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**Community Life and Governance:
Early Experiences of Mnjikaning First Nation with Casino Rama**

By Karen Campbell

**A thesis
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Social Work
University of Manitoba**

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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**Community Life and Governance: Early Experiences of Mnjikaning First Nation
with Casino Rama**

BY

Karen Campbell

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University
of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree
of**

Master of Social Work

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ABSTRACT

Casino gambling offers large profits to support self-government and economic self-sufficiency for First Nations communities. Casinos also increase the number of problem gamblers, redistribute money from families with low and moderate incomes, and exacerbate community divisions and cultural conflicts.

This qualitative study explores the experiences of Mnjikaning (Rama) First Nation, approximately one year after it opened the largest Native casino in Canada. Primary data are from fifty-three formal interviews, conducted from July to October 1997, and informal discussions between June 1994 and September 1998. The report focuses on how the casino affected community life and governance.

Casino development gave Rama increased employment, new buildings and more social and administrative services. It has also been extremely disruptive, with increased traffic, many more strangers in the community, and a greater incidence of gambling problems among community members. The casino's considerable influence over community decisions and priorities has serious implications for future self-government processes.

There are many lessons to be learned from Rama's experience for other First Nations communities that are considering casino development. Most important is to make explicit the negative impacts associated with casino development, and to ensure the community is able to retain a measure of control over the project.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Gambling in Canada is being used by governments as an economic 'quick fix' to deliver them from deficits and other fiscal burdens. Because of the immense profits from casinos, casino gambling is being promoted as a tool for economic self-sufficiency and self-government for Canadian First Nations. These developments are not without real costs, such as increasing the number of problem gamblers, redistributing money from families with low and moderate incomes, and exacerbating community divisions and cultural conflicts. A review of the literature revealed very little Canadian research on the social and political impacts of the gambling industry in general, and on First Nations in particular. There are many studies in progress, as use of casinos as economic development tools increases across the country.

This report represents a snapshot of Mnjikaning (Rama) First Nation, taken approximately a year after they opened the largest Native casino in Canada. The primary data consist of fifty-three formal interviews, conducted from July to October 1997, and countless informal discussions taking place from June 1994 until September 1998. This paper discusses how the casino has affected community life and community governance. Mnjikaning is a community undergoing immense change, so not all of the same conditions currently exist as at the time of writing. However, for Mnjikaning's future use, and for other communities considering casino development, it is useful to document perceptions of community impacts during that first year.

II. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

When the decision was made to have a casino in Rama, no one really knew what to expect. One year later, community members were just beginning to articulate the impacts of changes on their lives. Council and community members expressed a need to do a systematic examination of how the casino had affected the community. Due to the lack of information available to communities exploring casino development, I felt it would be useful to document what had occurred in Rama during that first year.

The context in which First Nations governments operate is rapidly changing. Powers and responsibilities, previously assumed by the Federal government, are being transferred to the band level. First Nations are creating new governance structures in preparation for ultimately becoming self-governing. Some community members expressed a concern that the casino, because of its economic importance, could influence this process. This project examined the implications of casino impacts on community life and governance.

i. Research questions

The main question addressed in this research is:

- **How has casino involvement in Rama affected the community's governance?**

In initial conversations with community members, many raised the concern that Rama was no longer in control of its political decisions. This research attempted to find out if casino involvement has affected the community's priorities, and if so, how; who seems to be in control of decision-making and priority setting; what the costs and benefits of casino involvement are; what new resources have been generated, and what use has been made of them; and whether governing bodies and Chief and Council operate differently than before the casino decision was announced?

The research also had two sub-questions:

- **How well does the casino fit with the cultural fabric of the community?**

Canadian First Nations¹ are going through what could be termed a cultural revival. After hundreds of years of colonial policies with assimilationist intent, Aboriginal peoples are rediscovering their historical spiritual and cultural traditions. This is a vulnerable process as there are many generations of cultural domination to overcome and still a relative lack of positive Aboriginal models to emulate. One of the largest concerns with casino development in Native territories in Canada and the United States is the effect which casinos will have on the culture of the community. This research attempted to determine what cultural impact the casino had on the community.

- **How well does the casino fit with community members' visions of sovereignty and self-government?**

One of the major justifications for casino development in Rama was to create an economic base so the community would be less reliant on the Canadian government for funding and services. This in turn would allow the community to become more fully self-governing. This research attempted to determine how community members imagined self-government for Rama, and what role the casino played in this vision.

ii. Methodology

I chose a qualitative methodology due to the exploratory nature of this project. There was no pre-existing hypothesis that I was trying to prove or disprove. Rather, I wanted to see how people perceived impacts of the casino in their community. As a community member I am very close to this issue, and felt a more impersonal methodology would not be appropriate. I was opposed to the

¹ In this paper, the term First Nations refers specifically to peoples formerly known as "Indian". The terms Aboriginal and Native, include First Nations peoples, as well as Metis and Inuit peoples.

casino before its inception. However, now that it exists and the community's life and future are so intrinsically tied up in its success, I can only hope that it does well.

The primary data for this project are the transcripts of fifty-three formal interviews conducted approximately one year after the casino opened, as well as less formal observations and conversations with community members that have taken place since the casino was first discussed in the community. This is augmented by quantitative indicators of change within the community where they were available. A 1998 social impact study tracking socio-economic indicators in the community is the main source of quantitative data. This study was conducted by the Mnjikaning social services department and includes data from 1995 to the present.

a. grounded theory

This research is based upon the principles of grounded theory. A grounded theory is "inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990: 23). In the case of this project, it is very important to produce a tangible outcome that is directly applicable to and useful for the community. When using such a methodology, "one does not begin with a theory, then prove it, rather one begins with an area of study, and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990: 23). The purpose of such research is to discover ways to define concepts, the relationships among concepts, and to look for new patterns (Gilgun, 1994: 116). It is a way of making sense of an on-going process that can't be predicted in advance (Rubin & Babbie, 1993: 359). This project is entirely about discovering new patterns, and is attempting to provide a snapshot of the community in the process of great change. In grounded theory research, results "yield a meaningful picture abetted by apt illustrations that enable one to grasp the reference in terms of one's own experience" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967: 38). This is key to this project, so results can be useful for other Native communities. The principles associated with generating grounded theory were used to develop the interview questions, determine the sampling methods and inform the reflective structure of the data analysis.

b. sampling

Initial interviews were conducted with a sample of people who were directly involved in community governance or the casino project. This list included: the governing chief and council and band administration; the chief, councilors and band administrators who initiated the casino project; the economic development team; casino employees; and key proponents and opponents of the development. I began gathering data from 'key informants' (i.e. the people most knowledgeable about the project or events in the community) to quickly get a broad overview of the situation. After the initial interviews, I applied a purposive method called theoretical sampling, where successive interviewees were chosen on the likelihood that they would advance the development of findings and go from a broad to specific understanding (Gilgun, 1994: 118). In order to generate components leading to a grounded theory, a researcher needs to identify and then explore concepts through to their natural conclusion, so sampling was done of persons best able to add to the understanding of concepts identified in the first set of interviews (Glaser & Strauss, 1967: 47). Additional interviewees were identified through the first set of interviews or through community contacts. In the course of sampling I contacted, but did not necessarily interview, everyone possible from the community who had involvement in the casino project. I also placed an advertisement in the local newsletter to ensure that the sampling method did not omit anyone who wished to speak of their experiences with the project or of changes in the community. Only one person approached me for an interview. Table 1 gives a breakdown of people contacted and interviewed for the study, grouped into broad categories. These categories will be used to give context to quotes in the following sections without identifying the interviewee.

Table 1 – Number and Category of Interviews

Category	Contacted	Refused	Interviewed
Youth	3	0	2
Traditional elders	5	0	2
Seniors	8	0	5
Casino employees	15	2	5
Band council	7	0	7
Band administration and planning	12	0	11
Other band employees	4	1	1
Social services	17	0	14
Mnjikaning artists	3	0	0
Community members	15	0	6
Total	89	3	53

I received a favourable response from almost everyone I contacted. Two of the three outright refusals were from casino employees who both said they had enough of the casino during their working hours and had no interest in discussing it outside of work. The band staff member who refused outright said he was “far too pissed off” to talk about the casino, and thought that there was enough negativity going around the community without his contribution. The high number of interviews conducted with social service providers, people involved in band administration and planning, and council members, is partly because these people felt it was within their jobs to speak with me and this could be done during regular working hours. Other people I approached for an interview, especially casino employees, had much more difficulty finding time outside of work to conduct the interview. That being said, for every interview I conducted, I had at least two cancellations, and often would have to reschedule an interview two or three times before I could complete it, or before I gave up. This may be due to the fact that some people really didn’t want to talk to me but were unwilling to offend me by saying so. Also, this project didn’t have a high

priority for people other than myself and groups with an obvious interest (i.e. social service providers, chief and council) and so other demands on their time took precedence. As previously mentioned, I did not believe that the casino project was a good idea. However, I was living away from the community during the proposal phase and for the community plebiscite, so I managed to avoid most of the controversy. This minimized the impact on people's willingness to talk to me. I found that even if people disagreed with my stance on the casino, most were eager to have their opinions and experiences recorded, and were still willing to participate in interviews. For the purposes of this study, I have not taken a public position for or against the casino project. Lastly, I set a 4 month time limit on data gathering, so I did not follow-up on scheduling interviews after that point. This meant that I could only make one follow-up attempt at scheduling with some community members, which accounts for the high non-response rate in this category. Had I extended this time limit, I could have conducted more interviews. Due to the experiential nature of qualitative data, it is extremely common for the researcher to not entirely exhaust the data source, and there is always one more interview that could be done. As well, I had reached 'data saturation', where new interviews were not revealing any new information. The time limits on this project were reasonable, and due to the data saturation, more interviews in the community would not have significantly changed the findings.

The interviews consisted of eleven open-ended questions (see Appendix A), and generally took between 45 and 75 minutes. Interviewees on the whole were forthcoming, and I was surprised at the amounts of very personal information people were willing to share with me. Many of the interviewees were extremely frank about the impacts of the casino on their lives and the lives of their friends, detailing broken relationships, interpersonal violence and child neglect. This information contributed to the analysis, but most of the details have been omitted from this report in order to protect informants' identities. Council members and some casino employees were not readily forthcoming with information because both groups were bound by their own confidentiality

requirements. As well, a few persons involved in the casino project told me that they were going to write their own books, and they held back information, so I would not publish all of their good stories.

c. consent and confidentiality

Interviewees were first contacted by letter (see Appendix B), explaining the purpose of the research, requesting their involvement, and presenting any provisions for confidentiality. The interviews all took place at a mutually agreed place and time. All interviewees signed a consent form before the interview commenced (Appendix C). I have removed identifying information from opinions expressed in this final report, except for the broad categories to give context to each quote. Copies of this report will be given to the community library, the Rama United Church, and the band office. Interviewees will also be given copies on request.

In a small community such as Rama, issues of confidentiality are paramount, and I had to focus on assuring community members that I would take all necessary precautions to protect their identity. Many band staff felt that they could suffer disciplinary or retributive action if it was known that they had spoken out against council or the casino. In one case, I was told that I would be quite sorry if I tried to use this information against the interviewee. People were willing to talk to me because I am from the community, and they felt I would understand their experiences. This also worked against me since some people were concerned that I would share the information with others from the community. I did as much as I could to assure them otherwise, but some of the repeatedly canceled interviews were probably because of this lack of trust. This is an example of the social climate that exists in the community (which will be discussed further *Section V, iii. community character and identity*), where people feel that they cannot trust each other with information, or that it will be used against them.

d. data analysis

The data for this project are the written transcripts from the formal interviews. They were analyzed using a method called constant comparison. This involves reading through the transcripts and assigning a code to a passage of text that describes a phenomenon, articulates an idea or denotes a certain response (for a list of codes used in this analysis, see Appendix D). As the process continues, new codes are assigned for new ideas, codes are aggregated and disaggregated as the researcher reflects on already assigned codes and evaluates these in light of new data. It involves constantly thinking and re-thinking the nature of relationships between concepts, categories and data sets, and looking at “the full range of the types or continua of the category, its dimensions, the conditions under which it is pronounced or minimized, its major consequences, its relationships to other categories and its other properties” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967: 106). Coding is key to qualitative analysis, because it organizes copious amounts of data into more easily understandable and processable units. Coding is the first step in conceptualizing the data, which can lead to articulating theory. This process constantly pits emerging empirical findings against new data (Gilgun, 1994: 116). It is in this way that the resulting observations and possible theory are fully ‘grounded’ in the data sets.

This methodology is useful for exploring different aspects of relatively new phenomena, without the data having to conform to a preconceived hypothesis. It creates rich, detailed-filled description and generates a ‘depth of understanding’ not available through quantitative methods (Rubin & Babbie, 1993). The analysis changes in response to ideas and needs generated from the data, as opposed to simply proving or disproving a hypothesis.

The methodology has its weaknesses. First, the researcher can influence the analysis through over-identifying with the subject and/or phenomenon being researched, or by having an emotional reaction to it. I personally found this an issue for this study. As I found out about decisions that were in some ways harmful to the community, I had to first process them as a community member

before I could reflect upon them as a researcher. I had to constantly reflect upon my observations, and whether they were informed from the data, or from my own emotional reaction to the issue. I attempted to control for this influence by clearly stating my preconceptions or biases at all stages of the research. I have also given as much weight as possible to people's own words, as opposed to my interpretation of them. Qualitative research cannot be reproduced easily by another researcher at a different period in time because of the interactive nature of data gathering and analysis. I am a member of the community and people relate to me as such. An outside researcher or another community member would have heard very different responses to the questions asked, or may have asked different questions, and as a result may have had slightly different observations of the casino's effects upon the community. However, these data are not entirely unique since I examined how people felt about the project; regardless of who was doing the asking this basic information should not have changed. Finally, although this methodology helps to provide a complete understanding of a phenomenon, such a detailed description cannot be fully generalized to other scenarios. It can however provide lessons and generate observations useful to forming theory which can be extrapolated for use in other instances.

III. Gambling and Casino Development

i. Canada

Federal and provincial governments have been using gambling to generate revenues since lotteries and charitable casino gambling were legalized in 1969. Control over gambling regulation was transferred to the provinces in 1979. These gambling activities generated modest revenues, mostly in support of amateur sports, the arts, and children's recreational programs (Black, 1996). In 1985, the federal government legalized electronic gambling devices and enabled the provinces to conduct for-profit casino gambling. In the early 1990s, when provincial governments were faced with an economic recession, increasing unemployment, federal cutbacks and growing budget deficits, they turned to promoting gambling to generate quick revenues. Gambling is presented as a panacea to solve all of our financial 'problems'; a quick-fix that allows governments to increase revenues, without having to increase taxation (Goodman, 1995; Henriksson, 1996).

Casino gambling is promoted for the tangible benefits it brings to communities, such as increased employment, skills development, tourism spin-offs, decrease in social expenditures (unemployment insurance and welfare) and a decrease in crimes resulting from poverty (Abaurrea, 1996; CBC Ideas, 1996; Coopers & Lybrand, 1995; Eadington, 1996; Stettler, 1995). Between 1992 and 1997, gross domestic product in the gambling industry increased 125 percent, compared with 14 percent in all industries (Statistics Canada, 1998). Over 35,000 people are employed by the gambling industry, an increase of 200 percent within the five year period. Gambling enterprises also generate huge profits for provincial governments. In 1997, Ontario received more than \$1.2 billion from all gambling revenues, \$436 million in direct casino revenue and "wintax" (Smith, 1998; Statistics Canada, 1998). In the same year, the total gambling revenues received by the ten provinces surpassed \$3.8 billion (Canada West Foundation, 1998). In many provinces, gambling revenues now rival corporate taxes as a revenue source (Black, 1996; Canada West Foundation, 1998).

