.
- Industrial development is inherently unequal, as it tends to impact one person’s territory more than another’s; this has led to divisiveness within Nak’azdli.

Access to safe, affordable transportation

- Lack of transportation between jobsites affects access to employment and ability to take advantage of benefits from the Project.

Healthy members and a healthy community (physical and mental health)

- Physical health is tied to the land and there is a concern that reduced access to the land, traditional foods and medicines (or land that is not healthy) impacts physical health. There are serious concerns that the cancer rate seems to be elevated and this is seen as linked to the availability and health of traditional foods as well as contaminants in the food chain. Additional contaminants related to the Project are considered to be a risk that could exacerbate this health concern. Nak’azdli members expressed this concern as follows:

I mean, after everything started, all the industry coming in, the cancer rates shot straight up (Nak'azdli community meeting, August 29, 2013).

- Mental health and substance abuse was identified as a major concern. Nak'azdli members associated increased development with social problems linked primarily to the increased availability of drugs and alcohol in their community:

What matters to me, just from experience of the Mount Milligan Project is the social implications of the pipeline, not so much on the land, but people getting employed, having more money that they've never had before, putting pressure on our services, more drugs, more alcohol, in our local community (NFN Community Meeting, August 29 2013).

- Gaps in local services include gaps in addictions and mental health counselling. Services are already inadequate to service current demand. Additional development would further increase pressures on these services:

And just the influx of people in our community, because like, with Mount Milligan, we had a doctor shortage, RCMP shortage, our social services are being stressed because of the increased homelessness, poverty, drugs and alcohol...children in care... (NFN Community Meeting, August 29 2013).

High quality, culturally appropriate, Nation-directed education

- Negative attitudes towards education due to residential schools pose a barrier to success for students and adult learners. This means limited access to the jobs the Project may offer, and challenges in accessing training and educational opportunities.
- Availability of drugs and alcohol in the community and these substances entering the schools was also cited as a concern that is a barrier to you completing school. Increased development is seen as further contributing to these problems.

Appropriate access to adequate, affordable quality housing

- There is a housing shortage on-reserve as well as in the adjoining municipality of Fort St. James. The Mt. Milligan project has already impacted housing availability, and more projects are anticipated to increase stress on housing.
- Poor housing quality was also raised as a concern, with some members refusing to pay their rent due to poor housing conditions.
- Housing shortages can exacerbate existing addictions problems. For instance, an individual by live in a residence where there are others who have substance abuse problems, and such individuals may be stuck in that environment due to the lack to

housing options. This would likely be exacerbated by further development, such as the Project.

Access to culturally appropriate social services supports and programs

- Demand for already limited social services for addictions, financial literacy, and mental health will likely increase from further development, such as the Project.

What matters to me, just from experience of the Mount Milligan Project is the social implications of the pipeline, not so much on the land, but people getting employed, having more money that they've never had before, putting pressure on our services, more drugs, more alcohol, in our local community. (August 2013, Nak'azdli Community member)

- Higher rates of family dysfunction (i.e. where members leave for work or addictions are exacerbated) increase the demand for services for domestic violence, increase separation, divorce and the proportion of single-parent households, and put pressures on children's services.
- Increased development will likely also increase demands for childcare, which is already at capacity. Lack of additional childcare spaces will pose a barrier to employment for parents.

Self-determination

- Nak'azdli is strongly committed to FPIC principles.
- There was a sense that industry does not value traditional knowledge. As one member stated, "... before they put boots on ground they've got to take and walk in our moccasins, they have this idea that somehow they're smarter than us" (August 2013: Nak'azdli Capital, Housing and Lands Manager).

Economic aspects

Nak'azdli members' experience to date with industrial development within their Territory has led to several concerns associated with the economic aspects of the Project.

Key are concerns with respect to Nak'azdli members' abilities to continue exercising their Aboriginal rights and practicing traditional livelihoods. Some positive impacts were identified – specifically:

- Additional income from jobs may increase members' abilities to practice traditional livelihoods.
- Mental health improvements from increased income and employment.

Concurrently, however, several negative impacts were identified – including:

- Reduced access to their Territory, as well as wildlife impacts previously mentioned, which will likely reduce members' ability to meaningfully practice traditional livelihoods. As more development occurs, members must go further to hunt wildlife that has moved away from the area. One member explained: "The contamination by pesticides and herbicides and human activity and... just the growth in the industry, in all logging and mining, everything; just the animals moved away" (Nak'azdli community meeting, August 29, 2013). This is exacerbated by members having limited access to transportation, making it difficult to access wildlife that have moved further away.
- Increased competition and encroachment of non-aboriginal hunters and recreational may reduce members' access to preferred locations to exercise their Aboriginal rights.
- Lack of flexibility of employment makes it harder to practice traditional livelihoods and culture and balance that with employment.
- Increased industrial activities also lead to more people in the area. One member noted that visitors or new residents often have no concern for the land, "You know when they're throwing out their garbage out the window even, you know, logging truckers do it, mining trucks do it with their coffee; one coffee cup times a thousand trucks a day is a thousand coffee cups" (Nak'azdli community meeting, August 29, 2013). Another member explained: "...it just brings in more hunters, more fishing, more traffic, more pollution, the list goes on, more garbage" (Nak'azdli community meeting, August 29, 2013).

Nak'azdli sees employment as positive, although members prefer long-term employment over short-term employment.

- In some cases, employment was positively associated with family cohesion, mental health, addiction reductions and income security.
- Employment can reduce social assistance caseloads.
- Nak'azdli members felt that youth from their community should have jobs in the community and on the land.

Negative impacts were primarily linked to concerns that Nak'azdli members do not have the ability to take advantage of the labour and business opportunities associated with the Project:

- One of the biggest barriers to employment is lack of driver's licenses and lack of transportation.
- Alcohol and drug testing can act as a barrier to someone with substance abuse problems. For example, some people work for one paycheque to pay for substances and then leave the job.

- Life skills such as financial literacy are limited for some members; there are limits to the ability to manage income, and this limits the long-term benefits of employment such as financial security.
- Discrimination on the job site.
- Phone numbers change often, so tracking people down after they have applied for a job can be difficult.
- Much of the work is seasonal and short-term.
- Lack of flexibility for time off (e.g. for family bereavement) can result in loss of employment.
- Childcare is a barrier – the Nak’azdli daycare is currently at capacity, as is the one in Fort St. James. There are few childcare options and this is particularly difficult for young parents. Industry does not always pre-purchase spaces in daycare. They don’t always see this as their concern.
- Apprenticeship hours can be difficult to come by. The NETS program does try and assist with this when they can.
- Industry prioritizes people with experience over Nak’azdli members who have had limited work experience opportunities; as such, jobs are seldom offered to local community members.
- Industry is not open with local communities about the availability of jobs (e.g. only posting a select number of jobs openly).

Lack of business opportunities was also raised as an issue by Nak’azdli members:

- Opportunities are not always available and smaller-scale contractors are often unwilling to hire locally:

“A lot of the time these projects come in and we usually don’t end up with too many first right of refusal contract opportunities and things like that; and that usually when they come in, they’ve already got their contractors pre-picked before they even come in, and then it lessens the opportunity for us...” (NFN Community Meeting, August 2013)

- Communications can be a barrier to Nak’azdli members and companies getting access to contracting opportunities.