

Volume 12:22  
August 2019

SPP Communiqués are brief articles that deal with a singular public policy issue and are intended to provide the reader with a focused, concise critical analysis of a specific policy issue.

Copyright © 2019 by The School of Public Policy.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission except in the case of brief passages quoted in critical articles and reviews.

The University of Calgary is home to scholars in 16 faculties (offering more than 80 academic programs) and 36 Research Institutes and Centres including *The School of Public Policy*. Founded by Jack Mintz, President's Fellow, and supported by more than 100 academics and researchers, the work of The School of Public Policy and its students contributes to a more meaningful and informed public debate on fiscal, social, energy, environmental and international issues to improve Canada's and Alberta's economic and social performance.

## UNDERSTANDING CONSULTATION AND ENGAGEMENT WITH INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT<sup>†</sup>

Brendan Boyd and Sophie Lorefice

### SUMMARY

The Federal Court of Appeal overturning approval for the Trans Mountain pipeline expansion in 2018 arguably signaled a new level in the difficult struggle between Canada's resource development and the Crown's duty to consult Indigenous Peoples directly affected by a development project. It may not be the last case where the federal government finds itself unable to adequately meet both of these goals. This is, at least in part, because Indigenous Peoples have a different understanding of consultation compared to industry and government. Indeed, all three groups frame these challenges in their own way. Until they begin to better understand one another, and particularly until government and industry begin to better understand the Indigenous perspective, the courts will continue to be the only avenue for the resolution of differing views.

A review of documents related to resource development and the duty to consult, sampled from all three groups, demonstrates the different worldviews each has on these subjects. One of the most critical issues emerging right now is the "free, prior and informed consent" required by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, endorsed by Canada. To business and industry, that looks like a veto that Indigenous Peoples can use to stop any project they do not support. Indigenous groups, however, do not see it as a veto. Since, culturally, they tend towards making decisions by consensus, they are more likely see it as the need for everyone to keep talking until they reach an agreement.

Even when it appears the three groups agree on something, it can be for very different reasons, concealing deeper differences that can emerge later, and unexpectedly.

<sup>†</sup> This research was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council.

All three groups, for example, value the importance of getting Indigenous groups involved early on in a project's planning. Businesses would be driven to do so by their economic approach: the earlier Indigenous communities can be involved, the sooner concerns can be addressed, avoiding the risk of challenges further along the project's development. Government sees earlier involvement as a way to meet regulatory and government timelines. However, Indigenous groups see early involvement as an opportunity to take a larger role in the decision-making process. Thus, involving Indigenous groups earlier in the consultation means little if it does not provide an opportunity for increased input.

Documents from Indigenous groups suggest that controversies over consultation and resource development exist because Indigenous Peoples lack control and input over activities that directly affect them. They tend to perceive consultation as an opportunity for them to assert their sovereignty and jurisdiction and as something directly connected to their history of disempowerment. Until governments and industry better understand that perspective, there will almost certainly be many more court battles to come.

## UNDERSTANDING CONSULTATION AND ENGAGEMENT WITH INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

Canadian courts have repeatedly ruled that the Crown has a duty to consult with Indigenous Peoples when approving and shaping resource development projects that are located on their land or could infringe on their rights. But the duty to consult means different things to Indigenous groups, government and industry. Different understandings among stakeholders, and in particular the dissatisfaction among many Indigenous groups with the consultation process, has often led to court challenges of project decisions.

Recently, the Federal Court of Appeal's decision to overturn the federal government's approval of the Trans Mountain pipeline project in 2018 attracted the attention of politicians, media and the public (*Tsleil-Waututh Nation v. Canada [Attorney General]* 2018 FCA 153). Legal challenges have also occurred over smaller yet still important activities and decisions, where Indigenous communities and organizations have found formal consultation processes and the overall approach to engagement taken by industry and government to be lacking.<sup>1</sup> While these represent a small portion of the total number of cases where the legal duty to consult has been triggered (Newman 2017) they have an outsized impact on the relationships and level of trust between Indigenous Peoples, industry and governments. Finding ways to resolve these conflicts and improve relations can contribute to reconciliation between Indigenous Peoples, non-Indigenous Canadians and the Canadian state and is essential to the future of Canada's natural resource industries.