In the rush to cash-in on these obvious benefits, the more diffuse negative consequences produced by casinos are often underplayed. Casino impact assessments report increases in problem and pathological gambling, greater reliance on social services, increased policing costs, traffic congestion, organized crime and prostitution (Black, 1996; Canada West Foundation, 1998; Henriksson, 1996; Stettler, 1995; United Church of Canada, 1998). Gambling establishments are 'successful' when they draw people and their money from other regions (i.e. tourists from another state or city) (Eadington, 1996a; Goodman, 1994). Costs associated with problem gambling are then borne by the region where the gamblers live, as opposed to where the casino is located. This 'drain' of people's entertainment dollars, and the associated resident costs is a popular argument for gambling expansion, i.e. it makes more economic sense to keep gamblers spending their money in their own communities (Eadington, 1996b; Henriksson, 1996). Casinos inject no new money into the economy, but rather redistribute money that would have been used to make other purchases (Goodman, 1994). Not only are discretionary or 'entertainment' dollars shifted to gambling, but money that would be used to purchase manufactured goods goes to gambling instead (R. Goodman, 1995).

People with lower incomes spend proportionately more on gambling than those with higher incomes. For example, among households that gambled, those with incomes less than \$20,000 spend an average of 2.2 percent on casinos, while those with \$80,000 or more spend an average of 0.4 percent on casino gambling (Statistics Canada, 1998). In this way, casinos impose a form of regressive taxation by taking money from low and modest-income households and using it to pay for universal services that should be supported through the tax-base (Black, 1996; *Toronto Star*, 06-18-98; Walkom, 1996) or to pay for arts, culture and sporting events which represent primarily middle and upper income pursuits (Seelig & Seelig, 1998). Gambling impact studies in the United States estimate that each problem or pathological gambler costs the public \$13,200 (U.S. dollars) on average (R. Goodman, 1995; Henriksson, 1996). In Canada, these costs have been estimated to be

as high as \$56,000 (Canadian dollars) for each problem or pathological gambler (Henriksson, 1996; National Council of Welfare, 1996).

The juxtaposition of seductive benefits and serious drawbacks puts provincial governments into conflicts of interest (Goodman, 1994 & 1995; Seelig & Seelig, 1998; United Church of Canada, 1998). Provincial governments are mandated to protect the public interest, and are the primary regulator of gambling activities. Provincial governments are also primary beneficiaries of gambling revenues. In the majority of provinces, the use of gambling revenues allows governments to advance fiscally conservative agendas. As governments reduce their fiscal capacity (eg. the 30 percent Ontario income tax cut, or Manitoba's and Alberta's balanced budget legislation), and as they further create political environments opposed to raising funds through progressive taxation, the role that gambling revenues play will only increase (Black, 1996; Black and Zehtab-Jadid, 1995). Gambling revenues have the potential to surpass taxation as the primary instrument by which provinces raise money. Provincial governments often contract with large American corporations to manage and/or partially fund casino developments. By focusing energy on the use of gambling as an economic development strategy, governments and business leaders shift their attention away from developing other existing or new business enterprises (R. Goodman, 1995). American corporations, as partners in casino developments, exert influence over provincial economic strategies. As such, gambling interests begin to supercede other economic development concerns, and shape public policy.

ii. First Nations communities

As in the provinces, gambling is being touted as a 'quick-fix' economic development tool for First Nations. First Nations communities across Canada have extremely high unemployment, little access to capital (RCAP, 1996) and often experience high rates of addictions and family violence (Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women, 1993; RCAP, 1996). For Status Indians on reserve, the crude birth rate is approximately double that of the non-Aboriginal population, and life

expectancy at birth is shorter by 6 years (INAC, 1992; Statistics Canada, 1993). There is a much higher proportion of the population made up of children and youth, and a much lower proportion of the aged than in the general Canadian population. These factors are coupled with an extremely narrow base of economic activities on reserves, dominated by government services (generating 37 percent of employment), health and education, and the primary sector (including hunting, trapping, fishing, logging, forestry and mining) (Statistics Canada, 1995). In 1991, unemployment among the Aboriginal population was 2½ times higher than the general population. In many reserve communities, it is as much as 5 to 8 times the general population rates (Statistics Canada, 1995).

Apart from the economic benefits, gambling in First Nations communities, is often promoted since games of chance were an intrinsic part of traditional (pre-contact) Aboriginal cultures (Fullerton, 1995). “Archaeological sites throughout Mexico, the Southwest, and the Eastern Woodlands show evidence of gambling beginning more than a thousand years prior to European contact. Ethnological records dating as far back as the fifteenth century testify to widespread gambling not only as a means of economic recovery, but also as a sacred rite for personal and cosmic stasis” (Gabriel, 1996). Traditional gaming served many purposes, such as passing-on cultural values and skills like horse-handling, agility, perception, group cooperation and shared rewards (Gabriel, 1996; Ridgebear, 1995). Although gambling was an intrinsic part of many First Nations cultures, gambling outside of the cosmic or cultural context (i.e. for personal gain) was perceived to be dangerous for the well-being of the gambler, as well as the community and the cosmos (Gabriel, 1998).

Whereas traditional gaming activities were group experiences, focusing upon skills necessary to sustain the collective interests of a community, casino gambling activities are entirely focused upon individuals gaining private property, at the expense of other individuals. “Casino style gaming pits individual against machine [or the dealer] for private monetary reward. The individual is subjected to classical conditioning by intermittent winnings. Personal gratification is a fleeting

experience, as, more often than not, the individual re-deposits the winnings back into the machine in an expensive quest for a great experience of gratification” (Ridgebear, 1995).

In the United States, Indian tribes have been using casino gambling as an economic development tool for about fifteen years, with mixed results. Many sources claim casinos represent a symbolic replacement for the buffalo as the primary mechanism used by American Indian peoples for survival (Abaurrea, 1996; Fullerton, 1995; Lane, 1995; Sanchez, 1995). Proceeds from gaming on reservations are used by Indian Nations for subsistence, cultural preservation, and to replenish impoverished economies.

Indian gaming has been a major catalyst for community growth and economic development, generating revenues for tribes like no other federal stimulus effort ever has before. After decades of poverty and high unemployment on often geographically remote reservations, Indian people now see gaming as an integral part of tribal economies and the means to achieve self-sufficiency (Fullerton, 1995).

Casino gambling has been much touted as a tool towards self-government for Canadian First Nations based on the American experience. However, the Canadian context is quite different. Indian tribes in the United States occupy the status of independent state governments, substantially free of state-level economic, environmental and related regulations. As such, tribal governments are not subordinate to state governments and retain the right to enact and enforce laws which differ from neighbouring states (Kalt & Cornell, 1994). Tribal governments also have the responsibility to determine the extent and methods of development for their natural resources. Canadian First Nations have much less formal jurisdiction over their lands and legislation. Currently, land use on most Canadian reserves is regulated through the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Although many First Nations communities are currently undergoing processes to gain more legislative and jurisdictional powers, the vast majority are still held accountable to federal or provincial legislation.

In 1988 the United States passed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA). The purposes of the IGRA are:

- to provide a statutory basis for the operation of gaming by Indian tribes as a means of promoting tribal economic development, self-sufficiency, and strong tribal governments;
- to provide a statutory basis for the regulation of gaming by an Indian tribe adequate to shield it from organized crime and other corrupting influences, to ensure that the Indian tribe is the primary beneficiary of the gaming operation, and to assure that gaming is conducted fairly and honestly by both the operator and players;
- to declare that the establishment of independent Federal regulatory authority for gaming on Indian lands, the establishment of Federal standards for gaming on Indian lands, and the establishment of a National Indian Gaming Commission [NIGC] are necessary to meet congressional concerns regarding gaming and to protect such gaming as a means of generating tribal revenue.

The IGRA establishes three classes of gaming:

Class I: social gaming of minimal value or traditional games played as part of ceremonies;

Class II: bingo and similar games, such as pulltabs and punchboards, regardless if they are electronic, computer, or other technological mechanisms, and non-banking card games that are allowed or not explicitly banned by state statute;

Class III: all other forms of gaming that do not fall within Class I or Class II.

Class I and II gaming are subject to tribal regulatory jurisdiction. Class III is only lawful on reservations if it has been authorized by tribal ordinance which has to be approved by the chairperson of the National Indian Gaming Commission, and agreed to by a tribal-state compact. A tribe must request a state to enter into the compact negotiation process, in which the state is required to negotiate in "good faith". If a tribe believes that the state is not negotiating in good faith, they can apply for an intervention from the Federal Secretary of the Interior, who can in turn, impose mediation upon State-tribal negotiation. Through the classification system, the IGRA recognizes and validates the traditional role of gambling in Aboriginal cultures, while also recognizing that they differ from modern forms of gambling. As well, the Act entrenches Indian Nations' rights to initiate and regulate casino development on their lands. State governments are not able to obstruct Indian gambling development, or to have any influence on how profits from gambling are used.

In Canada, there is no legal recognition of traditional or ceremonial gambling as separate from other forms of gambling. All jurisdiction to regulate gaming rests with the provinces. First Nations must approach the province where they are resident for permission to develop gambling. However, the province is under no obligation to allow gambling development, especially given that new casinos are considered to be in direct competition with existing provincial establishments. As well, provinces generally demand a “wintax” from casinos of at least 20 percent of gross profit. Outside of the legislative context, Canadian reserves generally have much smaller land-bases than in the United States, which makes it more difficult to place industry away from where people live. This means that casino development on Canadian reserves has much more potential to impact directly on the quality of residents’ daily lives.

Gambling is a source of conflict on reserves since many First Nations peoples are concerned about the impact such enterprises will have on struggling tribal cultures. After centuries of colonization, First Nations peoples are re-learning and reclaiming their languages, cultures and traditions. This is not a unanimous or universal process, however, and many First Nations peoples reject outright any movement towards cultural revival. The introduction of a casino exacerbates existing community conflicts between traditionalism vs. assimilation, that have even erupted into intratribal violence (Maclean, 1990; Stettler, 1995). The nature of the gambling industry is also problematic in many communities. In order for the community to make money, and for people to “win” at the casino, there must be many, many losers. While some Elders and other traditional peoples are concerned as to how their communities can live in a holistic way while profiting from others’ hardship and losses, others claim that with a history of so much oppression, First Nations deserve to be on top of the heap for awhile (Lane, 1995; Rolo, 1997). In the case where enterprises are owned collectively, rather than by a private operator, even if a member is opposed to an initiative such as gambling, she or he still benefits from it.

While some studies on the effects of casinos on Aboriginal communities in the United States are beginning to emerge, the impact of casino gambling on reserves in Canada is too new for any conclusive results. Preliminary studies on Aboriginal gambling, conducted by the Nechi Institute, show that there is cause for concern. Before the Casino Rama project, a study was conducted in Mnjikaning and Chippewas of Sarnia First Nations to examine the incidence of problem gambling in Ontario First Nations communities. Community social services identified 50 band members who they felt had a gambling problem. Of these, 25 were identified in the study as being lifelong problem or pathological gamblers. In another study conducted amongst Alberta Native youth, the Nechi Institute found that 89 percent of the youth gambled, three times the rate of non-Native youth. Of the youth who gambled, 21 percent were at risk of becoming problem gamblers and 28 percent were problem gamblers. Youth gamblers were more likely to come from homes where one or both parents gambled.

It is important to note that in the discussion around Native gaming, any cautionary or oppositional position is often treated with scorn, dismissed as racism, or classified as a desire to prevent First Nations from achieving self-sufficiency (Morse, 1995; Dyer, 1995). It remains to be seen, both in the United States and Canada, whether the relatively short-term economic gain from casino gambling can be transferred into long-term economic self-sufficiency and self-government.

IV. Casino Rama

Mnjikaning (Rama) is located just outside of the City of Orillia, approximately 135 kilometres north of Toronto. The community has about 1,200 members, of whom approximately 460 live on the reserve. It is quite small with little economic stimulus, and historically had unemployment rates of 40 - 80 percent. However, the community has a long history of proactive planning around economic and social development issues. In 1967, American activist Saul Alinsky conducted a planning workshop in the community for a National Film Board documentary. In 1984, community planners initiated a process called “Living Effectively in Rama Now” (L.E.R.N.). A team visited people in their homes for a series of “kitchen-dialogues”: open-ended interviews about residents’ visions for the community and strategies for achieving these. Through a series of community meetings, members came together and decided upon community priorities and created a ten-year plan to achieve them. The vision included, among other things, a water-system, a new community centre, a new church hall and a local newsletter. The community also incorporated an agency to promote business and economic development called Ramcor. By 1993, 90 percent of the needs identified in the L.E.R.N. process had been met. The unfulfilled parts of the vision included a community recreation centre, a school, and cable services for television. Rama was one of the first reserves in the country to operate under the First Nations Policing Arrangement in 1977, and the second First Nation to negotiate the transfer of health service delivery from Health Canada in 1992.

Some community members had always talked about the possibility of having a casino in Rama as an economic development prospect – one community member in particular, who lived off the reserve, kept abreast of new trends in Indian casinos in the United States. He introduced the idea to Ramcor in the early 1990s. When rumours spread that the provincial government was considering legalizing casinos in the province, corporate casino operators approached members of the economic development team. Ramcor began consulting with Bally’s, an American entertainment corporation, about building a casino in the community.

Following their announcement to develop casinos, the Province of Ontario initiated discussions with First Nations regarding Aboriginal involvement in the industry. The government had signed a Statement of Political Relations, which established that “all First Nations in Ontario have an inherent right to be self-governing”. Casino development was thought to be a tool in the realization of self-government by providing First Nations with an independent economic base. Entering into discussion with First Nations was also a preemptive measure by the province to prevent First Nations from opening illegal casinos which would compete with each other (as well as provincial casinos) for revenues. In 1993, the province and Ontario’s First Nations agreed that one for-profit casino would be constructed on reserve lands, and the profits from this casino would be shared by all the First Nations in Ontario for economic and social development through The First Nations Fund.

In light of this decision, the Rama economic development team began to develop a proposal with Bally’s. The process was kept quite secretive, known mostly to members of the economic development team and select members of the band council. However, since Rama is a very small community, rumours started about the discussions and the chief was forced to give the community information about the proposal. Many community members were concerned that the casino would introduce new elements of crime and corruption into their community; that the influx of strangers would jeopardize community safety; that increased traffic would lead to pollution and accidents; and that the casino would ‘take over’ the reserve. Rama was a small and quiet community, which, like many First Nations communities, was just beginning to rediscover its culture and traditions. Some residents were worried that a casino would destroy this. Casino proponents felt that the community had few other opportunities to improve its economy. While they acknowledged possible problems with a casino, they believed that with proper planning and foresight these would be ameliorated. As a group, they believed that community members who opposed the idea simply needed more

education about ‘the concept’, and then they would ‘buy in’. The community was quickly divided into camps for and against the casino.

When they first found out that a casino was coming to Rama, people always wanted to talk to me, but when they found out I didn’t support it, they didn’t want to talk to me after that. [Community Member]

It has made us lose friendships. We’ve been through a lot. There’s a lot of hurt and pain around here because of the casino. That first year, it was just going crazy here ... it was just freaking out, and I thought, “Oh my god, if the casino comes here, what are we going to do?” [Social Services]

At the time the proposal was submitted to the province it was still a small group who were championing this idea, and the proposal was submitted without the expressed support of much of the community.

A new chief was elected in the fall of 1994 on a platform of allowing the community to decide on the casino project. With the province’s decision pending, the new chief called for a plebiscite of members living on the reserve to determine whether they truly wanted the casino. On the weekend of September 14-16, approximately 120 community members were taken on a free trip, sponsored by Bally’s, to Foxwoods, the largest Aboriginal-run casino in the United States. Community members stayed in the casino hotel for the weekend, and only a few visited the nearby native community. As well, the chief and council, along with the economic development team and Bally’s, held three information meetings in Rama to discuss the casino proposal and to answer any questions. At one of these meetings, held September 20, members of the community learned that the chief and council had signed a management agreement with Bally’s in 1993, which stipulated that if Rama did proceed with the casino development, they were legally bound to partner with Bally’s. There were numerous questions at the meeting about how binding this agreement was, and whether Rama could break it. The community’s lawyer answered that the agreement was binding and there was no provision to cancel it. Upon being pressed, the lawyer said he would investigate possible mechanisms for amending the agreement to be contingent upon the community’s approval. This

would be subject to Bally's consent. At the same meeting, when asked if the casino was the only answer to the community's need for revenue, a representative from Ramcor replied, essentially, that the only other real option was introducing taxation to the community, and that any other avenues had proved unsuccessful. On September 28, 1994, the community voted 71 percent (165 to 68) in favour of the casino.

