

The Nk'Mip Cellars: Wine and Wine Tourism with an Indigenous Flavour

Robert B. Anderson

Scott McGillivray

Robert J. Giberson

Faculty of Administration, University of Regina

Introduction

In Canada and elsewhere around the world Indigenous Peoples are struggling to rebuild their 'nations' and improve the socioeconomic circumstances of their people. Many see economic development as the key to success. This is certainly true for Indigenous people in Canada (the First Nations, Metis and Inuit, collectively called Aboriginal people). Among them, participation in the global economy through entrepreneurship and business development is widely accepted as the key to economy building and nation 're-building'. As elaborated in the next section, this participation is on their own terms for their own purposes; and traditional lands, history, culture and values play a critical role. Recognizing the challenges they face in attempting to compete in the global economy on their own terms, Aboriginal people are forming partnerships of all types among themselves and with non-Aboriginal enterprises.

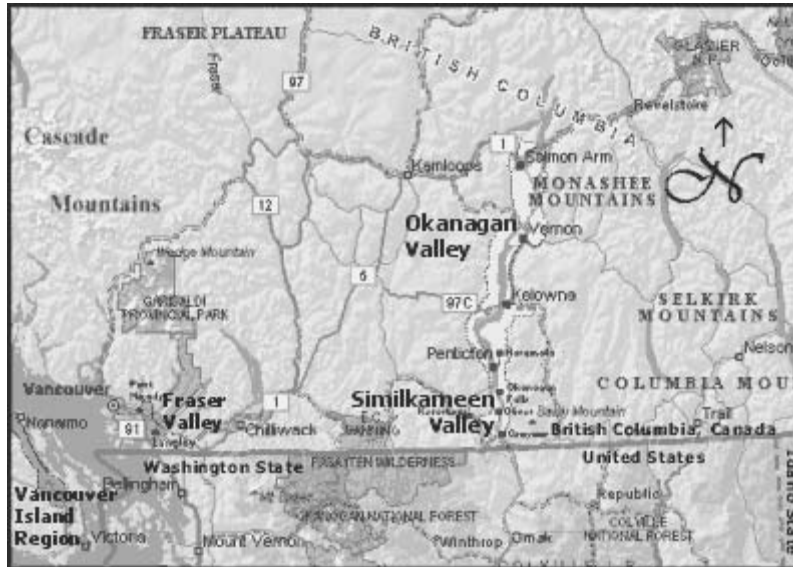
Complementing this Aboriginal strategy, previous work has shown that some non-Aboriginal enterprises see partnerships with Aboriginal communities as important to their long-term survival (Anderson 1997). Those taking this view do so because they see Aboriginal people as (i) an important emerging market, (ii) an important emerging labour force, and/or (iii) controllers of key resources essential for long-term enterprise survival. As a result, some non-Aboriginal enterprises have become willing partners with Aboriginal communities and are actively supporting them in their development activities, not for altruistic reasons but as an important aspect of their (that is, the non-Aboriginal enterprises') long-term business strategies. This paper explores one instance where the coming together of Aboriginal and corporate objectives, strategies and resources has resulted in a lasting business alliance to the benefit of both.

The Osoyoos Indian Band (OIB) lands are in the southern Okanagan Valley in British Columbia one of the two principal wine areas in Canada (the other is the Niagara Peninsula in the province of Ontario). Participation in the wine industry has been a key aspect of the OIB's development activities over the past four decades and this participation has involved alliances with non-Aboriginal companies from the beginning. The Band began with a vineyard in the 1960's (a joint venture). In 1980, a winery was built on the OIB lands by the vineyard joint venture partner Vincor International Inc. Building on this success, in 2002, the OIB (51% ownership) and Vincor (49% ownership) opened a new 'estate' winery—Nk'Mip Cellars. The vineyards and new winery are part of a larger OIB development undertaking—the Nk'Mip Project. The other key component of the project is the \$5-million Nk'Mip Desert and Heritage Interpretive Centre. The centre targets the growing market for cultural/eco tourism by educating visitors about 3,000 years of Osoyoos band history and the unique nature of the desert environment that is their traditional land.

This paper has five sections, the first being this introduction. The second section is a more detailed description of the approach to economic development common among Aboriginal people in Canada and the context in which this approach has emerged. The third section is a theoretical assessment of this approach to development addressing the question—can Indigenous people compete on their own terms in the global economy and achieve their purposes? In the fourth section, we set the context for the Nk'Mip Project by providing an overview of the wine, cultural and eco tourism industries in general, and in the Okanagan

Valley. The fifth section is the description of the Nk'Mip project. In the sixth and concluding section, we re-examine the Indigenous approach to development the lens of the Osoyoos experience.