A common view among many in industry is that project approvals and regulatory decisions should be largely separate from broader public policy issues such as climate change and social inequality (Canadian Energy Pipeline Association 2014; Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers 2017). Policy think tanks and scholars have called for de-politicization of consultation and engagement processes to ensure decisions are made on the basis of objective information and science (Green and Jackson 2015; Hughes 2016; Crowley 2016; DeRochie 2017). Similar ideas have been espoused by media commentators (Staples 2019). But thus far, injecting more information and expertise into decision-making processes has failed to resolve disputes over resource development decisions.

Those who study policy-making have long highlighted that it is not simply a technical exercise, where evidence is weighed as part of the rational process of decision-making (Wildavsky 1989; Majone 1989; Radin, 2013). Evidence produced through expert analysis is not a substitute for politics, but rather, one of several inputs into policy-making (Lindblom and Woodhouse 1993). In the context of Indigenous consultation and engagement, this means that producing more scientific studies or seeking additional expert testimony may improve decision-making, but they are unlikely to resolve the type of disputes that lead to legal challenges. Focusing exclusively on technical information and scientific evidence ignores critical pieces of the puzzle surrounding resource development disputes, including differences in culture, values and perspectives. In addition, it potentially marginalizes the traditional knowledge and perspectives of Indigenous Peoples.

---

<sup>1</sup> For examples see the Haida Nation decision, which related to the transfer of a tree-farming licence by government between two private companies (*Haida Nation v. British Columbia (Minister of Forests)*, 2004 SCC 73, [2004] 3 S.C.R. 511); and the K'ómoks First Nation decision, which related to the government's issuance of short-term shellfish aquaculture licences on Vancouver Island (*K'ómoks First Nation v. Canada (Attorney General)*, 2012 FC 1160).

In our [recent article](#)<sup>2</sup> in *Canadian Public Administration* (Boyd and Lorefice 2018), we argue that a policy-framing approach (Schon and Rein 1995; Rein and Schon 1996), which examines how different actors frame or define controversial and intractable policy problems, can provide insight into why disputes over consultation and resource development exist. In the article, we apply three elements — sense-making, selecting and storytelling — to identify the frames that are likely to be present in resource development and consultation. We examined 75 publicly available documents on consultation from Indigenous groups (comprising 30 documents), government (24) and industry (21). The documents included policies, statements, guidance documents, best practices, reports and websites. The documents were chosen to ensure representativeness along several dimensions, including: geographic location; level of government; resource sector; and Indigenous Peoples with different treaty relationships, including no treaty.

We find that Indigenous groups tend to frame the process of consultation as a political issue, while government typically frames it as a legal issue, and industry frequently adopts an economic frame. This leads to different understandings among these groups on key aspects of consultation and engagement, even in cases where there appears to be agreement. For example, all groups highlight the importance of engaging Indigenous Peoples early on in the decision-making process. However, Indigenous groups want early engagement to allow for increased participation in decision-making, while government perceives early engagement as a way to meet regulatory-approval timelines, and industry sees it as a way to limit risks and cut costs in the future.

Before delving further into our findings, it is important to exercise caution when generalizing from our findings or venturing broader conclusions about the hundreds of First Nations, Inuit and Métis communities in Canada, as well as the many resource development companies and multiple government bodies. In addition, traditional Indigenous knowledge, including worldviews and cultural protocols, which are frequently shared orally, is not included in our analysis of textual documents. Finally, of course, we do not intend to speak for the Indigenous communities and organizations whose documents are reviewed here, and the final word on their interpretation remains with these communities and organizations.