On December 5, 1994, the province announced that Rama had been selected as the site for the First Nations Casino. The casino would be situated on First Nations lands, but would be operated by an established corporation for the first 10 years. The operator would share costs of construction and start-up with the community². Out of 14 proposals involving 27 First Nations, Rama was chosen since it was easily accessible from large population centres, was in a region already dependant upon tourism, had a history of community economic and social planning, and had demonstrated a high level of community support for the project. Rama's proposal to the province set out the following objectives:

- to ensure that the First Nations Casino Project (FNCP) provides increasingly progressive economic opportunities to the First Nations of Ontario both within and external to the operation.
- to act as a catalyst for economic development for Rama and in the surrounding communities.
- to provide revenue to all First Nations in Ontario.
- to promote the tourism and hospitality industries.
- to create jobs.

These objectives were developed by Rama's then lawyer, in consultation with Bally's. The key criteria were that they sounded good, and would make the province more likely to choose Rama's proposal. They were in no way operationalized into process outcomes or goals, so the community could monitor and measure whether or not they were being met. In consultation after the province's decision to locate the casino in Rama, community planners promised that the FNCP would be designed and operated in a manner which complemented and did not compete with or overwhelm, the community. In its subsequent Request for Proposals (RFP) for a casino operator, Rama stated

² The province loaned Rama money for construction, infrastructure and start-up costs, to be re-paid from casino revenues.

that the FNCP must “fit into the community and become a vital part of the First Nation’s fabric” (Chippewas of Rama, 1995: 4). Again, how this would be measured or what actions the community would take if the operator failed to achieve this were not examined. In community meetings, members expressed that in taking on this project they wanted the elders and youth to be taken care of, and none of the community to become addicted to gambling. To these ends, the RFP stipulated that the operator’s costs would include the construction of a recreational facility, a seniors home, and money to develop a gambling addictions program. Although Rama had signed an agreement with Bally’s, the province instructed that their relationship be terminated once the community was selected, and that Bally’s compete openly in the operator selection process. The selection committee chose Carnival Hotels and Casinos, a Miami conglomerate, to operate the casino for the first 10 years. At the time Bally’s threatened to sue the community for breaking their agreement and to recover the money invested in the proposal process, but they did not follow through. Although Rama is the owner of the casino, the gambling licence is held by Carnival. This means that Carnival is accountable to the province first, before the community, and this has limited Rama’s ability to direct corporate policy.

The First Nations Fund, meant as an economic development initiative for all First Nations in Ontario, has been beset with controversy from the beginning. The original agreement between the NDP provincial government and the Ontario First Nations stipulated that 20 percent of the gross profits from the casino would be put in a fund under First Nations’ direction, and the province would not receive any revenues directly from the casino. The province was willingly forgoing its usual cut of the profits in anticipation that its costs for services to First Nations would decrease in light of economic and social development in the communities. The Progressive Conservative government, elected in June 1995, decided to take a ‘wintax’ of 20 percent of the gross casino profits before the money for the First Nations Fund was calculated. They arbitrarily ordered a halt to casino construction, claiming that necessary agreements had not been signed. The media speculated that

construction was halted to prove to the community who was in control, and to censor any protest against the province's wintax. At present, 20 percent of the gross casino profits go into Provincial Consolidated Revenues.

In the summer of 1996, an Ontario court ruled that the provincial government had discriminated against Ontario's Metis and non-status Indians because casino profits were shared solely by bands recognized by the federal government. The Court of Appeal ruled on June 6, 1997 that the government did not discriminate, since "the Charter of Rights allows the province to set up programs that benefit one disadvantaged group at the exclusion of another" (*Toronto Star*, 06-07-1997: A10). The range and level of social services on reserves is still inferior to the range and level of comparable services provided by Ontario to the general population, including Aboriginal people living off reserves. This ruling is currently under challenge by a coalition representing some Metis and non-status Indian organizations.

As well, First Nations chiefs in Ontario have disagreed about how the Fund is to be administered, and how much of the profits of the casino should actually go to Rama. Since the casino opened, chief and council have been traveling around the province to convince leaders of other First Nations that Rama should be allocated 35 percent of the Fund to support casino-related infrastructure and to develop related industries. The remaining 65 percent would be divided amongst the other 133 First Nations. After much negotiation and some real problems (discussed further in *Section VI – Community Governance*) the other communities agreed that Rama should have the higher percentage of the Fund for the first five years, after which the allocation will be re-negotiated. Unfortunately, the Ontario government has refused to release any of the money, which now totals close to \$150 million, claiming that satisfactory accountability structures do not exist, and the First Nations will not spend the money appropriately without supervision. The Chiefs of Ontario, an umbrella organization representing 134 First Nations, is currently negotiating with the province, and

purports to be very close to establishing an acceptable revenue-sharing and accountability structure for the Fund.

V. Changes in Community Life

The 53 formal interviews revealed an in-depth picture of Rama a year after the casino opened. To prepare the data for analysis I applied the qualitative coding system described in *Section II*. Common codes were grouped together into categories, and categories were then grouped into themes. The themes fell into three broad areas: changes in community life, the impact of the casino on community governance, and spiritual and religious issues in the community. This section discusses themes relating to changes in community life. The following section examines community governance issues. The interviews contained questions that tried to establish cultural characteristics of the community. As a part of these discussions, community members spoke at length about the importance of spirituality and religion to their lives and to the community. These discussions were contentious and far ranging, touching on issues outside the scope of this project. Their mention in this report is limited to a discussion of how impacts of the casino on spirituality and culture affect community character.

i. benefits

There was a clear consensus among all interviewees on the benefits of the casino project. The new recreation centre (MASK) and seniors home were mentioned by all as positive outcomes of the project, and real gifts to the community. In addition to recreation facilities, the MASK houses the social services department, which includes child welfare services, the native court worker program, addictions counseling, the sexual abuse circle program, employment counseling, education administration, the library and a computer lab. The sports facilities at the MASK are so superior to any in the area that the junior A hockey team which played out of Orillia has made the MASK its home arena, and area lacrosse leagues use the facilities as well.

Very few First Nations, let alone non-First Nations communities have that kind of facility. It's kind of ironic, here's poor Rama having one of the nicest arenas in the province. [Social Services]

The seniors centre has allowed elders to remain in the community after they can no longer live in their own homes. Since there is a housing shortage on the reserve, this was rarely possible before, and elders were forced to leave Rama to find suitable facilities.

Our seniors complex is now being built and our dreams to keep our seniors here at home, keep them amongst us, and keep that sense of belonging that we need them and want them, that dream has come true. [Social Services]

Everyone I spoke with identified phenomenal increases in employment opportunities in the community: an estimated 500 jobs were generated in the construction phase of the casino; the number of staff employed by the band had increased from 50 to 160; and Casino Rama employs 2594 people, 445 of whom are from First Nations, with approximately 60 from Rama. The amount of welfare payments made by the band has decreased by 70 percent since the casino opened. Although unemployment rates have fluctuated from a low of 11 percent to nearly 30 percent since the casino project began, they are still consistently lower than before the casino project³.

Although people are dissatisfied with certain aspects of the casino project (discussed below in *section ii. costs*), on the whole, a majority of community members support the project. Only 1 of the 53 people interviewed changed from initially supporting the casino project to opposing it; 3 supporters became undecided. The opinion of 16 interviewees had changed from opposing or being undecided about the project to supporting it by the time of the interviews.

³ These are anecdotal numbers from interviews with social service providers. Other empirical indicators were not available, or when available were not reliable, i.e. they had not been kept in a standard way over a period of time.

Table 2 — Change in Support and Opposition for the Casino Project

	Support	Opposed	Undecided	N/A
Initial Opinions	19	24	8	2
At Time of Interview	31	16	4	2
No Change	15	14	1	2

These benefits have tempered the doubts of people who were initially opposed to the casino.

I didn't originally see a lot of good but there is good that's come out of it. I remember when they were fixing up the roads and putting in the lanes and the turn lane and all that stuff, I saw a woman there who was a flag person and I know that three generations of her family had never worked and that to me was amazing, driving through there and saying wow she has never had anybody in her family who had ever worked and she's working and probably making 11, 12, 14 bucks an hour, that's got to be good. [Community Member]

When we got our casino going we forced all the contractors to hire a minimum of 20 percent aboriginal people. And they came not wanting to do that because they already had their crew organized and trained, they didn't want to hire our people, but we forced them to, we made them. The only way they could work here was if they did this, and we turned a lot of them around. They realized how hard our people worked, how creative our people were, how determined they were to make what we were doing come together in a good way. And many of them hired as high as 60, 70 percent of their work force from here and still rely on our people to help them out with other jobs in the region. [Band Administration and Planning]

People are working now. I guess that's why its here. [Community Member]

You know in most [Native] communities you have to move somewhere to find opportunities. Now we have opportunities in our community, and with future developments, I see more opportunities for our young people. [Band Administration and Planning]

The encouragement and nurturing of local artists is another benefit identified by interviewees. The casino architect had the idea to bring together Native artists from all over the province to decorate the outside of the interim casino building. The chief and some council members wanted to use it as an opportunity for artists from the community to explore their talents.

And so we put together a team of ten artists, all from Rama ... and other than [being] just a big box sitting there, it has the community's stamp on it, so, that's good. And the other, the other story out of that was the artists trying to decide what images to go on, and could something go on, or not, because it was a gambling

place, and they had visioning session and the elder said to them, if your ancestors went out and painted on the rock, the faces of the rocks, and they communed with the creator when they did this, the creator has given you this - these walls as your rocks today, and this is the face to which you are to commune with. And so it set the tone, for good, really good pieces, from their hearts. And it was, is, beautiful. [Band Administration and Planning]

I think that the art wall in itself has created a number of wonderful artists in our community, now that they're able to practice their skill and their talent and that's really good. [Band Council]

People also expressed less tangible benefits. Foremost among these was the increase in community pride and self-respect from winning the rights to host the casino, as well as ensuring its success. Many community members felt they were showing the capability of Native people to the non-Native world. Since being awarded the casino, the community has been able to exercise a certain amount of power in dealings with surrounding communities, whose economic success is now in many ways dependent upon spin-offs from the casino. This is a marked change from past political relationships (this will be discussed in more detail in *section iii. community character and identity*).

Mnjikaning has become a leader amongst First Nations, and there is now more interest in just being in the community. Other Nations hold their meetings in Rama, and look to the community for examples of successful business development.

We have a lot of First Nations coming to our community now, and we also have a lot of outside organizations coming to our community now, having meetings at the casino and events and there's been a big change and a big shift, as far as our relationships with the surrounding communities and other First Nations. So we're kind of a catalyst I guess you could say in many, many ways, and people are looking to us as the leaders: we're supposed to lead the way into new initiatives that other people are bringing to our First Nation. [Band Council]

Powwows and social gatherings in the community have grown much larger, partly because there is the added attraction of gambling before and after activities, but also due to the diverse cultures present in the community.

There's 55 First Nations working here now. When we launched our cultural training program, we had all four cultures [from the four directions] in the room at the time, so those pieces are intriguing in terms of what's to happen. [Band Administration and Planning]

From a community administration standpoint, things have become more systemized. Band staff have been divided by political and administrative functions, allowing the community to build a public service separate from the functioning of chief and council. In the process, departments were expanded, people were required to work in teams, and staff had to become much more accountable. Before the casino project began, hours of work were pretty loose and employees came and left whenever they wanted. The work environment is now much more regulated. The band also established workplace policies, including sick and bereavement leave, wrongful dismissals and sexual harassment policies. These new policies signalled to employees what was expected of them, and what they can expect from their employers in this more professional environment.

For instance, our staff is having to become more accountable. I think before casino (sic), the staff had their own way of doing things, and the accountability wasn't so good. [Band Council]

Every community person has had to learn a great deal from this tremendous change that we've had here, so we've grown a lot I think as people, individually, and our experience, we're a lot greater because of all the knowledge that we have now that we didn't have before. [Band Council]

ii. costs

While everyone I spoke with, no matter how opposed to the project, identified some benefits to the community or to individuals in the community, not everyone acknowledged drawbacks. A small group of casino supporters denied any negative impacts at all. The view among many of the casino supporters was that problems in the community, if they even existed, were the fault of individuals or were a result of people's failure to take advantage of opportunities in the community.

I can see there's a lot of anger in the community towards the casino right now, but people haven't really understood the intent of the relationship since day one, so I think that's where the problem lies. If they fully understood it all, there wouldn't be any problems. [Band Council]

The most mentioned complaint was how life on the reserve had radically changed. There is now a constant flow of traffic and a large number of strangers coming into the community,

anywhere from 12,000 to 25,000 a day. There has been a marked increase in speeding offences and impaired driving. When the casino first opened several incidents threatened residents' privacy: people drove up and down the roads in the reserve peeking into houses; they parked their cars in the graveyard to catch a few hours of sleep; several gamblers left their children in their cars for hours at a time; people picnicked on the lawn of the community church (across the road from the casino), and left food garbage and dirty diapers all over the community. People living near the casino felt invaded. Even though the band has put up signs and increased community patrols to prevent these incidents, most of the community members I interviewed no longer feel safe in their community.

I used to, you could just walk up the road and you can't do that now. There's too much traffic, there's strange people, there's speeders -- like people just racing to get to the casino. [Community Member]

I don't feel safe with my children walking up the road anymore -- I worry with all the different people, it would be easy to come along and scoop any one of our kids. And it really frustrates me that people don't have the respect for us, and they drive down the side roads to see what's going on and how Native people live. Especially with our young women, I mean I worry about them, hanging out at the band office, and it's right across the street from the casino. [Social Services]

I mean I don't think you'll find another community, a reserve community in the country or in the continent that has signs on the side road, one right near the graveyard that says "please respect our people's privacy". Why do we have to say that -- we should never have to say that -- we shouldn't have rubber necks driving down our side roads looking for a picnic table or a place to put their garbage from McDonald's but that's what has happened, strangers have moved in. [Community Member]

So yeah it shifted the way that I think about being safe and the community being protected because it's like open season on us. [Social Services]

I mean we have more buildings, but I don't think that the quality of life has gotten better. I think there's still a concern for safety. I find it really stressful every time I hear the fire engines and the ambulances, that's like every day. I'm really worried about people coming into Rama and the children are out playing, as far as safety goes. I would be afraid that a child could be abused. Even though it hasn't happened that we know of, for it to even happen once would be terrible. [Community Member]

Many people expressed feelings of great loss, grief and impotence; their lives had been irreversibly altered, yet they had no power to remedy it. In order for the casino to prosper, and for benefits to

continue, community residents may have to accept many of these changes. Some are not willing to.

On the day the casino opened, one of the seniors tried to ring the church bells, a traditional signal of mourning, to show that for her, the community had died.

I don't know how to describe it, other than such a sense of loss. The littlest things really upset me now. I feel like my security is gone, my sense of who I am is gone. I'm not sure about that anymore, because it's really hard to go to a sweat lodge that's right across the street from the casino. [Social Services]

And for those, there are a few people in the community who haven't been able to change at all, and they've been very resistant and I think in a lot of grief too. It's like a grieving process, what these people are going through, because they like things the way they are and they're grieving that loss, and they're not willing to change and they don't want to accept it either, so there's still a lot of denial as to what's happening in the community. [Band Council]

I think some of the dynamics that are happening are really kind of loss. Kubler-Ross used to do work on the stages of grief and it can apply to a personal loss but also to community loss and one of the stages is anger, and you take your anger out, it might be at a doctor in case it's a loved one dying or anger at God but in our case rather than identify it as a loss they take their anger out on leaders in the community and so I think that's going to continue. I think it's going to be a lot of ongoing problems that may have been here at a smaller level but have been magnified or intensified because of the rapid change in the very short span of time but also the phenomenal change, not just the speed of it but the complexity of it, the magnitude of the change. [Social Services]

The speed of change in the community was also identified as a problem: people had no time to begin coping with one change, and another would occur. Within 6 months of the community becoming fully informed about the casino project, they were selected as the host site. The 'interim' casino opened 18 months later. During that two year period, there was a flurry of land purchases and construction, and there were a lot of jobs and new wealth coming into the community. A lot of money was paid to people who didn't know what to do with it.