Map 1



From <http://www.winesnw.com/bchome.html#Touring>

Aboriginal Economic Development in Canada: the Problem and the Response

The current socioeconomic circumstances of the Aboriginal people in Canada are abysmal. According to 1991 census data¹, 42% of Aboriginal people living on a reserve received social welfare, while only 8% of other Canadians did. Unemployment among Aboriginal people stood at 24.6%, almost two and one-half times the national rate of 10.2%. The on-reserve rate was even higher; often well above 30% and approaching 90% in isolated communities. Housing conditions tell a similar tale, with 65% of on-reserve and 49% of off-reserve Aboriginal people living in substandard housing.

As bad as these current employment levels are, the prospects for the future are worse. According to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (RCAP 1996), the Aboriginal population will rise by 52% (compared to 22% for non-Aboriginal Canadians) between 1991 and 2016. During the same period the working age Aboriginal population will increase by 72%, compared to a 23% non-Aboriginal increase. Based on these figures, the Royal Commission looked to the future. In fact, it looked to two futures. One flows from the continuation of the status quo—a future where Aboriginal peoples' socioeconomic circumstances remain at their current abysmally low level in comparison with those of the broader Canadian population. Under this scenario the annual economic cost of the underdevelopment of Aboriginal people is expected to rise to \$11 billion in 2016 from 7.5 billion in 1996, to say nothing of the tremendous human cost.

The other RCAP future is one where 'something' is done to bring Aboriginal socioeconomic circumstances up to the Canadian average. This 'something' is economic development. This RCAP future anticipates that during the first decade of the 21st Century government expenditures on Aboriginal issues will increase by between \$1.5 and \$2 billion per year over 1996 levels. Most of this increased cost will relate to land claims settlements and other capacity-building activities. The RCAP Report projects that by the year 2016, the economic development activities of Aboriginal people, fostered in part by this investment in capacity,

will result in them making a \$375 million dollar annual contribution to the Canadian economy. This is in sharp contrast to the estimated \$11 billion annual cost expected under the status quo scenario.

Aboriginal people in Canada have not been standing idly by accepting the status quo. Nor did they need the RCAP Report to identify for them the future they wanted and tell them how to achieve it. In fact, the RCAP's forecasts under the optimistic scenario are based on the continuing successful implementation of the approach to development Aboriginal people have been implementing for some time (Figure 1)ⁱⁱ.

Figure 1: The Characteristics of Aboriginal Economic Development

The Aboriginal approach to economic development is:

1. A predominantly collective one centered on the community or 'nation'.

For the purposes of:

2. Ending dependency through economic self-sufficiency.
3. Controlling activities on traditional lands.
4. Improving the socioeconomic circumstances of Aboriginal people.
5. Strengthening traditional culture, values and languages (and the reflecting the same in development activities).

Involving the following processes:

6. Creating and operating businesses that can compete profitably over the long run in the global economy to
 - a) Exercise the control over activities on traditional lands
 - b) End dependency through economic self-sufficiency.
7. Forming alliances and joint ventures among themselves and with non-Aboriginal partners to create businesses that can compete profitably in the global economy.
8. Building capacity for economic development through: (i) education, training and institution building and (ii) the realization of the treaty and Aboriginal rights to land and resources.

Adapted from Anderson 1999

Entrepreneurship—the identification of unmet or undersatisfied needs and related opportunities, and the creation of enterprises, products and services in response to these opportunities—lies at the heart of the Aboriginal economic development strategy. Through entrepreneurship and business development they believe they can attain their socioeconomic objectives. These objectives include (i) greater control of activities on their traditional lands, (ii) an end to dependency through economic self-sufficiency, (iii) the preservation and strengthening of traditional values and the application of these in economic development and business activities and, of course (iv) improved socioeconomic circumstance for individuals, families and communities.

Aboriginal people in Canada believe that they can achieve their purposes through participation in the global economy and have adopted processes that reflect this belief. They are creating businesses to compete in the global economy in order to generate the wealth necessary to preserve and strengthen their communities and improve socioeconomic conditions. At the same time, through business ownership Aboriginal Peoples expect to exercise greater control over activities in their traditional territories. They recognize that the success of this approach depends on the long-term profitability of the businesses that they create. In order to improve the viability of their businesses, Aboriginal people are forming partnerships of all types among themselves and with non-Aboriginal enterprises. They are also devoting considerable efforts to capacity building through education, training and

institution building and along with the realization of the treaty and Aboriginal rights to land and resources.