## **WHAT IS A POLICY FRAME?**

A policy frame is a cluster of intertwined causal and normative beliefs that people and institutions draw on in order to give meaning, sense and normative direction to their thinking and action in policy matters (Schon and Rein 1995). In simpler terms, it is a common understanding of or worldview about a policy problem. In the context of resource development, the groups involved have different interests and values, as well as cultural and linguistic understandings. They will likely frame issues differently, which explains why consultation processes and activities have, in many cases, been ineffective in reaching mutually acceptable decisions, leading to legal challenges and protests by local communities. Consultation and engagement processes and activities should be frame-reflective, encouraging participants to critically reflect on their own frame and those of others. This can contribute to shared understandings that will increase the chances of mutually agreeable outcomes.

---

<sup>2</sup> <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/capa.12301>

**TABLE 1 POLICY FRAMES USED BY INDIGENOUS GROUPS, GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY**

	Sense-making	Selecting		Storytelling	Frame
Indigenous groups	Connection to broader political context and historical relationships	Consent as consensus	Early engagement for increased involvement in decision-making	Empowerment and autonomy	Political
Government	Managing existing processes	Consent as veto	Early engagement for meeting timelines	Adhering to court/legal requirements	Legal
Industry	Managing existing relationships	Consent as veto	Early engagement for cost-effectiveness	Creating economic benefits and reducing uncertainty for business	Economic

As noted above, there are three distinct activities associated with framing: sense-making, which involves turning a complex situation into a definable, concrete issue; selecting, which involves decisions about what part of the problem will be emphasized; and storytelling, which involves developing a narrative about what causes an issue and who is to blame (Van Hulst and Yanow 2016) (see Table 1). Our findings uncover several examples within these categories that demonstrate how the groups involved in consultation and engagement frame the issue of resource development differently.

## **POLICY FRAMES IN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT DISPUTES**

Sense-making refers to how people make sense of or understand an issue. This is the process by which groups turn an uncertain or ambiguous situation into a more concrete and actionable problem. In the documents we reviewed that came from Indigenous groups, consultation and engagement is often portrayed as a problem of disempowerment, creating a need to assert or increase sovereignty and jurisdiction. For example, Hul’qumi’num-member First Nations (HMFN) assert that their consultation policy is: “an expression of the HMFN understanding and exercise of self-determination, inherent jurisdiction and self-government” (HMFN n.d., p. 9). The Assembly of First Nations of Quebec and Labrador (AFNQL) indicates that consultation is: “an excellent opportunity for First Nations to exercise their jurisdiction over, and their social and economic interest in, lands and natural resources” (2005, p. 5).

In contrast, government documents primarily describe consultation as managing and improving existing processes when working with Indigenous Peoples. As one example, the government of Alberta (2014) states that its consultation guidelines “are intended to be consistent with case law and demonstrate a practical approach to meeting the requirements established by the courts.” Industry documents typically define consultation as a mechanism for economic development. They focus on the ability to reduce risk and uncertainty in business operations by maintaining and improving relationships with Indigenous Peoples (Alberta Chamber of Resources 2006; Association of Mineral Exploration [AME] n.d.; Canadian Wind Energy Association; n.d.; Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers 2006).

Selecting refers to which aspects of the problem groups will emphasize and how they categorize them. This dynamic is apparent in the debate over whether the free, prior and informed consent of Indigenous Peoples is required for resource development projects, which has become an issue since Canada endorsed the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2016. Government and industry describe Indigenous Peoples' consent using the metaphor of a veto and argue that Canadian law does not grant them the right to unilaterally stop a project (Alberta 2014; Canada 2011; Mining Association of Manitoba [MAM] 2016; AME n.d.). However, Indigenous groups do not place consent and veto in the same category (FNLC 2013; AFN 2016). The FNLC (2013) argues that many Indigenous communities have a tradition of consensus-based decision-making, where no party has a veto because deliberation continues until all agree. In other words, while Indigenous groups may not be able to completely stop a project on their own, moving ahead without their consent signifies a lack of respect for their traditions, concerns and rights. Thus, government and industry tend to label or categorize consent as a legal requirement or business concern, while Indigenous groups pay attention to the implications it has for autonomy and empowerment in decision-making.