A lot of families came into easy money, fast money, sudden money, like we're talking \$300,000 or \$600,000, some of them, just because of where their house was located. And there was a jealousy factor, you know, "how come those families who happen to be living there make that kind of money, and I live a quarter of mile away and I don't get anything". I know some people who have hostile feelings about that. Or, why should one member of the family benefit from a home sold and the rest of the family members not get anything from it? [Social Services]

There's the reality of people coming into that kind of money and not knowing how to budget it, how to manage or invest it. We've already seen examples of that. One person, he got fifty thousand dollars for some property, and he drank it all away, or gave it to friends. So he was living high for a while, being the big hero in the local pubs as long as he had his fifty grand, but now he's broke and back in the community. [Social Services]

At the beginning, when all of the construction was going on at the same time, everywhere, the earth was just getting dug-up, and torn, and the community wasn't looking like a community. There were mounds of dirt here and there and back behind the cemetery, and the mound just kept getting higher and everything was changing. And all I could think was: oh my god, what's going to happen to us, we're not even being thought about here. They're doing all this kind of stuff, and it was like they were literally cutting into us as people, all that activity was really ripping into people, into their hearts. [Social Services]

A significant event for many community members was the erection of a traffic light in the centre of the community, at the main entrance to the casino.

It went from a small town into a city overnight, and it was too much. It should have been a much more gradual process, like the first day I saw those lights go up, I cried, I couldn't handle it. The first morning they were running, I ran a red light, I mean who ever thought there'd be a stop light in Rama. [Social Services]

I never thought we'd ever see a street light in Rama. Actually one day just when they put that street light in I was driving along, I was going past the band office, I was just speeding along there and I just went flying through a red light and I didn't even notice it and there was a car coming out of the casino and they happened to see me and they stopped. [And I said] "Oh my god, there was a red light there and I just about got killed." And oh my god, it took me a long time to get used to that thing ... it was so weird to see a light there. [Social Services]

I never thought we'd see a traffic light in Rama, and we need not one, but we probably need another one in front of the health centre. There are more crashes down there than the 400 highway. [Community Member]

There used to be a joke that if Rama ever needed street lights, it's because we have dogs and dogs kind of jay-walk and that slows down traffic, and that used to be the joke but that ain't a joke no more. [Social Services]

For many, the erection of the traffic light was a very tangible signal that the community had changed.

Community leaders and social services tried to anticipate and plan for the social impacts of the casino. Even though the community now has more social services than any other Native community of its size, the changes precipitated by the casino occurred too quickly for staff to

anticipate the extent of the problems or establish systems to deal with them. Since this was the first enterprise of its kind in Canada, community planners felt the community was breaking new ground, and they had few sources of information on negative impacts. A team of social service workers visited several American reservations which had casinos to get ideas about preventing problems. This group made a series of recommendations, including: providing 'life-skills' and 'work-skills training', such as personal budgeting, time-management, and expected behaviour and responsibilities in the workplace; increasing the amount of day-care available in the community, and extending it to twenty-four hours; and providing cultural activities and billeting for members of other First Nations who work at the casino. All members of the team who made the trip said these recommendations were not acted upon.

Since the casino project began, social service workers have noticed increases in the incidents of domestic violence and child neglect. I personally witnessed two incidents of violence in the casino parking lot. Through informal discussions with community members, I learned that in one month, three women I knew experienced beatings after attending the casino with their partners. One of these incidents was related to losing money at the casino. The community's social services are required to serve the needs of community members as well as crises generated at the casino.

You know the work load for all of us, especially in social services has increased with the casino being here, because there's non-members who are Native working over there who know there's a NNADAP [National Native Alcohol and Drug Addiction Program] worker, who know there's a social worker, who know there's a child welfare worker, and they come to us. You can't turn people away. [Social Services]

Although community services are accessed by the casino clientele and staff, the community has had difficulty getting the casino to pay for them.

The only downfall is they don't pay for our fire department. They'll pay other townships, but not Rama, and we're over there all the time. [Chief and Council]

The need for increased policing services was often identified as a problem.

The structure is still not in place to deal with the new changes that much, it's a growing change for everyone, and its been too fast, too soon and too big. Unfortunately with all the levels of government that we have involved, we're behind where we should be on a lot of things, especially with the police. This place was supposed to be set-up prior to the casino opening, and its, we've gone a year now and its still way behind what we're supposed to be. [Social Services]

You have to have that police presence there. I think you can go into the casino at any time and you can find I think what they call a pointer vehicle on our system, because they're associated with a criminal element, and there'll be a stolen vehicle in there. There's a criminal element at the casino all the time, whether we know they're there or not. There's a lot of people coming here and laundering their money, and we can only do so much, we can only have one person on, and they basically go to the crisis they're responding to, but we can't dig like I'd like to do when we have more officers. [Social Services]

Although there are no definite statistics regarding gambling in the community, almost everyone I spoke with said they knew someone who gambled too much, that their own gambling had gotten out of control in the past, or that they currently spent a lot of time at the casino (whether they identified it as a problem or not). Four interviewees who claimed to enjoy an occasional trip to the casino were identified by friends or family members being problem or pathological gamblers. In every case, the individual claimed to gamble significantly less than their family members or friends attested to. In 2 such cases, more than 4 other people corroborated that the original interviewee had a very serious problem. Out of 53 formal interviews, 16 did not gamble at all, although 4 were not allowed to since they were casino employees. Using criteria from the South Oaks Gambling Screen (see Appendix E), 7 out of 37 were probable pathological gamblers. Nine others fit the South Oaks criteria for having some problem: most commonly they gambled more than they intended, tried to win back money lost through gambling, and borrowed money to pay for gambling debts. This means almost 43 percent of identified gamblers had a problem controlling their gambling.

There's cases where people are running into trouble at the casino as far as losing their house money, their rent money, mortgage money. I'm really concerned for single mothers, single mothers with their children and on the welfare system or on mother's allowance, they mistake the casino as a subsidy for their income, and they go there desperately to win because they're already short of money, and sometimes it puts them even further in the hole. [Social Services]

I think some of our people gamble too much ... I noticed people coming up to me saying "ah, I blew my whole cheque last night" and that's still an issue. But we do have [an] addictions program in place. I don't know how well it's going or anything like that or how many of our people are actually making use of it, but that is in place. [Band Council]

I think there might be a drug addiction or a gambling addiction system, but it's not very visible, you know, and maybe some people don't want to be identified with that either. [Community Member]

I think there are a lot of people spending more money than they can afford to spend. We're not seeing them as clients but they're out there I know. And I see people in there when I go, I see the same people in there and I know that they're in there a lot more than I am. [Social Services]

That's scary when you think that we're creating a problem here. I've always felt that well, we may as well build a casino because if you're a problem gambler you're going to gamble whether there's a casino or not, but I don't think that's true anymore. I think accessibility does make a difference, and people do gamble more than they would have if it weren't here. [Social Services]

Everybody's employed, pretty much [those] that want jobs have gotten jobs. They are very well paid here [as band employees], extremely well paid. They should be moving into a lifestyle that reflects that but I don't see that happening and that worries me. They are probably paid double of what they could earn [outside the community] ... Well I have to wonder if that isn't the casino, like is that where your excess funds are going and that bothers me because this is an opportunity for them but maybe they don't want that, that's their own decision but better things should be happening. I mean everybody has nice cars and that's okay but the people still want more money and that concerns me because then they're not becoming self sufficient, they are becoming dependent on it and that bothers me. They want a raise every 3 months and that doesn't happen anywhere and it's draining on the band and the band has to survive in order for the casino to survive. [Requests for loans have increased] probably by 300 percent, but they're well paid so I have to wonder where that money's going. Like some families are probably making seventy or eighty-thousand dollars a year [income-tax free]. Like that's a lot of money, and they're still continually looking for money, so where is it going? [Band Administration and Planning]

The community has a gambling addictions counsellor, however one year after the casino opened, the program was still in development and hadn't been accessed by many community members. This may

have been because of a lack of knowledge about the program, a lack of understanding of gambling behaviours as an addiction, or an unwillingness to acknowledge problem gambling. The practice ideology of the program is one of non-interference, and as the counsellor told me: “we’re a shy people, but I know if someone has problems, they’ll come talk to me eventually”. This is problematic, given that education about and awareness of a social service are usually key to its success.

As a corollary to individual addictions, interviewees expressed concern about the community’s reliance upon the casino. First Nations communities have often been described as ‘dependent’ upon direct and indirect government transfers. A key selling point for the casino was that it would allow the community to generate revenue and to cease its dependence on other governments. However, approximately one third of interviewees said the community was just transferring this dependence to a new source. Even when the issue of dependence did not come up, about 90 percent of interviewees were worried about the values that children learned as a result of their community profiting from gambling behaviour.

I worry that it’s creating a society that’s dependent upon that building being there. I worry about the youth, I worry a lot about the youth because I think as time goes on and that casino’s there for 10 years or whatever that the youth are going to have no motivation to work. That scares me a lot. [Casino Employee]

The whole mentality of what we’re teaching our kids which I’m really worried about ... easy money and people know you can’t really win. So that part worries me and I mean I’d have to say I wouldn’t be here if we didn’t have the casino, that’s where I get my pay-cheque from essentially, I mean I get it from Rama but they wouldn’t have the money to pay me if they didn’t have the casino. They couldn’t afford to and so I know that’s why I’ve never been hired full-time until the casino came and that goes for a lot of people who work for Rama, so it’s kind of hard to say “no I don’t want it”. Right? [Social Services]

The community looks at the casino as sort of a benevolent god-father or something that needs to be there to take care of all their problems. The casino will solve everything, just give us the money. [Casino Employee]

I'm really concerned about how much gambling has come to the forefront for everybody, for every age level. That really worries me and it isn't just Casino Rama, I think it's all the casinos in Ontario and all of the emphasis on gambling really worries me. [Social Services]

The children at the summer camp put on a presentation, it was quite interesting actually. It was about these two ladies [who] decided they were going to go out to the casino for the evening and they left their two daughters, I guess at home and they were told they could have only one friend over and of course, as soon as they were gone the kids came over. They were all drinking and one person got violently ill from drinking and I think actually she died, but the audience wasn't aware that she had died, and then the mothers came home and they said "oh if we had only been here" ... This was 11 to 14 year olds ... these productions were their own thing. It was quite amazing [Social Services]

And it worries me, because like my son is twelve, and he talks about gambling and how much he's going to spend at the casino when he's grown up and it's common conversation, and it's just part of the culture. I think that's a little scary because it's easy money. It's like I don't have money, so I'll go over there and I'll make some. I don't have to earn my money anymore — I can get it easy. It worries me that we're teaching our kids that. [Social Services]

iii. community character and identity

Questions around culture in the interviews confirmed that as an Ojibway community, Rama has significant cultural differences from non-Native communities. As in most Aboriginal world views, Ojibway culture and spirituality centre around the concept of the circle or medicine wheel. Generally the circle is divided into four quadrants which symbolize different elements, such as the four directions or the four facets of the self (mental, spiritual, physical and emotional). The circle is the whole. All four quadrants are connected, none is more important than another, and balance within the circle is necessary for peace, health and fulfilment. Ojibway spirituality and culture is in a sense based on the Seven Grandfather Teachings: wisdom, love, respect, bravery, honesty, humility and truth. These are principles, with associated characteristics and behaviour, that people need to follow to live a good life. Even those in the community who practice other religions (mostly Christianity) hold these principles and the holistic nature of the circle as essential to their "Indianness". Even though they are Christian, they are still Ojibway and this means they see the

world differently. In this context, interviewees raised the concern that the casino could change the way they thought and behaved as a people.

I think we have to hold on to everything that we know and we have to pass it on to the next generation and they will have to pass it on. We can't let go of it because that's who we are. We think differently than the white society, white society is out there to make a buck, the more toys you have, that sort of thing. I hope we never turn that way because we don't think that way. [Do you think that the casino being here will have any kind of effect?] Yeah, I think it will over time, on how we as a people think. [Band Administration and Planning]

Overall, I think we're a lot better off today than we were three or four years ago in regards to other Native communities who struggle for basic necessities, but maybe have a little more of a serene lifestyle. I think we're better off because I think serenity is up here [touching head]. [Casino Employee]

The pace of our community was getting up and sauntering around and sauntering into work and maybe going fishing or playing around in the backyard with your kids. It's changed. And the wheel is rolling much quicker in Rama, and we're living a faster-paced life in Rama than other First Nations would, both economically and socially. [Social Services]

From a holistic perspective, the community currently lacks balance. While physical and economic aspects of the community are being given prominence, cultural and spiritual aspects are being neglected.

I feel like my security is gone, my sense of who I am is gone. I'm not sure about that anymore, because it's really hard to go to a sweat lodge that's right across the street from the casino. But I keep it in my heart, I keep my culture in my heart, and I try to live it day to day. [Social Services]

When the grand opening occurred we had a powwow ... and there was a lot of anger about the co-optation of culture for economic means. And so there's a danger there that the casino could dress us up in our own buckskins and feathers and try to make a profit off of that. So we need to be careful. [Band Administration and Planning]

Although the majority of community members support the casino project, many do so with reluctance. They believe that there are no other means available to generate money for the First Nation, but they remain uncomfortable with taking money from others for their own gain.

It's just something about the casino business that I really don't like it. It is great, I mean it's wonderful that we have it and we have all that but there's just something insidious about encouraging people to spend their money at something they can't win at. That really bothers me, that's a moral thing for me. [Social Services]

The casino is just after the sickness that people hold within themselves, and they're hoping to grab onto that. [Social Services]

The artists talk about that they saw their art encircling the whole casino and protecting the community from what was going on [inside]. [Band Administration and Planning]

There are things outside of our community that I, out of kindness to our friends outside the borders to this place, [think] we should be considering. I know the casino has its own programs directed by the Ontario government and I hope someday that our council emphasizes the importance of our community taking control of some of that, especially in the nearby area, because it's part of our job to look out for our family, to look out for our friends and neighbours, and that's not happening that I can see. I know there are posters for 1-800 numbers for people who have problems gambling, I know that there's extra policing so that those drunk drivers who are on the roads have a better than average chance of getting caught, but that's not operating from a place of kindness. That's letting people get to a point of having a problem before doing anything about it, and I think our council could do a lot better job than the Ontario government so far has done in looking after our friends, and I hope that someday we get to that point. [Band Administration and Planning]

From a holistic perspective, Rama has real responsibility for the pain that the casino causes people.

However, the community has not put into place programs or systems to address this.

The community's Request for Proposals for the casino operator stated that the casino must fit into the fabric of the community, and not compete with or overwhelm it. Given the size of the community and the relative size of the casino project, this was a possibly naive request that certainly has not held true.

The casino is not sensitive to the community, it's not available to the community. The services they're offering the casino patrons are not being offered to the community. [Community Member]

I would be interested in knowing the casino's values. As far as I'm concerned they're visitors in the community and when you go and visit somebody you're respectful as to their values [and] their rules while you're staying in their house. [Community Member]

I've lost my patience with the casino, and I think they need to take a more active role on the problems and the hardships they are causing, not just in the community but the whole area. [Social Services]

You know, you've got a population of 25,000 here every day, and with that being said, I mean your identity in Rama is lost, because your identity right now is the casino. ... The casino is the number one thing and the culture I think could be very easily lost if they let it. [Social Services]

People used to be here in Rama and they belonged, it was part of them and they were a part of it, but not anymore. And I think if a community loses that belonging totally, I think that community is then lost. [Band Administration and Planning]

The casino administration attempts to actively engage in community life, by hosting feasts, attending cultural events and offering food and services when there is a death in the community. Unfortunately, this has served to focus more criticism on them. About one quarter of interviewees felt this involvement increased community dependence on the casino and removed an opportunity for community members to come together and do something on their own. Casino executives look at fitting into the community from the sense of participating in events, and trying to give 'something back' to community members. They do not consider the casino as a community enterprise or as something from which community members should directly benefit. For example, shuttle buses run 24 hours a day from the casino into Orillia. There is no public bus that goes between Rama and Orillia. The shuttles are for casino patrons alone, and often run empty. Community members do manage to use the shuttles, as long as they are not attempting to return from their grocery or other shopping, since it is too obvious they are not going to the casino. When the casino opened, a dedicated GO Train travelled from Union Station in Toronto to the casino each evening, and returned the next morning. Tickets could only be purchased from Toronto to Rama, and no luggage was allowed. The train was cancelled after two months because of low ridership.

The social atmosphere in the community since the casino started being publicly discussed has been one of discontent and division. One of the major divisions in the community is over religion. In many ways Rama is a community still seeking its identity, and there is much internal conflict over Christianity and traditional spirituality.

I've noticed that since the casino came, the incidence of back-biting and community unrest seems to be on the rise. I think the spirit's been poked in the eye here and I don't know if it's going to recover or not. [Traditional Elder]

I find that a lot of people aren't that traditional. There's a few but they're the ones that keep it going, because I guess a lot of people find that it holds us back if we stick to tradition too much. Because of the change on the reserve - it's growing so fast, in the last two years its grown so much, I hope that people do keep their tradition, yearly celebration and all that, or get together weekdays for talking. [Band Council]

Although this factionalism is not caused by the casino's presence, it has prevented people from coming together as a community to address casino-related problems.

The way other communities perceive Mnjikaning has changed since the community was awarded the rights to host the casino project. The community and its residents have gained some new- found respect in many circles, especially from other governments. Beforehand, the City of Orillia and neighbouring townships had little or no use for Rama. Although children attended school in Orillia and community members shopped and worked in the city, there was a lot of ignorance and prejudice about the community and its residents. Now, since Casino Rama is the second largest employer in the tourism-dependent county, and the community is investing a lot of money in business development, people are suddenly paying attention to Mnjikaning. Since the inception of the casino project, there have been several newspaper articles a week about Rama, and the local television station often films events in the community. The following editorial appeared in *Orillia Today*.

And By the Way: Have you been out to Rama lately? The place is booming. The traffic is non-stop as are the glittery lights of Casino Rama. What's less noticeable but far more interesting is the sense of community which seems to have sprung up. The beautiful new Mnjikaning Sports Arena has been built and the MASK warriors (sic) will take on a team led by the famed Carl Brewer on April 26 during the grand opening. The spirit of the community is alive and well. Bravo! (April 16, 1997)

I can attest that a sense of community did not just "spring up" once the casino opened, but for many unfamiliar with the community, it must certainly seem like it. For residents, the novelty of only being known for one thing has begun to wear off.

For the most part I'm still proud to say I'm from Mnjikaning and when I go somewhere and people will look ... at our address and they say isn't that near Rama? Yeah. Isn't that where the casino is? Yeah. But that's all people see, like there's nothing else here but that. Like I tell them, yes the casino has been there for 13 months now but we have been there for 30,000 years. I don't think they believe me. Then they start asking questions about the summer concerts and have you won any money there so they're not even listening. But it's like we're famous because the casino's here. I'd rather not be famous for that. [Community Member]

People think we're going to be, you know, rich with deep pockets and then they're going to sue us ... and marry us; we'll be like a commodity. The people of our community will be a commodity. [Band Administration and Planning]

I don't think Rama gets a fair shake. When somebody loses a lot of money or something happens, they blame Rama, the people of Rama, and don't think they took it upon themselves. We're going to get a bad name, like the story in the paper with Doug Little⁴, they blame Rama, they blame the casino. [Community Member]

There's a feeling in Orillia that everybody out here is doing really well, driving Cadillacs and Lincolns because the community is getting all of this money from across the street and so this has bred a certain amount of distrust, dislike, despair, and so the lines of communication should improve. [Traditional Elder]

The change in the community since the casino project began has been phenomenal. Some of this change has been quite good. The new MASK recreation centre and arena is a boon to the community and the surrounding area. Employment for community members has increased. The casino is a major employer in the county, and the community has earned the respect of the surrounding municipalities and townships. Other changes were more negative. The increased traffic, the number of strangers in the community, and community members with gambling problems were the most often cited problems attributed to the casino.

While support for the casino project seems to have increased since the casino opened, much of this support was qualified. Community members have been convinced of the necessity of the project to create jobs and to generate revenue for the community, but interviewees expressed

⁴ Doug Little, former president of the Orillia Downtown Management Board and a key supporter of the casino project, was found guilty of embezzling from the Board and various Festival funds to support his gambling addiction.

discomfort about the gambling industry, and about Rama's potential dependence on it. Although people complained about the casino quite freely to me, many were unwilling to be seen as publicly against the project.

A number of interviewees identified discord in the community as a problem. For many, this was a symptom of underlying, unresolved spiritual conflicts between traditional Ojibway spirituality and Christianity. These divisions were not caused by the casino, but the project has certainly exacerbated them. From the interviews, there was no evidence that the casino has yet had an impact on traditional culture in the community.

VI. Community Governance

Rama is governed by a band council, consisting of a chief and five councilors (one councilor for every 100 members living in the community). The chief and council are elected by the on-reserve members in general elections held every two years. The duties and jurisdiction of the band council are specified in the Indian Act (see Appendix F for a description of band council powers). They are empowered to enact band council bylaws, as long as these are not inconsistent with the Indian Act or any regulation made by the Governor in Council or the Minister of Indian Affairs. Band bylaws can encompass areas such as protecting the health of reserve residents, traffic regulation, zoning of reserve lands, control of membership lists and residency. The function of band council historically has been primarily one of community administration and program delivery. Although bands can enact bylaws in the areas of health and community safety, they are constrained by federal and provincial legislation, and are currently only empowered to deliver pre-existing programs. The band council acts as representatives of the community to other governments.

i. change in role and function of government

Since the casino development, the role of Rama's council has expanded considerably. As the local governing body, the chief and council have been managing the community's input into the casino development. This involves frequent meetings with representatives from the Province of Ontario and the casino operator, and has taken time away from other work in the community. Since these data were gathered, the band council has created the Mnjikaning Casino Rama Authority, consisting of up to five council appointed members. Their main responsibilities are to liaise with the casino operator on the community's behalf, advocate for community interests and intervene when the casino operator is not fulfilling the terms of their operating agreement. They are not able to amend the operating agreement or related agreements, or to enter into or terminate an agreement on behalf of Rama, unless directed to do so by chief and council (for their full mandate see Appendix

G). Business development in the community was previously managed by Ramcor, a band corporation under the authority of council. A volunteer community committee acted as the Ramcor board and directed the corporation's activities. A council member sat on the Ramcor board, which allowed the corporation to explore and enter into economic development projects on behalf of the community (for example, the agreement with Bally's mentioned in *Section IV*). While Ramcor still exists, the council assumed the role of the board to more closely direct economic planning. The First Nations Fund has also added to council's workload. Apart from participating with the Chiefs of Ontario in negotiations with the province to release money from the Fund, the chief and community finance officer have made presentations to all of the First Nations in Ontario, to secure 35 percent of the Fund for Rama to develop infrastructure and new businesses to sustain and support the casino development.

Because the council was not able to be as active in community management as in the past, they have begun to establish an administrative structure to do so on their behalf. As previously mentioned, the number of band staff has increased about 300 percent since the beginning of the casino project. The MASK and seniors centre required program and maintenance staff; the social services department expanded; the new water filtration plant and sewage facility required technical workers; the band needed legal advisors; the volunteer fire department became a paid service; the number of police officers increased; and the band now employs an engineer and support team for infrastructure and community planning. The chief and council have divided staff into political and administrative groups. Community programming, lands management and infrastructure and public works staff are in the administration group. Special advisors, the band manager, legal counsel, and support staff to chief and council are in the political group. Separating the council from the daily workings of the community is a positive step for the administration. It is the council's role to set policies and broad directives. The implementation and administration of programs and systems following from these policies should be the role of the band administration.

People still don't realize that the politics are not the same as it (sic) was before, we're in a new ball game now. Its corporate now. And with all these managers, they have to manage on their own. And we're politicians, we're not managers like before. I mean we meet everyday and before we only met once a month. [Band Council]

The shift to less direct involvement by council in daily management of the community has caused resentment. In the past, councilors were often made aware of problems through personal contact by community members. Now that councilors are much busier and are spending less time in the community, members have difficulty gaining access to them. New systems established to better manage community administration are seen by many as contributing to the problem. Councilors are each assigned about 5 or 6 portfolios for which they are responsible. Portfolio areas include lands, self-government, administration, finance, infrastructure operations, health and social services. Councilors generally will not discuss issues outside of their own portfolios. As well, instead of speaking directly to councilors, community members and program staff are expected to first approach the band manager or council advisors, and rely upon them to relay their concerns to the portfolio holder, or to the next council meeting. This has lead to the idea that councilors are deliberately insulating themselves from the community.

We elected these guys to council, not to a certain portfolio, but if you go to them with a problem they say, "oh, that's not in my portfolio, go see so-and-so". They've totally lost any connection with what's going on in the community. [Community Member]

Sure they work hard but they still got (sic) to address us too. Rama has grown huge, with so many departments and if you don't have a loud voice you're not going to get anywhere or you're not going to get your needs met: the loudest one gets the whatever, you know what I mean? [Senior]

I mean I have to admire them, the dedication they have. It's hard to meet everybody's needs at the same time. I think they are doing a good job, but we're getting lost in the shuffle because of the casino. [Community Member]

What do we do if we think they're doing something dead wrong? We phone the band manager and try to get on the agenda for council, which isn't very successful. It's like they're almost guarded by people, they've got all these watchdogs around them. They've got secretaries, they've got voice mail, they've got somebody at the front [of the band office] that they never did before. They're not seen as

particularly open. I mean, I've talked to people who were trying to track down one person, one member of council for something because it was in that person's portfolio, and the person damn well knows they're looking for them, and they avoid them like the plague, because they're so protected they can do that. [Social Services]

Band councilors, overall, have more responsibility than before the casino project came into the community, but they are seen as being less open to allowing the community to scrutinize their actions. They are often not willing to discuss their decisions publicly and actively resent any criticism.

I just wish that the community would try to be more understanding and not to be so hard on the people that are in charge here in the leadership, and they should trust them instead of jumping the gun. Let them try and work on the stuff. That's the only problem I see; they're voted in and they should just leave them alone and let them do their job. [Band Council]

I have voiced my concern a few times but it seems to be to me that you're shot down by chief and council when you speak against the casino so I don't bother any more. [Social Services]

Being a councilor now requires an expanded knowledge set, especially in the areas of business and corporate development. Most of the band councilors have a high school education or less. Educating and informing the council should be the role of the bureaucracy or council advisors, but they are also new to these processes.

I don't know how chief and council do their jobs, because they are running a multi-million dollar corporation, and no one has any experience at it. Like, they just sort of got thrown into it. It takes probably 30 years [of] business experience out in the white world to become the head of a corporation. And Carnival, they think that chief and council should be at that level, and that's going to change every two years. You're going to have to bring everybody up to speed again. [Band Administration and Planning]

The short term of office was identified as a structural factor that limits council's ability to effectively manage the post-casino community.

There's not enough continuity there so it's hard for us to advance at the speed which we were at by the time of the last election because there's only two people that got re-elected. I imagine the job is hard for them to do now because a lot of it is backing up, re-educating the people that are in there now and trying to take Rama forward. So it takes time to get council up to speed with all the things that we were

doing. I imagine a lot of the stuff that we thought were good ideas the new council had turned down, so there goes time and energy there. I think that we need to have longer terms so that we can complete a lot of the stuff that we initiate as opposed to starting something and another council comes in and finishes it off. With them not having all the knowledge and background it's hard for them to get a clear picture of what they're dealing with. [Band Administration and Planning]

It takes council a year before they understand what's actually going on or what has been going on, what are the legalities of the Indian Act, what are the legalities of these operating agreements. [Band Administration and Planning]

Since the beginning of the casino project council has constantly been playing catch-up with casino executives and provincial representatives. The differences in business experience and inequities in access to resources and expertise have really disadvantaged chief and council. This makes it difficult for them to protect community interests.

An example of where this lack of experience had potential to negatively affect the community happened during negotiations with the Ontario First Nations around Mnjikaning's 35 percent share of the First Nations Fund. When the chief and council were lobbying for the increased portion of the Fund, they never fully disclosed benefits the community was receiving from the casino. Annually, Mnjikaning receives a total of \$8 million from the casino: a \$4.5 million allotment and \$3.5 million for the land. This money goes directly into a community trust fund that cannot be accessed until 2006, 10 years after the casino opened. When the Ontario First Nations chiefs found out about these benefits they were outraged, and felt that the band council were being greedy and dishonest. It took months of meetings and negotiations to convince the chiefs that omitting this information was an error on the part of the council and not a deliberate attempt at deception. This error could have been costly for the community through the loss of the 35 percent portion of the First Nations Fund, and the loss of support from other First Nations in an unsupportive political climate. It was difficult for Rama to rebuild trust with the other communities, and council still needs to be extra careful in ensuring transparency in their negotiations.

ii. community priorities

In the past there were two mechanisms used to identify community priorities. The first was formal consultative processes, such as L.E.R.N. in 1984 and the kitchen table dialogues. Council essentially asked community members to identify community needs and important issues. They then came together in community meetings to prioritize issues and construct a community plan. In between planning sessions, community committees coordinated work in identified priority areas (i.e. economic development or recreation). The second method was less formal, and involved personal interaction with the chief and council. The best way to inform council that there was a problem in the community was to call them on the phone, go to one of their houses, or talk to them at community events.

Historically, priorities have focussed upon community infrastructure (such as paving roads, building better housing, and improving public spaces like parks and community halls), economic development (especially creating job opportunities on the reserve) and social development. Since the 1984 planning process, improvements in community infrastructure have meant that economic development and social concerns have become more achievable as priorities.

The casino development got underway as the community was embarking on a new planning process. The casino project eclipsed this process, and essentially priorities other than those related to the casino were put on hold. At the same time, council became much busier, and there was a general feeling among interviewed community members that chief and council are not adequately informing the community as to what they're doing. This has left community members feeling neglected, misinformed and ignored. This council is formally the most consultative in the community's history; however, informally they have often been absent from the community, and have not satisfactorily communicated with the community about the casino project or about their activities. Lack of frequent, informal access to the chief and council has hindered a primary mechanism for identifying community priorities.

Because the money in the First Nations Fund is being held up, and the casino is making fantastic profits, rumours have started that council members are keeping money for themselves. There is a historic basis for these fears, since prior administrations have come under investigation for misuse and misdirection of band funds. However, with the casino project and the associated interest from the province and other First Nations in community finances, the band has had to become financially accountable. This new caution around finances has reduced the amount of money flowing from the band to individuals in the community and has fed the rumour mill. Since community members no longer have as much access to council members and band monies, they feel that community needs aren't being addressed.

At community meetings they already know what they are going to say, they have it all written down, and you don't want to ask them a question because they'll know who the trouble-makers are, who to go after. [Community Member]

Look at these guys, they said first we were supposed to get the money from the casino and now they have it all locked up. But I found out at the community meeting that they are using that money to pay their own bills, so who knows what will be left for us? They're just paying themselves too. They're always going on meetings and they expect their meals and accommodations to be paid for all the time. [Senior]

Too many people aren't aware of what's going on, even though there's community meetings. There's more rumours than you know, it's ... I don't know how to fix that. You send out papers, people don't read them; you have community meetings and not everybody attends; you have the same people all the time when you have community meetings. [Band Administration and Planning]

I hear complaints all the time of council doing things behind closed doors and not adequately telling people in the community what they're doing. On the other hand, community members are not adequately telling council what they want. [Traditional Elder]

The most difficult part is to communicate to the people, even though we have people working in areas of communication, and even though we have the grapevine, and you know how fast that spreads. But it's miscommunication, and gossip and rumour. I think that is the big poison, the big killer of our community spirit. [Band Council]

I know that chief and council are there to act on behalf of the people but a lot of times, well I've heard from different community members that sometimes they're kind of pissed off because we voted those people in to act on our behalf and often times it seems like they're just going and they're making all these decisions but they don't let the community know what's going on. [Social Services]

A year after the casino had opened, council was still reacting to issues arising from the project that needed immediate attention. Carnival is a large corporation with extensive corporate resources; while Rama's capacity is growing, the council and the community are no match for the corporation. Essentially this has meant that the council responds to issues as they come up, which has been often. Whatever else they were working on falls off of the table until the casino-related work is done.