A primary difference between a consensus-based decision-making model and existing consultation approaches is the time required. The documents produced by Indigenous groups suggest that early engagement is about fostering direct involvement in crucial decisions, not just signing off on a project at an earlier date (Hupacasath 2006; AFNQL 2005; Alderville First Nation [AVFN] 2015; Ginoogaming First Nation [GFN] 2014; National Centre for First Nation Governance [NCFNG] 2009). Government documents view early engagement as a way to meet bureaucratic and legal timelines, rather than empowering Indigenous Peoples in decision-making. (Saskatchewan 2013; Newfoundland and Labrador 2013; Canada 2011; British Columbia n.d.). Industry documents focus on the cost-effectiveness of early engagement, noting that it could prevent disputes and issues with a project further down the road, after investments have already been made (AME n.d.; MAM 2016).

Storytelling brings together disparate elements of a policy frame by developing narratives about why problems exist, who is to blame and what should be done about them (Van Hulst and Yanow 2016). The documents of Indigenous groups suggest that controversies over consultation and resource development exist because of the lack of input and control that Indigenous communities have over activities that directly affect them (for examples see Nak'azdli n.d.; AVFN 2015; HMFN 2006). The Crown is blamed for failing to establish processes that allow sufficient input and capacity for Indigenous communities, including money, information and expertise, and ensuring they are full participants in decision-making. For example, Indigenous groups' documents often indicate that consultation cannot be achieved through broader public-consultation processes or generic forums that would be used to engage other stakeholders, such as environmental assessments (FNLC 2013; HMFN 2006; GFN 2014; NCFNG 2009; AFNQL 2005). For government, the story of consultation is about meeting the requirements established by the courts. The problem expressed in these documents is that government must meet legal standards that are unclear and still evolving (British Columbia 2010; Saskatchewan 2011; Canada 2011). The storyline from industry documents focuses on promoting economic development. The primary problem identified in these documents is the need to create certainty and eliminate risks surrounding business operations and investments.

Our findings suggest that Indigenous groups frame consultation and engagement as a political problem, connected to their broader experience of disempowerment and mistreatment by the Canadian state and non-Indigenous society. Government documents frame consultation and engagement as a legal issue where the primary concern is adhering to the requirements and protocols established by the courts. For industry, the issue is framed as an economic matter, driven by the desire to reduce the risk and uncertainty of project development and produce economic benefits.

## **CONCLUSION**

Conflict over consultation emerges because actors frame the issues differently. Understanding these differences is an important first step in creating frame-reflexive consultation and engagement practices. Unless this occurs, the courts will continue to be the only avenue for resolution (Gallagher 2011). In addition, Indigenous groups in Canada may even resort to civil disobedience and protest as a means of asserting their rights and interests. As a result, finding common ground among Indigenous Peoples, governments, and industry on engagement and consultation practices is imperative to the future of resource development and the Canadian economy, and ultimately to the reconciliation of the relationships between Indigenous Peoples and Canada. More work needs to be done to understand how those involved in resource development disputes frame the issue differently and to design frame-reflective consultation and engagement activities that can recognize, accommodate and begin to bridge these differences.