It's hard for the council to set priorities, because I am not entirely, and council would probably argue with me, but they're not entirely sure of what the community's priorities are. [Band Administration and Planning]

[They need to] give as much priorities (sic) to issues in the community as they do to the casino. And I know that that's probably a hard thing to do because the casino issues right now are taking up a lot of time, we're trying to get all of these money issues settled with the other First Nations, there's still on-going talks about the hotel, there's still so much going on with that over there, but they have to look after things here too. Some times it seems like some things are put on the back-burner that involve the community, that are issues here. [Band Administration and Planning]

There was no consultation. A lot of stuff is happening now where there's no consultation and I think that if you're taking a message back to council that's one of the messages that I think needs to be shared. There's a real feeling that things are out of hand, that the casino is taking over. I see it personally that the American way has invaded the community, and [created] the feeling of powerlessness. [Social Services]

At the time of the interviews the band had no system in place to help set priorities. The formal planning process had been postponed, and the informal mechanism used before was no longer feasible. They only recently started keeping social data to track rates of problems in the community. This has meant that they are unable to measure if their priorities are being addressed and whether programs and interventions are on the right track. For example, the objectives for the casino project, set in the community's proposal to the province (see page 22) were written by a lawyer employed

by the community at the time, and were submitted without input from the community. The community and its members were sold on these broad goals for the casino project, such as increasing their self-sufficiency, generating capital for the use of First Nations communities, and creating a First Nations management and skilled work-force, but these goals were never broken down into measurable outputs. The initiators of the proposal believed that once they put into place the macro policy or mechanism (such as the casino), then the desired outcomes would naturally occur. As part of their planning, they had not worked out the implementation details to achieve these objectives. If they wanted to create a skilled Native work-force, they should have asked what resources, programs and supports would this involve? Would training be necessary? What is meant by skilled? How many Native workers are they talking about - 10, 100, 1000? Although some of these questions were raised by social service workers, they were not taken into account by project planners, which has meant the project is falling short of meeting their objectives. To use the same example, because these questions went unasked at the beginning, the casino has had a difficult time keeping its Native employees and has had to approach the community about putting into place proactive recruitment and support programs for Native people.

They just get these big pictures and they need to start working through some of the details which sort out the bigger pictures. You can't always work in the big picture, you can't always put big policies in place, because those policies get implemented in the details. So if you don't look at the details, you don't know that it's all just words. You've got to look at some of the details, and that's what I think they need to start doing, is asking those questions. [Casino Employee]

The original and approved proposal the community submitted was for a casino-resort complex on the shores of Lake Couchiching, which included a hotel and convention centre. An interim casino facility was constructed to start making money while the permanent site was being developed. This interim casino is now the permanent site. In order to keep from 'losing their market share', the community is actively seeking ways to further develop into a tourist destination. They have secured financing to build a 600-room, 14 story hotel and convention centre on the site of the

interim casino, and have just finished construction on a strip mall, which will contain a bank, a grocery store and some restaurants. A privately financed gas station and upscale coffee shop has just opened (land is leased from the community) outside of the casino exit, and another gas station is soon to begin construction. Council is also accepting proposals to develop the water-front at the originally proposed casino site. They are personally reviewing all of these developments. Through trying to maintain the profitability of the casino, provincial negotiations, infrastructure planning and related commercial developments have superceded any other issues for the council. In this way, the casino development and the associated strong emphasis on tourism, is continuing to dominate and direct the community's priorities.

That's the part of the casino that's necessary. It will end up dominating part of our community in five years time, because in order to compete in this environment there has to be other draws than just the casino, and so there has to be something done. Hotel buildings, commercial zones, that has (sic) to be considered if we want the casino to continue to be what it was designed to be, which was our tool, our economic engine to self-government. [Band Administration and Planning]

That's what we want to be: we want to be a major tourist attraction and we're far from it. We entertain four million people already and that's a major tourist attraction but the task is going to be maintaining that and the last thing I want to see is a white animal (sic) in the middle of the field in Rama. That wouldn't be good, so we've got our work cut out for us, all of us. We need to educate our people, our people need to make a commitment. They need to accept responsibility for themselves and they need to identify where they want to go as individuals and the leaders like myself and others have to show them how they can get from a to z. [Casino Employee]

iii. control of decision making

Community members contended that decision-making authority has been taken out of the hands of the elected chief and council. This is the result of two factors: the involvement of the bureaucracy in community administration along with an increased number of professional advisors in the community; and an overestimation of the power that chief and council are able to exercise over the casino project.

Because councilors lack formal education and business experience, they have hired persons

with needed expertise to act as advisors or in a professional capacity for the band (i.e. lawyers, accountants, engineers). The majority of these positions have been filled by people from outside the community, because the expertise did not exist in the community, and neutrality or impartiality in regard to community politics was often necessary. Some of these people are non-Native, and this has been a focus of community resentment.

We have so many non-Natives who are working here now and I think council is probably listening more to them than the people. I mean I don't like saying that but it just appears that way. [Social Services]

We cannot give our decision making powers away, and when we do this we're going to suffer grave, grave consequences. We hire lawyers, and our lawyers as far as I'm concerned, are advisors and our council needs to be ever mindful not to let lawyers and consultants ever do the decision making. Now, when documents come on to the council table, I've seen some of these documents, and I've read some, and I'll read through it and I'll go, that's at an education level that I'm not at and I don't understand what's there. I see our lawyers as advisors. I'd go to my lawyer, if I were a council member, I'd go to my lawyer and say read this document, now tell me in layman's terms what does this document mean. And now, you go out there and leave the decision making to me, thank-you very much, you've done your job, I understand what its about, I'll make the decision. Well, in a lot of cases I don't see that happening [Social Services]

There is a danger that council may allow their advisors too much decision-making power, and this certainly was the case during the casino proposal process (particularly in the agreement with Bally's). Given that advisors, especially the non-Native ones, are under constant scrutiny, this risk is somewhat minimized.

As well, there are multiple players when it comes to making any decision regarding the project: the province of Ontario; the casino operator (Carnival); all of the First Nations in Ontario; and Rama. The council is responsible for representing both the needs of Rama and those of the other First Nations. This can place them in a conflict between the profitability of the enterprise and impacts on the community. If it is decided that the casino or related enterprises need to expand to keep or increase profits and continue to channel money to First Nations communities, but this expansion will have negative impacts in Rama, what is the role of the chief and council? Do they

attempt to protect their citizens, or do they favour the needs of the other First Nations? Currently there is no mechanism to address this conflict.

The council has no legal capacity over corporate policy or decision-making at the casino, such as in human resource or wage policies. Council can give its input into such policies, and can identify where they believe there is a problem, but the operating agreement delegates such authority to the operator. This is an obvious flaw in the operating agreement, however, it is one that is not understood by community members who view the failure of council to affect casino policies as a sign of their weakness as leaders.

I just can't see that the band has control over it now. I feel like they are controlling us, sort of taking over. I feel like it's a big mass that's covering the community little by little and we aren't controlling it. [Community Member]

I'll make a prediction that at every election there's going to be a new council because of the casino, because the council was not able to take control of it, and people are going to see that and they're going to want strong leadership. [Band Administration and Planning]

Given that the casino was promoted as 'an economic engine' to support self-government, the inability of council to have control over the project is a serious problem. Economic self-sufficiency is essential to self-government since it means the community is no longer dependent upon other governments to fund its essential services.

The concept of self-government is also very contentious. There was no consensus or even wide support for the idea. In some ways, the debate is reminiscent of the one preceding the casino: on one side are the community members who do not believe the community has the capacity or a sufficient level of accountability to support self-government, and on the other side are people who think doubters just need to learn more about the idea, and then they'll be 'sold'.

You got to sell it to the people first. I know if people don't understand it they'll never, they'll just say no to it. They got to understand, they got to take ownership of it, and that's where I think council has got to push them to make the better understanding. [Band Council]

Things are fine the way they are. It's nice to have the federal government to fall back on. ... At least they keep the council in check, they can't just decide to do something and go ahead, they have to answer to the government. [Senior]

I think the time has long since come and gone that a foreign government has the right, the knowledge to determine what's best for a Native community. But in Native communities themselves, all of the traditional things have been sort of eroded away, so they aren't quite ready to launch in that direction yet. [Traditional Elder]

The band council is currently in the process of negotiating jurisdiction from Indian Affairs in three areas: its constitution (which defines the scope of community governance), a land code (so land use is regulated and decided upon by the community) and a membership code (which determines who is and who is not a member of the band). These processes are not just matters of obtaining jurisdiction from Indian Affairs; they also are an opportunity for the community to establish the frameworks and foundations of community governance. These new policies are being developed through consultation with the community, and all need to be ratified by a vote of at least 70 percent of the band's membership, not simply those who reside on the reserve (over half of the band membership live off-reserve). The issue of casino influence has serious potential impact on the land code and the membership code.

Currently, land management, band membership and residency are among powers delegated to the band. However, the criteria the band must follow in these areas are decided through the Indian Act. The land code process, if ratified, would mean that Rama would "opt out" of the Indian Act sections directing land management, and that Indian Affairs could no longer exercise any authority over the reserve's lands. The current draft code has a provision that the band can expropriate a member's property if it is to be used "for community purposes or works benefiting the community". Unfortunately, for many councilors and community members, profitability and the capacity to generate money are the main criteria for any kind of development in the community. It is possible that in the future, 'works benefiting the community' could be interpreted to mean 'works benefiting the casino'.

Band membership is also determined by the Indian Act. Historically, community members have been disenfranchised through attaining post-secondary education, through adoption in a non-Native family, or if female, through marrying someone without Indian Status. In the same way, non-Native people have become registered Indians through marriage. The membership code is an opportunity for the community to decide its own membership, which also determines who has rights to resources and services offered by the community. This is where the casino has the potential to influence this process. About one third of the people I interviewed felt they were entitled to per capita payments from the casino monies currently in trust, and any payments the community receives from the First Nations Fund. There has been a marked increase in requests from members of other bands to transfer their membership to Rama, quite possibly to cash-in on casino benefits. Because of the very large amounts of money at stake, there is an incentive for the membership code to be very restrictive, so casino benefits, however divided, will be shared amongst a smaller pool.

The casino has had profound impacts on community governance. The lack of access to councilors has meant that a key process for the reciprocal exchange of information between the council and the community has been greatly diminished. This has led to mistrust and suspicion on the part of the community, and frustration and resentment on the part of council. While the new administrative structures for the band further remove councilors from the direct management of community programs and systems, it could allow them to focus on more macro issues and to better plan for and anticipate problems in the community. They need to continue establishing new systems. Approximately 8 months after these interviews were completed, the council engaged an outreach team to conduct 'kitchen-table dialogues', where they shared information about council activities, and found out community members' questions and concerns. This needs to be an ongoing process, where the council and the community have a formal chance to check-in with each other. As well, there is a need to establish systems to protect the community's interest vis-a-vis casino-related

development. As mentioned above, the council is in a potential conflict as representatives of both the community and the Ontario First Nations. They need to establish a protocol to deal with such a conflict before one arises.

Impacts of the casino on community governance become even more significant in the context of self-government. The negative experiences with the casino project have demonstrated that ramming through a major project without allowing enough time for people to become at least educated, if not comfortable, with it is a bad idea. A lot more education needs to happen in the community about self-government, and what kinds of responsibilities it involves for citizens. Community participation will need to be strong for it to succeed. Also, the issue of casino influence on the band council *has* to be addressed before self-government can become a reality. The creation of the Mnjikaning Casino Rama Authority was a positive step in disentangling council from the project. The establishment of other authorities, similar to executive councils, to look after issues such as economic development would also help. Another idea would be to make one or two of the MCRA seats elected positions. That way, people inclined to run for council as a way of interacting with the casino project can instead attempt to be elected to the authority.

VII. Conclusions and Recommendations for Further Research

The 53 interviews I conducted in 1997 gave a thorough picture of Mnjikaning a year after the casino opened. They demonstrated quite strongly that casino development has been extremely disruptive. Rama gained some very obvious benefits, including jobs, new buildings, and increased public influence. There are also many costs. The way of life in the community has fundamentally changed, and will continue to do so with further casino-related developments, such as the planned hotel, museum and commercial centres. My concern with the development, is that while the positive impacts of the casino are quick and tangible, they may be short lived. The Ontario government is expanding casino gambling and therefore reducing profits available to Casino Rama. As well, many negative effects have yet to be seen, and may be more long-term. One interviewee said she saw the casino's impacts on the community as being like a stone dropped in the water. We were still close to the centre, in the first ripple, and we had no idea how far those ripples would go, or how long that impact would last. It will be generations before we know what the final cost to the community will be.

It's easy to take that money but what have we lost by taking it? I think we've given up a lot to get us this far. Putting that building in our midst with that many people coming every day has changed the face of the community and we can't ever go back. There's been good that's come out of it and there's been bad that's come out of it, and it's not over yet. But I think it ends up being an important part of our future.
[Community Member]

One offshoot of the casino that has potential for improving life in the community is the planned Aboriginal museum and cultural centre. The museum would highlight the history of Mnjikaning and other First Nations in the area. The community is associated with a major archaeological site, the fish weirs, that would form the cornerstone of the museum, which may also include a research centre and a Native archaeology institute. The cultural centre would exist to share information and teachings of the Ojibway with visitors to the community. It would also be a place for people from other First Nations, and non-Native cultures to come and share their ways with

each other. Rama will certainly have the money to embark on such interesting projects and the community should be wealthy enough to achieve a very high quality of life. The call for per capita distributions from the trust fund, and from any profits accruing to Rama from the First Nations Fund, is really worrisome. The community could achieve economic self-sufficiency through smart investment of the capital in the trust fund alone. Breaking it up into individual allotments will diminish this potential. As well, the large amounts of ‘free’ money given to community members at the beginning of the casino project created some serious problems, and the council would be wise not to repeat that situation.

With the casino project, community social services have been greatly taxed. While Mnjikaning possibly has one of the largest social service teams in the country for a community of its size, it is still not enough. The community has been redesigning its social services to incorporate a more holistic approach to health and healing, and within this model, there is a need for increased resources for community education about gambling addictions, and for treatment programs. Another important service the community should offer is ‘work-skills’ and ‘life-skills’ training. Especially in a community with historically high unemployment, where some families have not worked for generations, this kind of education is essential, and could help ameliorate on-the-job issues (such as chronic lateness), as well as larger social issues.

The casino has greatly impacted the community’s governing structures, exerting influence over community decisions and priorities. The band council has started to take some positive steps to temper this influence, such as the separation of community administration and political direction and the creation of the Mnjikaning Casino Rama Authority. In national discussions around self-government, First Nations leaders speak about the need for creating an Aboriginal public service, which can offer expertise to small, under-resourced communities. Rama will be in a similar position in a few years to share their experiences with other First Nations. There is still need for greater communication and transparency in council functions. The council needs to better communicate

what it is doing and why, especially with new resources and increased business development coming into the community.

For other First Nations communities considering casino development, there are lessons to be learned from Rama's experience. First, I would recommend in the process leading up to the development to be very clear with community members as to what the negative aspects of the development can be. In Rama (as is the case in many non-Native communities), the benefits from the casino were overestimated while the negative effects were seriously downplayed. A more balanced way of presenting the issue could be to predict the best possible scenario for the community: for example, everyone in the community is employed, happy and rich. Then predict what would be the worst scenario: for example, the band is bankrupt, everyone is addicted to gambling, and the casino has closed because it was losing money. Then decide if your community is willing to live with both of the scenarios. Alternatively, William Eadington, an American gambling policy advisor, suggests trying to separate the issue of gambling from the issue of gambling profits. If your community would not allow a casino strictly as an entertainment venue, then it should not allow one on the basis of the profits it will generate (Eadington, 1996a). Admittedly, both of these suggestions are highly simplistic, and do not take into account all of the variables that would influence the decision to bring gambling into a community, however, they can focus community discussion around possible costs and benefits. If they are honestly assessing possible negative impacts, they can be better equipped to plan for and resource appropriate social programs. I would also recommend extensive consultation with other communities, Native and non-Native, about the social impacts of casinos. Rama did some consultation in this area, but failed to follow-up on the recommendations.

Another consideration for First Nations communities using casinos as economic development is how the casino will be managed and who controls corporate policy. A lot of struggle in Rama could have been reduced, if not eliminated, if the First Nations Casino Project process had

been managed differently by the province. Instead of having the First Nations bid for the rights to the casino, the province could have contracted with an provincial level organization such as the Chiefs of Ontario (COO). All of the First Nations have representation at COO, and could have decided on where the casino would be located amongst themselves. The community hosting the casino would still receive benefits, such as the money for leased land and the community allotment, but they would not be solely responsible for making executive level decisions, or negotiating with casino operators and the government. A provincial organization has a larger pool of expertise to draw from than a small community, and would be able to build management capacity in all First Nations, instead of focusing it in one. As well, many of the problems in Rama have been a result of conflicts with the casino operator over corporate policy. It is important to decide before signing an agreement whether the community or organization wants control over setting policy for the casino, and which specific policies they would like included.