## REFERENCES

- Alberta. 2014. *The Government of Alberta's Guidelines on Consultation with First Nations on Land and Resource Management*, accessed via [http://indigenous.alberta.ca/documents/First\\_Nations\\_Consultation\\_Guidelines\\_LNRD.pdf.pdf?0.5023457507730709](http://indigenous.alberta.ca/documents/First_Nations_Consultation_Guidelines_LNRD.pdf.pdf?0.5023457507730709).
- Alberta Chamber of Resources. 2006. *Learning from Experience: Aboriginal Programs in the Resource Industries*, accessed via <https://www.acr-alberta.com/app/uploads/Aboriginal-Programs-in-the-Resources-Industries.pdf>.
- Alderville First Nation. 2015. *Alderville First Nation Consultation Protocol*, accessed via <http://alderville.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/AFNProtocol2.pdf>.
- Assembly of First Nations. 2016. *Veto and consent: Significant differences* [http://www.afn.ca/uploads/files/2015\\_usb\\_documents/veto-and-consent-significant-differences-joffe-final-july-31-15.pdf](http://www.afn.ca/uploads/files/2015_usb_documents/veto-and-consent-significant-differences-joffe-final-july-31-15.pdf).
- Assembly of First Nations of Quebec and Labrador. 2005. *Consultations Protocol of First Nations of Quebec and Labrador*, accessed via [http://fnqlsdi.ca/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/protocole\\_consultation\\_2005\\_en.pdf](http://fnqlsdi.ca/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/protocole_consultation_2005_en.pdf).
- Association for Mining Exploration British Columbia. 2015. *Aboriginal Engagement Guidebook: A Practical and Principled Approach for Mineral Explorers*, accessed via <http://amebc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/aboriginal-engagement-guidebook-revised-may-2015.pdf>.
- Boyd, B. and S. Loreface. 2018. Understanding consultation and engagement of Indigenous Peoples in resource development: A policy framing approach. *Canadian Public Administration* 61(4): 572-595. <https://doi.org/10.1111/capa.12301>.
- British Columbia. n.d. *Building Relationships with First Nations: Respecting Rights and Doing Good Business*, accessed via <https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/environment/natural-resource-stewardship/consulting-with-first-nations>.
- British Columbia. 2010. *Updated Procedures for Meeting Legal Obligations When Consulting First Nations*, accessed via <https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/environment/natural-resource-stewardship/consulting-with-first-nations>.
- Canada, Indigenous and Northern Affairs. 2011. *Aboriginal Consultation and Accommodation: Updated Guidelines for Federal Officials to Fulfill the Duty to Consult, March 2011*, accessed via <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014664/1100100014675>.
- Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers. 2006. *Developing Effective Working Relationships with Aboriginal Communities*, accessed via <https://www.cab-bc.org/file-download/developing-eff-ective-working-relationships-aboriginal-communities>.
- Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers. 2017. Comment on the Report of the Expert Panel on the Modernization of the National Energy Board, accessed via <https://www.capp.ca/media/issues-and-submissions/report-of-the-expert-panel-on-the-modernization-of-the-national-energy-board>.

- Canadian Energy Pipeline Association. 2017. *Response to the Expert Panel on the Modernization of the National Energy Board Modernization Final Report*, accessed via <https://cepa.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/CEPA-submission-in-response-to-NEB-Modernization-Expert-Panel-Final.pdf>.
- Canadian Wind Energy Association. n.d. *Best Practices for Community Engagement and Public Consultation*, accessed via <https://canwea.ca/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/canwea-communityengagement-report-e-final-web.pdf>.
- Crowley, B. L. 2016. *For Eco-warriors, No Amount of Tinkering Will Make Pipelines Acceptable: Brian Lee Crowley in the Citizen*. MacDonald Laurier Institute. <http://www.macdonaldlaurier.ca/for-eco-warriors-no-amount-of-tinkering-will-make-pipelines-acceptable-brian-lee-crowley-in-the-citizen/>.
- DeRochie, P. 2017. *Six Ways to Modernize Canada's Pipeline Regulator*. Environmental Defence. <http://environmentaldefence.ca/2017/01/24/six-key-ways-modernize-energy-regulation-canada/>.
- First Nations Leadership Council. 2013. *Advancing an Indigenous Framework for Consultation and Accommodation in BC*, accessed via [http://fns.bc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/319\\_UBCIC\\_IndigActionBook-Text\\_loresSpreads.pdf](http://fns.bc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/319_UBCIC_IndigActionBook-Text_loresSpreads.pdf).
- Gallagher, B. 2011. *Resource rules: Fortune and folly on Canada's road to resources*.
- Ginoogaming First Nation. 2014. *Consultation and Accommodation Protocol*. [http://www.greenstonegoldmines.com/upload/documents/ac-c7.1-ag-aborigin/gfn-july-november/239845/2014\\_03\\_24\\_cons-and-accom-protocol\\_gfn.pdf](http://www.greenstonegoldmines.com/upload/documents/ac-c7.1-ag-aborigin/gfn-july-november/239845/2014_03_24_cons-and-accom-protocol_gfn.pdf).
- Green, K. and T. Jackson. 2015. *Ban on Oil Tankers – What Happened to Evidence-Based Policy?* Fraser Institute. <https://www.fraserinstitute.org/article/ban-on-oil-tankers-what-happened-to-evidence-based-policy>.
- Hughes, D. 2016. *Can Canada Expand Oil and Gas Production, Build Pipelines and Keep Its Climate Change Commitment?* Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives. <https://www.policyalternatives.ca/publications/reports/can-canada-expand-oil-and-gas-production-build-pipelines-and-keep-its-climate>.
- Hul'qumi'num Member First Nations and Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group. 2006. *Consultation Policy*, accessed via <http://www.hulquminum.bc.ca/pubs/ConsultationCover.pdf?lbisphpreq=1>.
- Hupacasath First Nation. 2006. *Hupacasath Land Use Plan Phase 2*, accessed via <http://hupacasath.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/LUP-Phase2-2006.pdf>.
- Lindblom, C. and E. Woodhouse. 1993. *The Policy-Making Process*. Prentice Hall.
- Mining Association of Manitoba. 2016. *2016 Aboriginal Engagement Handbook*, accessed via [https://www.mines.ca/wcm-docs/docs/publications/aboriginal\\_engagement\\_handbook\\_final.pdf](https://www.mines.ca/wcm-docs/docs/publications/aboriginal_engagement_handbook_final.pdf).
- Majone, G. 1989. *Evidence and Argument in the Policy Process*. Chelsea, Michigan: Bookcrafters Inc.

- Nak'azdli Nation. n.d. *Nak'azdli Nation Stewardship Policy*, accessed via <https://nakazdli.files.wordpress.com/2015/05/stewardship-policy1.pdf>.
- National Centre for First Nations Governance. 2009. *Crown Consultation Policies and Practices Across Canada*, accessed via [http://fngovernance.org/publication\\_docs/NCFNG\\_Crown\\_Consultation\\_Practices.pdf](http://fngovernance.org/publication_docs/NCFNG_Crown_Consultation_Practices.pdf).
- Newfoundland and Labrador. 2013. *The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador's Aboriginal Consultation Policy on Land and Resource Development Decisions ("The Policy")*, accessed via [https://www.gov.nl.ca/iias/wp-content/uploads/aboriginal\\_consultation.pdf](https://www.gov.nl.ca/iias/wp-content/uploads/aboriginal_consultation.pdf).
- Newman, D. 2014. *Revisiting the Duty to Consult Aboriginal People*. Saskatoon: Purich Publishing.
- Radin, B. 2013. *Beyond Machiavellianism: Policy Analysis Reaches Midlife Crisis*. 2nd ed. Georgetown University Press.
- Rein, M. and D. Schon. 1996. "Frame-critical policy analysis and frame-reflective policy practice." *Knowledge and Policy* 9(85). <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02832235>.
- Saskatchewan. 2011. *First Nation and Metis Consultation and Policy Framework*, accessed via <http://publications.gov.sk.ca/documents/313/98187-Consultation%20Policy%20Framework.pdf>.
- Saskatchewan. 2013. *Proponent Handbook Voluntary Engagement with First Nations and Métis Communities to Inform Government's Duty to Consult Process*, accessed via [http://publications.gov.sk.ca/documents/313/94455-Proponent\\_Handbook.pdf](http://publications.gov.sk.ca/documents/313/94455-Proponent_Handbook.pdf).
- Schon, D. and M. Rein. 1995. *Frame Reflection: Toward the Resolution of Intractable Policy Controversies*. Basic Books.
- Staples, D. 2019. "Pipeline approvals should be 98% technical, 2% political," *Edmonton Journal*, February 13.
- Van Hulst, M. and D. Yanow, D. "From policy 'frames' to 'framing': Theorizing a more dynamic, political approach." *The American Review of Public Administration* 46(1): 92- 112.
- Wildavsky, A. 1987. *Speaking Truth to Power: The Art and Craft of Policy Analysis*. 2nd ed. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers.