While conducting this study I realized that there is a great need for research on the proliferation of casinos and the gambling industry. Specifically in Rama, there needs to be a systematic examination of gambling among community members, and a commitment of resources to community addictions programs. It would also be useful to conduct a longitudinal study of community impacts to truly chronicle the costs and benefits of casino development. The impacts of the casino on the community's children especially needs to be examined. Specifically, what are their attitudes towards gambling, the rates of gambling and gambling problems amongst children and youth and in their families, what is their involvement in 'the industry', and how do they view their community.

In general, the whole issue of governments promoting harmful behaviours like gambling to fill public coffers requires serious examination. As well, the interviews revealed anecdotal evidence of bad labour practices in the gambling industry that is in need of further research.

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APPENDIX A – INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Could you please tell me a little bit about yourself, such as where you work (if employed), what you do, how long you have lived in Rama, etc.?
2. Have you been involved with the casino project at any time? If so, how?
3. Did you initially support the decision to have a casino in Rama? Why or why not? Have your opinions changed since then? What has been a factor in changing your opinion?
4. Do you go to the casino? How often? Alone or with others? Do you play while you are there? Do you plan before you go how much money you will spend? How much money do you usually spend?
5. Do you feel that life in Rama has gotten better or worse since the province selected the community for the First Nations casino? For whom? What specific changes have you noticed? Could you identify key events, moments or issues that illustrate these changes? How has the casino affected you, or your family in particular?
6. What do you hope for the community in the future, say, five years from now? In what ways is the community different/the same? How do you see the community getting from here to there? Where is the casino in this vision?
7. What does self-government mean to you? Do you see Rama achieving this? What needs to happen in Rama for self-government to become a reality. Where or how does the casino fit into your vision of self-government for the community?
8. What do you see as some of the priorities for council? Who is setting these? Do you feel that a vehicle or forum exists for communicating ideas between the community and council?
9. How would you characterize the relationship between the band and the casino? Between the neighbouring townships and municipality?
10. How important are Ojibway culture and traditions to you? How important do you feel they are to the community? How do you see our culture being practiced in Rama? Do you feel that the casino has affected or will affect this?
11. Is there anything else you wanted to tell me about your experiences with the casino, or events in the community that these questions haven't covered? Who else do you think I should speak with?

The initial interviewees had found some of the questions confusing, so these were revised for further interviews. Question number 4, regarding gambling behaviour originally read:

Do you go to the casino to gamble? How often? Alone or with others? Do you plan before you go how much money you will spend? How much money do you usually spend?

The question needed to be less direct, since the initial interviewees became very anxious when I asked it, and it sounded accusatory to me. I also discovered that a large number of people went to the casino on a regular basis to eat supper and see live music, so asking if they went to the casino to gamble didn't entirely capture their attendance patterns. I replaced the word "gamble" with "play" since it was closer to the language people used when they described their gambling and was less challenging.

The question about perceptions of leadership and governance in the community also needed revision:

Who do you see as being leaders in the community? Who do you see as calling the shots on council? Are these the same people as the elected leaders? What is your opinion of how they are doing their jobs (both perceived and elected leaders)?

The question was too direct, and the initial interviewees thought I was asking them to name individuals or assign blame for events in the community. This was replaced with questions 8 & 9.

One problem with the interview order was that questions 6 & 7 are visioning in nature, where the interviewee is asked to articulate what they would like to see happening in the community and then think of what steps are needed to get there. When they came to question 8, about council priorities, the majority of people were still considering what they would like to see instead of what they actually thought was happening. To remedy this, I used probing questions such as "what do you think their priorities are now", or "are their priorities close to the ones you've just mentioned".

The question regarding spirituality turned out to be the most provocative of all of the questions, which is why I moved it to the end after the initial interviews. Rama is a community that is quite divided around the issues of spirituality, particularly along a Christian and Ojibway traditionalist line. When the question appeared earlier in the interview, interviewees had trouble refocusing on further questions. All respondents answered this question with real conviction. Once it was at the end of the interview and there was no need to focus on other issues, interviewees were freer to vent or explore their ideas.

APPENDIX B – LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

Karen Anderson Campbell
Box 44, Rama ON, L0K 1T0

[Date]

Aaniin. I am writing to you for two reasons: first, to introduce myself and the project I am working on, and second, to ask whether you are willing to participate in an interview with me.

To begin with, I am Harvey and Sue Anderson's daughter. I have been living away from Rama for about six years in order to go to school. I finished my Bachelor of Arts at Carleton University in Ottawa four years ago, and am now working on a Master of Social Work with the University of Manitoba, under the supervision of Dr. Neil Tudiver. I am currently gathering data for my thesis report, which is about the impact that the casino has had upon our community's ability to plan for and govern itself. I am interested in the impressions and feelings of community members about how the casino is affecting decision-making and governance in the community. I am not out to 'prove' whether the casino is right or wrong, a good or a bad thing, but only to see how it has changed, and is changing, our lives.

In terms of the amount of time you'll need to spend with me, I will leave that up to you, although I hope that you will be able to set aside at least one hour for the interview. I would like to be able to tape record the interview although that too will be up to you. An informed consent form is attached so that you are fully aware of the storage and access arrangements that I have made with regard to this interview. Copies of the final report will be given to the Band Office, the Community Library, and the Rama United Church. You may also have a copy if you'd like.

I will be in touch with you during the next week to arrange the interview. If you would like to speak to me before then, please don't hesitate to phone me at 325-0806, or to drop by my office any time during the day, in the Rama United Church Hall. I am really looking forward to speaking to you.

Chi Miigwech,

Karen Anderson Campbell

APPENDIX C – CONSENT FORM

Letter of Consent

I, _____, agree to participate in an interview with Karen Campbell in relation to the research project undertaken to complete the requirements for a Master of Social Work Degree, described in the attached letter.

I understand that my participation in this interview involves:

- * participating in a face-to-face interview of approximately one hour at a mutually agreed upon time and place;
- * audio-taping of this interview; the tape and transcripts of it will be erased, destroyed or returned to me when Karen Campbell has completed her use of them. Only Karen Campbell will have access to the audio-tape and transcripts of it;
- * use of the information from the interview in assorted written and oral venues, including a thesis report, public presentations, periodical publications and articles in popular media;
- * protection of my confidentiality by not including my name or identifying details in any presentations or publications, unless I give written permission to waive this provision;
- * the right to withdraw at any time, or to refuse to answer specific questions.

Signed:

I want my confidentiality to be protected:

OR I am willing to be quoted by name:

OR I am willing to be quoted by name unless I specify otherwise in the course of the interview:

AND I give permission for the interview to be tape recorded:

OR I do not give permission for the interview to be tape recorded

Date: _____

APPENDIX D – CODING LIST

CODE	EXPLANATION	?#
Ci-mt	Casino involvement – community meetings	2
Ci-fw	Casino involvement - Trip to foxwoods	2
Ci-pr	Casino involvement - Worked on the proposal	2
Ci-em	Casino involvement - Current employee	2
ci-fe	Casino involvement - Former employee	2
ci-no	Casino involvement - No involvement	2
ci-lo	Casino involvement - logistics of operation (traffic, parking, security)	2
ci-in	Casino involvement - infrastructure (construction, sanitation, etc.)	2
ci-im	Casino involvement - implementation team	2
ci-op	Casino involvement - helped with grand opening	2
ci-	Casino involvement -	2
ci-	Casino involvement -	2
ci-	Casino involvement -	2
ci-	Casino involvement -	2
i-opp	Initially opposed to casino	3
i-sup	Initially supported casino	3
i-und	Initially undecided	3
c-opp	Changed opinion to opposed to casino	3
i-sup	Changed opinion to supported casino	3
nc	No change in opinion towards casino	3
--si	--because of the social impacts	3
--jo	--because of the jobs it would create	3
--ep	--because of the economic potential	3
--sg	--because of increased capacity to become self-governing	3
--cr	--because of the criminal element associated with casinos and gambling	3
--tr	--because fo traditional beliefs	3
--mf	--because of mitigating factors (MASK, seniors complex, the art wall, etc.)	3
--dc	--because of the potential to divide the community OR the community was already divided	3
--sec	--because of the secretive way ‘the concept’ was pursued	3
--prs	--felt pressured into a decision (too fast, not enough information)	3
att	Attends casino	4
att0	Doesn’t attend casino	4
gam	Gambles while at the casino	4
ngam	Does not gamble while at the casino	4
--res	Goes for meals	4
--mus	Goes to listen to music	4
--obs	Goes to people watch	4
attf1	Goes everyday	4
attf2	Goes more than once per week	4
attf3	Goes once per week	4
attf4	Goes more than once per month	4
attf5	Goes once per month	4
attf6	Goes more than once every three months	4
attf7	Goes once every three months	4

attf8	Goes more than once every 6 months	4
attf9	Goes once every six months	4
attf10	Goes more than once a year	4
attf11	Goes once a year	4
attf12	Has been once	4
--alo	Goes alone	4
--oth	Goes with others	4
--\$pl	Plans how much money will spend while gambling	4
--\$pt	Does not plan how much money will spend while gambling	4
qu-i	Quality of life in Rama has improved since we got the casino	5
qu-d	Quality of life has declined since we got the casino	5
qu-nc	There has been no change in quality of life since we got the casino	5
--emp	There are more people from the community employed	5
--\$\$\$	There is more money in the community	5
--mask	The MASK	5
--sc	The seniors complex	5
--yth	Affecting the community's youth	5
--lds	Community leaders under more stress -- higher workload and ability required	5
--bss	Band staff under more stress -- higher workload and ability required	5
--sss	Social services under more stress -- higher workload and ability required	5
--xprom	Broken promises	5
--cas com	The needs of the casino are taking priority over the needs of the community	5
--#s	Increase in the number of people in the community	5
--saf	Concerns about safety (community not as safe as before the casino)	5
--pace	Change of pace of community life/no longer a 'small' community	5
--idn	Community losing its identity	5
--nss	Social services not prepared to handle the change	5
--tf	Everything occurred too fast, no time to adjust or plan	5
--nh	New homes being built	5
--add	Increase in addictions in the community	5
--tra	Increase in traffic both in the community and between Orillia and Rama	5
--lkc	Lack of control over community decisions	5
--loss	Sense of loss of way of life	5
--van	Increase in vandalism in the community	5
--dv	Increase in domestic violence/conflicts	5
p-hrs	Personal impacts of the casino -- busier at work, more hours	5
f-sd	Future hopes for the community -- "social development"	6
f-ho	Future hopes for the community - Community healing	6
f-ec	Future hopes for the community -- "economic development"	6
f-ld	Future hopes for the community -- increase the land base	6
f-sg	Future hopes for the community -- become self-governing	6
f-nc	Future hopes for the community -- have no casino	6
f-ed	Future hopes for the community -- more of the community be educated	6
f-sch	Future hopes for the community -- have a school in the community	6
f-pop	Future hopes for the community -- policing (OPP)	6
f-pst	Future hopes for the community -- policing (stand alone)	6

f-gp	Future hopes for the community – become a gathering place for other first nations/all	6
f-fd	Future hopes for the community – have a more developed fire department	6
f-yp	Future hopes for the community – have more programs for youth	6
cas=ind	Attitudes towards the casino = casino as an industry	
cas=emp	Attitudes towards the casino = casino as an employer only	
dsg-dec	Definition of self-government – making decisions for selves	
dsg-trd	Definition of self-government – traditional form of governance	
dsg-bc	Definition of self-government – band custom	
dsg-cho	Definition of self-government – ability to make choices for selves	
dsg-jus	Definition of self-government – define own justice systems	
dsg-emp	Definition of self-government – community empowerment	
dsg-hlg	Definition of self-government – community healing	
dsg-sc	Definition of self-government – self-confidence	
sgy	Rama will become self-governing	
sgn	Rama will not become self-governing	
sgc	Rama will only become self-governing if certain things happen	
csg-\$	Casino and SG – will provide the money	
csg-eng	Casino and SG – will be the ‘economic engine’	
csg-no	Casino and SG – are not related	
ct-imp	Culture and traditions are important to self	
ct-nimp	Culture and traditions are not important to self	
ct-lk	Lack of knowledge about culture and traditions	
ct-lang	The language is important	
christ	Christianity is important to self	
ct-+++	Culture and traditions are growing in importance	
ct-nn	Not native	
ct-no	Not Ojibway	
ctc-imp	Culture and traditions are important to the community	
ctc-nimp	Culture and traditions are not important to the community	
ctc-div	The community is divided about culture and traditions and Christianity	
ctc-rts	Culture is the roots of the community	
ctc-com	Believe in both culture and traditions and Christianity	
ctc-abu	Aboriginal peoples must unite – get over differences	
pcpow	Practice of culture – through the powwow	
pcsw	Practice of culture – through the sweat	
pccir	Practice of culture – through the use of the circle as model	
pcwol	Practice of culture – as a way of life	
pclang	Practice of culture – through speaking/teaching the language	
pcsch	Practice of culture – through having own school	
cas++	Casino will promote the culture and	
cascoop	Casino will coop or exploit culture and traditions.	
casfree	Money from the casino gives the freedom to explore culture and traditions	
casdisc	Discrimination within the casino towards native employees	
castr	Provide cultural workshops	
caspro	Provide \$\$ for cultural programming	
pr-cas	Priorities – casino	
pr-pol	Priorities – policing	

pr-hot	Priorities – hotel	
pr-ecd	Priorities – economic development	
pr-lnd	Priorities – acquiring more land	
pr-sg	Priorities – self-government	
pr-yth	Priorities – children/youth	
pr-ho	Priorities – community healing	
pr-eld	Priorities – elders	
set-bc	Priorities set by band council	
set-cas	Priorities set by casino	
set-adv	Priorities set by band advisors	
set-own	Priorities set by community has ownership over the process	
set-xxx	Too much going on and council cannot set priorities or follow through once done	
set-com	Priorities set by community	
set-cpt	Council and carnival are competing to set priorities	
set-pro	Priorities set by province	
com-g	Communication is good	
com-p	Communication is poor	
--mtg	-- community meetings	
--div	-- division in the community	
--eld	-- greater role for community elders	
--kd	-- kitchen dialogues	
--ote	-- outreach team	
--hv	-- home visits	
--lst	-- council doesn't listen to dissenting opinions	
--nsl	-- newsletter	
--est	-- self-esteem	
roi	Relationship between Rama and other municipalities has improved	
ronc	No change in relationship between Rama and other municipalities	
row	Relationship between Rama and other municipalities has gotten worse	
rod	There are disputes between Rama and other municipalities re: responsibilities	
ron	Other municipalities now need Rama	
rom	Misinformation in other municipalities about Rama	
ro\$	People from Rama now have \$, something to offer	
ccg	Casino and council have a good relationship	
ccp	Casino and council have a poor relationship	
ccm	The relationship between the casino and council is mixed	
cbg	The band and the casino have a good relationship	
cbp	The band and the casino have a poor relationship	
cbm	The band and the casino have a mixed relationship	
cbp	Community members enjoy going to the casino	
trnc	Too many parties involved with different agendas	
lkn	Lack of knowledge on the part of the council/community as to what getting into	
pr-acct	The province demanding a business plan from the community	
20%		

APPENDIX E – SOUTH OAKS GAMBLING SCREEN



the south oaks gambling screen

Problem Gambling Services

The South Oaks Gambling Screen (SOGS) is a questionnaire developed by Dr. Henry Lesieur and Dr. Sheila Blume to pick out people with serious ("pathological") gambling problems among a group of people receiving treatment for substance abuse problems. It has been used since as a common tool for picking out people with gambling problems in general. Like the other questionnaires in this site, it is meant to be used with caution as no questionnaire by itself can tell if a person really has a serious problem. It can certainly be used as an indicator that might persuade one to seek further information and assessment from a professional. On this questionnaire the term "pathological" is used in a similar way that the word "compulsive" is used on the Gamblers Anonymous questionnaires. Both refer to the problem gambler who has addictive gambling behaviour. Even though this was developed for use in a clinical setting and some questions are not counted in the scoring, the entire questionnaire is presented here in its 1992 version. The scoring method is given at the end.

SOGS QUESTION SHEET

1 Please indicate which of the following types of gambling you have done in your lifetime.

(For a more current profile, you can ask yourself the questions in a time frame of the past 3 or 6 months.) For each type, mark one answer: "not at all," "less than once a week," or "once a week or more."

	Not At All	Less Than Once A Week	Once A Week Or More
a. Scratch 'n win tickets	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. 649 Lottery tickets	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. Break open tickets	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. Sports Select	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e. Video lottery/poker machines	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
f. Bingo	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
g. Casino	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
h. Card games for money	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
i. Dice games for money	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
j. Raffles or fundraising tickets	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
k. Skill games like pool, darts, or golf for money	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
l. Sports pools	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
m. Horse races	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
n. Speculative investing in stocks, futures, commodities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

2 What is the largest amount of money you have ever gambled with on any one day?

- Never have gambled ☐
- \$1 or less ☐
- More than \$1 up to \$10 ☐
- More than \$10 up to \$100 ☐
- More than \$100, up to \$1000 ☐
- More than \$1000 up to \$10,000 ☐
- More than \$10,000 ☐

3 Check which of the following people in your life has (or had) a gambling problem.

- Father ☐
- Mother ☐
- A brother or sister ☐
- A grandparent ☐
- My spouse or partner ☐
- My child(ren) ☐
- A friend or someone else important in my life ☐

4 When you gamble, how often do you go back another day to win back money you lost?

- Never ☐
- Some of the time (less than half the time I lost) ☐
- Most of the time I lost ☐
- Every time I lost ☐

5 Have you ever claimed to be winning money gambling but weren't really? In fact, you lost?

- Never (or never gamble) ☐
- Yes, less than half the time I lost ☐
- Yes most of the time ☐
-

6 Do you feel you have a problem with betting money or gambling?

- No ☐
- Yes, in the past but not now ☐
- Yes most of the time ☐
-

7 Do you ever gamble more than you intend to?

- No ☐ Yes ☐
-

8 Have people criticized your betting or told you that you had a gambling problem, regardless of whether or not you thought it was true?

- No ☐ Yes ☐
-

9 Have you ever felt guilty about the way you gamble or what happens when you gamble?

- No ☐ Yes ☐
-

10 Have you ever felt like you would like to stop betting money or gambling but didn't think you could?

- No ☐ Yes ☐
-

11 Have you ever hidden betting slips, lottery tickets, gambling money, IOU's or other signs of betting or gambling from your spouse/partner, children or other important people in your life?

- No ☐ Yes ☐

12 Have you ever argued with people you live with over how you handle money?

No ☐

Yes ☐

13 (If you answer "yes" to question 12): Have money arguments ever centered on your gambling?

No ☐

Yes ☐

14 Have you ever borrowed from someone and not paid them back as a result of your gambling?

No ☐

Yes ☐

15 Have you ever lost time from work (or school) due to money or gambling?

No ☐

Yes ☐

16 If you borrowed money to gamble or to pay gambling debts, who or where did you borrow from (check "yes" or "no" for each)

	Yes	No
a. From household money	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. From your spouse or partner	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. From other relatives or in-laws	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. From banks, loan companies, or credit unions	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e. From credit cards	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
f. From loan sharks	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
g. You cashed in stocks, bonds or other securities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
h. You sold personal or family property	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
i. You borrowed on your chequing account (passed bad checks)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
j. You have (had) a credit line with a bookie	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
k. You have (had) a credit line with a casino	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

SOGS scores are determined by adding the number of the questions which show an "at risk" response.

Question	At Risk Responses	Check if Selected
1-3	Not counted	
4	Most of the time I lost OR Every time I lost	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	Yes, less than half the time I lost OR Yes, most of the time	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	Yes, in the past but not now OR Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
7	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
8	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
9	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
10	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
11	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
12	Not Counted	
13	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
14	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
15	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
16 a.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
b.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
c.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
d.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
e.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
f.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
g.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
h.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
i.	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
j.	Not Counted	
k.	Not Counted	

TOTAL

SCORING

0 = No Problem

3 to 4 = Some Problem

5 or more = Probable Pathological Gambler

APPENDIX F — POWERS OF BAND COUNCIL

POWERS OF THE COUNCIL

By-laws

81. (1) The council of a band may make by-laws not inconsistent with this Act or with any regulation made by the Governor in Council or the Minister, for any or all of the following purposes, namely,

(a) to provide for the health of residents on the reserve and to prevent the spreading of contagious and infectious diseases;

(b) the regulation of traffic;

(c) the observance of law and order;

(d) the prevention of disorderly conduct and nuisances;

(e) the protection against and prevention of trespass by cattle and other domestic animals, the establishment of pounds, the appointment of pound-keepers, the regulation of their duties and the provision for fees and charges for their services;

(f) the construction and maintenance of watercourses, roads, bridges, ditches, fences and other local works;

(g) the dividing of the reserve or a portion thereof into zones and the prohibition of the construction or maintenance of any class of buildings or the carrying on of any class of business, trade or calling in any zone;

(h) the regulation of the construction, repair and use of buildings, whether owned by the band or by individual members of the band;

(i) the survey and allotment of reserve lands among the members of the band and the establishment of a register of Certificates of Possession and Certificates of Occupation relating to allotments and the setting apart of reserve lands for common use, if authority therefor has been granted under section 60;

(j) the destruction and control of noxious weeds;

(k) the regulation of bee-keeping and poultry raising;

(l) the construction and regulation of the use of public wells, cisterns, reservoirs and other water supplies;

(m) the control or prohibition of public games, sports, races, athletic contests and other amusements;

(n) the regulation of the conduct and activities of hawkers, peddlers or others who enter the reserve to buy, sell or otherwise deal in wares or merchandise;

(o) the preservation, protection and management of fur-bearing animals, fish and other game on the reserve;

(p) the removal and punishment of persons trespassing on the reserve or frequenting the reserve for prohibited purposes;

(p.1) the residence of band members and other persons on the reserve;

(p.2) to provide for the rights of spouses and children who reside with members of the band on the reserve with respect to any matter in relation to which the council may make by-laws in respect of members of the band;

(p.3) to authorize the Minister to make payments out of capital or revenue moneys to persons whose names were deleted from the Band List of the band;

(p.4) to bring subsection 10(3) or 64.1(2) into effect in respect of the band;

(q) with respect to any matter arising out of or ancillary to the exercise of powers under this section; and

(r) the imposition on summary conviction of a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars or imprisonment for a term not exceeding thirty days, or both, for violation of a by-law made under this section.

Power to restrain by order where conviction entered

(2) Where any by-law of a band is contravened and a conviction entered, in addition to any other remedy and to any penalty imposed by the by-law, the court in which the conviction has been entered, and any court of competent jurisdiction thereafter, may make an order prohibiting the continuation or repetition of the offence by the person convicted.

Power to restrain by court action

(3) Where any by-law of a band passed is contravened, in addition to any other remedy and to any penalty imposed by the by-law, such contravention may be restrained by court action at the instance of the band council.

R.S., 1985, c. I-5, s. 81; R.S., 1985, c. 32 (1st Supp.), s. 15.

Copies of by-laws to be sent to Minister

82. (1) A copy of every by-law made under section 81 shall be forwarded by mail by the chief or a member of the council of the band to the Minister within four days after it is made.

Effective date of by-law

(2) A by-law made under section 81 comes into force forty days after a copy thereof is forwarded to the Minister pursuant to subsection (1), unless it is disallowed by the Minister within that period,

but the Minister may declare the by-law to be in force at any time before the expiration of that period.

R.S., c. I-6, s. 82.

Money by-laws

83. (1) Without prejudice to the powers conferred by section 81, the council of a band may, subject to the approval of the Minister, make by-laws for any or all of the following purposes, namely,

(a) subject to subsections (2) and (3), taxation for local purposes of land, or interests in land, in the reserve, including rights to occupy, possess or use land in the reserve;

(a.1) the licensing of businesses, callings, trades and occupations;

(b) the appropriation and expenditure of moneys of the band to defray band expenses;

(c) the appointment of officials to conduct the business of the council, prescribing their duties and providing for their remuneration out of any moneys raised pursuant to paragraph (a);

(d) the payment of remuneration, in such amount as may be approved by the Minister, to chiefs and councillors, out of any moneys raised pursuant to paragraph (a);

(e) the enforcement of payment of amounts that are payable pursuant to this section, including arrears and interest;

(e.1) the imposition and recovery of interest on amounts that are payable pursuant to this section, where those amounts are not paid before they are due, and the calculation of that interest;

(f) the raising of money from band members to support band projects; and

(g) with respect to any matter arising out of or ancillary to the exercise of powers under this section.

Restriction on expenditures

(2) An expenditure made out of moneys raised pursuant to subsection (1) must be so made under the authority of a by-law of the council of the band.

Appeals

(3) A by-law made under paragraph (1)(a) must provide an appeal procedure in respect of assessments made for the purposes of taxation under that paragraph.

Minister's approval

(4) The Minister may approve the whole or a part only of a by-law made under subsection (1).

Regulations re by-laws

(5) The Governor in Council may make regulations respecting the exercise of the by-law making powers of bands under this section.

By-laws must be consistent with regulations

(6) A by-law made under this section remains in force only to the extent that it is consistent with the regulations made under subsection (5).

R.S., 1985, c. I-5, s. 83; R.S., 1985, c. 17 (4th Supp.), s. 10.

Recovery of taxes

84. Where a tax that is imposed on an Indian by or under the authority of a by-law made under section 83 is not paid in accordance with the by-law, the Minister may pay the amount owing together with an amount equal to one-half of one per cent thereof out of moneys payable out of the funds of the band to the Indian.

R.S., c. I-6, s. 84.

85. [Repealed, R.S., 1985, c. 17 (4th Supp.), s. 11]

By-laws relating to intoxicants

85.1 (1) Subject to subsection (2), the council of a band may make by-laws

- (a) prohibiting the sale, barter, supply or manufacture of intoxicants on the reserve of the band;
- (b) prohibiting any person from being intoxicated on the reserve;
- (c) prohibiting any person from having intoxicants in his possession on the reserve; and
- (d) providing for exceptions to any of the prohibitions established pursuant to paragraph (b) or (c).

Consent of electors

(2) A by-law may not be made under this section unless it is first assented to by a majority of the electors of the band who voted at a special meeting of the band called by the council of the band for the purpose of considering the by-law.

Copies of by-laws to be sent to Minister

(3) A copy of every by-law made under this section shall be sent by mail to the Minister by the chief or a member of the council of the band within four days after it is made.

Offence

(4) Every person who contravenes a by-law made under this section is guilty of an offence and liable on summary conviction

(a) in the case of a by-law made under paragraph (1)(a), to a fine of not more than one thousand dollars or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months or to both; and

(b) in the case of a by-law made under paragraph (1)(b) or (c), to a fine of not more than one hundred dollars or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months or to both.

R.S., 1985, c. 32 (1st Supp.), s. 16.

Proof

86. A copy of a by-law made by the council of a band under this Act, if it is certified to be a true copy by the superintendent, is evidence that the by-law was duly made by the council and approved by the Minister, without proof of the signature or official character of the superintendent, and no such by-law is invalid by reason of any defect in form.

R.S., c. I-6, s. 86.

APPENDIX G — MNJIKANING CASINO RAMA AUTHORITY MANDATE

TO THE COMMUNITY MEMBERS

Re: Mnjikaning Casino Rama Authority

Mnjikaning has come a long way in the past years and we still have a long way to go. The Casino has impacted our community in many ways and over the past couple of years, our efforts have been concentrated on reacting to these issues from day to day. Every second week Chief and Council have met with Casino representatives to discuss the concerns raised by the community as well as trying to fulfill the obligations we made to one another in the agreement between ourselves. Over time Chief and Council intends to create an integrated and seamless working relationship with Casino Rama. In this way, we will maintain and enhance the long term sustainability of Casino Rama for our maximum benefit.

A working committee referred to as "Mnjikaning Casino Rama Authority" has been created to respond creatively to the growing integration between our community and Casino Rama. Attached is a copy of the working committee's mandate. Mnjikaning Casino Rama Authority will update Chief and Council as to its activities on a regular basis and Chief and Council will update the community through the Ojibway Times.

Chief and Council


Band Council Resolution

Chronological no.

476-1997-98-321

File reference no.

NOTE: The words "from our Band Funds", "capital" or "revenue", whichever is the case, must appear in all resolutions requesting expenditures from Band Funds.

The Council of  Chippewas of Mnjikaning First Nation			Cash free balance
Date of duly convened meeting D M Y Province			Capital Account \$ _____
26-Jan-98 ONTARIO			Revenue Account \$ _____

WHEREAS

- A. On March 18, 1996, the Chippewas of Mnjikaning First Nation ("Mnjikaning") entered into an agreement (the "Development and Operating Agreement") with, among others, the Ontario Casino Corporation and CHC International Inc. to establish a casino on the territory of Mnjikaning, as a vehicle to enhance the growth and capacity of Ontario First Nations in the areas of economic development, education and training and management.
- B. Several issues/obligations remain outstanding under the Development and Operating Agreement and related agreements.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED AND ACKNOWLEDGED:

1. We hereby agree to establish a committee referred to as the Mnjikaning Casino Rama Authority ("MCRA") consisting of up to five representatives appointed or re-appointed at pleasure by band council resolution.
2. MCRA shall make and amend from time to time, guidelines and rules as it deems appropriate and reasonable to govern MCRA's procedures.
3. MCRA shall be responsible for and is authorized to perform or caused to be performed the following:
 - (i) Identify the outstanding obligations of each of the parties, arising from or related to the Operating Agreement together with the related agreements;
 - (ii) carry out all necessary steps reasonably required to ensure that the spirit and intent of the Operating Agreement (including but not limited to the Request for Proposals issued May 1, 1995 by Mnjikaning and OCC, as well as the Operator's response to the Request for Proposals) is achieved, as well as the objectives of Casino Rama, namely:
 - (A) to ensure that the casino provides increasingly progressive economic opportunities to aboriginal people both within and external to the operation;

- (B) to act as the catalyst for economic development for Mnjikaning and surrounding communities;
- (C) to provide revenues to all First Nations in Ontario;
- (D) to promote tourism and hospitality industries; and
- (E) to create jobs.
- (iii) Invoke the enforcement provisions outlined in paragraph 14 of the Operating Agreement, where it considers it necessary or expedient to meet its objects, exercise its powers or perform its function.
- (iv) prepare and submit to Chief and Council, as early as practicable, for their consideration a proposed agenda of subjects to be considered at the next ensuing bi-weekly meeting of representatives from Casino Rama.
- (v) carry out or engage in any function or activity assigned to it by Chief and Council
- (vi) perform any other service or function reasonably required within the general scope of Mnjikaning's rights and obligations set forth in the Operating Agreement, or any activity that it considers necessary, incidental or conducive to meet its objects and responsibilities.
4. With respect to any of the following matters, MCRA shall not take any action, expend any sum, make any decision, give any consent, approval or authorization, or incur any obligation on behalf of Mnjikaning,
- (i) amending the Operating Agreement and/or the related agreements;
- (ii) execute or terminate any agreement in the name, or on behalf of Mnjikaning or any entity owned or controlled by Mnjikaning

unless and until the same has been approved by Chief and Council

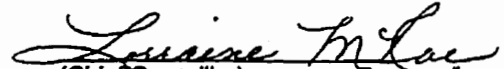
5. Two (2) Chiefs/Councillors of Mnjikaning present at the meeting where this Resolution was passed are hereby authorized to deliver a true copy of this Resolution to anyone requiring a true copy and they are to execute a certificate in the form outline below:

"Certificate"

Pursuant to the above paragraph of this Resolution dated January, 26 1998, we hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of this Resolution duly signed by a quorum of Chiefs/Councillors of Mnjikaning in the manner authorized by law and that the said Resolution is now in full force and effect, unamended as of the date hereof.

Dated at Rama, Ontario, this _____ day of _____, 199_.


(Chief/Councillor)



(Chief/Councillor)

The above resolution was passed pursuant to the consent of a majority of the councillors of Mnjikaning present at a meeting of the Council duly convened.


CHIEF LORRAINE MCRAE

COUNCILLOR RODNEY NOGANOSH


COUNCILLOR KENNETH SNACHE


COUNCILLOR LELAND WILLIAMS

COUNCILLOR VERNON YELLOWHEAD


COUNCILLOR HENRY SAWYER


COUNCILLOR DERRICK SNACHE