### **About the Authors**

**Brendan Boyd** is an assistant professor at MacEwan University in the Department of Anthropology, Economics and Political Science. His research and teaching interests focus on public policy, Canadian politics and environmental issues.

**Sophie Lorefice** was formerly a Research Coordinator in the Energy and Environmental Policy Division and the International Policy and Trade Division at the University of Calgary's School of Public Policy. Sophie holds a Masters of Public Policy and Public Administration from Concordia University and a Bachelor of Arts (First Class Honours) in Political Science and Philosophy from St. Francis Xavier University. Sophie is currently studying law at the University of Calgary

## ABOUT THE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY

The School of Public Policy has become the flagship school of its kind in Canada by providing a practical, global and focused perspective on public policy analysis and practice in areas of energy and environmental policy, international policy and economic and social policy that is unique in Canada.

The mission of The School of Public Policy is to strengthen Canada's public service, institutions and economic performance for the betterment of our families, communities and country. We do this by:

- *Building capacity in Government* through the formal training of public servants in degree and non-degree programs, giving the people charged with making public policy work for Canada the hands-on expertise to represent our vital interests both here and abroad;
- *Improving Public Policy Discourse outside Government* through executive and strategic assessment programs, building a stronger understanding of what makes public policy work for those outside of the public sector and helps everyday Canadians make informed decisions on the politics that will shape their futures;
- *Providing a Global Perspective on Public Policy Research* through international collaborations, education, and community outreach programs, bringing global best practices to bear on Canadian public policy, resulting in decisions that benefit all people for the long term, not a few people for the short term.

The School of Public Policy relies on industry experts and practitioners, as well as academics, to conduct research in their areas of expertise. Using experts and practitioners is what makes our research especially relevant and applicable. Authors may produce research in an area which they have a personal or professional stake. That is why The School subjects all Research Papers to a double anonymous peer review. Then, once reviewers comments have been reflected, the work is reviewed again by one of our Scientific Directors to ensure the accuracy and validity of analysis and data.

### The School of Public Policy

University of Calgary, Downtown Campus  
906 8th Avenue S.W., 5th Floor  
Calgary, Alberta T2P 1H9  
Phone: 403 210 3802

---

#### DISTRIBUTION

Our publications are available online at [www.policyschool.ca](http://www.policyschool.ca).

#### DISCLAIMER

The opinions expressed in these publications are the authors' alone and therefore do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the supporters, staff, or boards of The School of Public Policy.

#### COPYRIGHT

Copyright © Boyd and Lorefice 2019. This is an open-access paper distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons license [CC BY-NC 4.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/), which allows non-commercial sharing and redistribution so long as the original author and publisher are credited.

#### ISSN

ISSN 2560-8312 The School of Public Policy Publications (Print)  
ISSN 2560-8320 The School of Public Policy Publications (Online)

#### DATE OF ISSUE

August 2019

#### MEDIA INQUIRIES AND INFORMATION

For media inquiries, please contact Morten Paulsen at 403-220-2540. Our web site, [www.policyschool.ca](http://www.policyschool.ca), contains more information about The School's events, publications, and staff.

#### DEVELOPMENT

For information about contributing to The School of Public Policy, please contact Catherine Scheers by telephone at 403-210-6213 or by e-mail at [catherine.scheers@ucalgary.ca](mailto:catherine.scheers@ucalgary.ca).

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY THE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY

WHERE IN THE WORLD ARE CANADIAN OIL AND GAS COMPANIES? 2017

<https://www.policyschool.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Where-in-the-World-2017-Larson.pdf>  
Braeden Larson | July 2019

TRADE POLICY TRENDS: BREXIT: IMPLICATIONS FOR CANADA-UK TRADE

<https://www.policyschool.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Trade-Policy-Trends-Brexit-final.pdf>  
Dylan Klemen and Eugene Beaulieu | July 2019

SOCIAL POLICY TRENDS: FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS

<https://www.policyschool.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Financial-Supports-for-Refugees-and-Asylum-Seekers-FINAL-version.pdf>  
Robert Falconer | July 2019

ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY TRENDS: OUR PLANET IN 2040: COMPARING WORLD ENERGY OUTLOOKS

<https://www.policyschool.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Energy-Trends-World-Energy-Outlooks-final-2.pdf>  
G. Kent Fellows, Victoria Goodday, Rabia Ladha and Jennifer Winter | July 2019

HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENTAL DISABILITY POLICY IN ALBERTA

<https://www.policyschool.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/History-of-Disability-Sonpal-Valias.pdf>  
Nilima Sonpal-Valias | July 2019

THE URBAN POLICY CONTEXT IN MEDIUM-SIZED EUROPEAN METROPOLITAN AREAS

<https://www.policyschool.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Mid-Sized-Cities-Barati-Stec.pdf>  
Izabella Barati-Stec | July 2019

TAX POLICY TRENDS: CORPORATE TAX POLICY: ALBERTA GOES ITS OWN WAY

<https://www.policyschool.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/TPT-June-AB-Corporate-Tax-METR.pdf>  
Philip Bazel and Jack Mintz | June 2019

REFORMING THE FEDERAL FISCAL STABILIZATION PROGRAM

<https://www.policyschool.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Fiscal-Stabilization-Dahlby-final2.pdf>  
Bev Dahlby | June 2019

SOCIAL POLICY TRENDS: MARITAL STATUS OF THOSE IN POVERTY

<http://www.policyschool.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Social-Policy-Trends-AB-Deep-Pov-Dutton.pdf>  
Daniel Dutton | June 2019

CYBERATTACK: WHAT GOES AROUND, COMES AROUND

<http://www.policyschool.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Cyberattack-Barker-final.pdf>  
Ken Barker | June 2019

ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY TRENDS: WILL ELECTRIC VEHICLE REBATES SPUR WIDESPREAD ADOPTION?

<http://www.policyschool.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EEPT-Electrick-Vehicle-Rebates-Shaffer-final.pdf>  
Blake Shaffer | May 2019

SOCIAL POLICY TRENDS: IMMIGRANT RETENTION IN URBAN-RURAL SETTINGS

<http://www.policyschool.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Social-Policy-Trends-Retention-May-2019.pdf>  
Robert Falconer | May 2019

TOWARDS SOCIAL SERVICES SYSTEM INTEGRATION: A REPORT FROM ALBERTA'S ELDER CARE SUPPORT PROVISION COMMUNITY

<https://www.policyschool.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Social-Services-Walsh-Khayatzadeh-Mahani-Leslie-final.pdf>  
Connor Martin Walsh, Akram Khayatzadeh-Mahani and Myles Leslie | May 2019