It is important to note two things about this approach. First, it involves active participation in the global economy on a competitive business-based basis. Second, this participation—both the process and the objectives—are shaped by things distinctly Aboriginal. For example, Robinson and Ghostkeeper in two papers discussing economic development among Indigenous people in Canada suggest that they are rejecting industrial development imposed on them from the outside in favour of development strategies originating in, and controlled by, the community “with the sanction of Indigenous culture” (Robinson and Ghostkeeper 1987, 139). In their second paper, the authors argue, “a wide range of cultures may enable entrepreneurship and economic development to flourish” (Robinson and Ghostkeeper 1988, 173). They go on to suggest that the key to successful Indigenous development lies in recognizing in each culture those forces conducive to development and “designing development plans accordingly” (Robinson and Ghostkeeper 1988, 173).

Not just in Canada but worldwide, there has been increasing attention paid to Indigenous approaches to development “designed accordingly”. For example, Agrawal says that the failure of neo-liberal (market) and authoritarian and bureaucratic (state) approaches to development has led to a “focus on Indigenous knowledge and production systems” (Agrawal 1995, 414). He goes on to say that these efforts are an attempt “to reorient and reverse state policies and market forces to permit members of threatened populations to determine their own future” (Agrawal 1995, 432). For the most part, these efforts are not taking place outside the global economy, but within it. As Bebbington suggests, “like it or not, Indigenous peoples are firmly integrated into a capricious and changing market. Their well-being and survival depends on how well they handle and negotiate this integration” (Bebbington 1993, 275). He goes on to say that the Indigenous approach to negotiating this integration is not to reject outright participation in the modern economy:

But rather to pursue local and grassroots control... over the economic and social relationships that traditionally have contributed to the transfer of income and value from the locality to other places and social groups (Bebbington 1993, 281).

This is certainly true of the approach to development among Aboriginal people in Canada. The Nk’Mip Project is a case in point.

Theoretical Perspective

The modernization and dependency perspectives have dominated development thinking throughout the middle decades of the Twentieth Century, the former as the operational paradigm driving the development agenda and the later as a critique of the failure of this agenda to deliver the anticipated development outcomes. Even as modified in recent years (So, 1990), the two perspectives present incompatible views of the relationship between a developing people/region and the developed world. In particular circumstances, one or the other of these approaches can often adequately explain *what happened*. However, when applied in any particular circumstance to offer insight into *what might happen*, the two produce conflicting answers.

In the closing three decades of the 20th Century, the conflict between the modernization and dependency perspectives led many to conclude that both are incomplete (as opposed to wrong) with each describing a possible but not inevitable outcome of interaction between a developing region and the global economy. In this vein, Corbridge says that there has been a powerful trend towards “theories of capitalist development which emphasize contingency ... a new emphasis on human agency and the provisional and highly skilled task of reproducing social relations” (Corbridge, 1989, pp. 633). As Tucker states, this allows “for the possibility

of incorporating the experience of other peoples, other perspectives and other cultures into the development discourse” (Tucker 1999, 16). Development need not be as defined by the ‘developed world’ and the interaction between a particular people and the global economy need not be as envisaged by the modernization or dependency perspectives; it can be something else entirely. Why not that which is being sought by Indigenous people—development as they define it?

Regulation theory is one of the new approaches to development that emphasizes contingency and human agency. Hirst and Zeitlin say that it executes

a slalom between the orthodoxies of neo-classical equilibrium theory and classical Marxism to produce a rigorous but nondeterministic account of the phases of capitalist development that leaves considerable scope for historical variation and national diversity (Hirst and Zeitlin, 1992, pp 84).

Expanding on this notion of variation and diversity, Elam says that on one hand, national and regional units are constantly in a state of flux as they adjust to the influences of the global economy. All must accommodate their actions to its hegemony. At the same time, these broader global influences “are seen as having essentially local origins” (Elam, 1994, pp. 66). This translates into a counter-hegemonic potential in terms of the activities actually undertaken by people as they negotiate their way locally through the global economy. It is not simply a case of conform or fail.

Regulation theory analyzes the global economy “in terms of a series of *modes of development* based on a combination of *regimes of accumulation* and *modes of social regulation*” (Hirst and Zeitlin, 1992, pp 84-85). The regime of accumulation determines the general possibilities for the economy. Scott says it

can be rather simply defined as a historically specific production apparatus ... through which surplus is generated, appropriated, and redeployed (Scott, 1988, pp. 8).

Importantly, with respect to geographic scale, the regime of accumulation is a “relationship between production and consumption defined at the level of the international economy as a whole” (Hirst and Zeitlin, 1992, pp. 85).

If the world were Adam Smith's, peopled by the universal perfectly rational 'economic man', no regulation of the global economy beyond the 'invisible hand' of perfectly functioning markets would be required. But the world is not Smith's; people are far from perfectly rational and they are driven by many things not economic. Further, they are far from universal in their variations from the 'perfect'. As a result, Scott says that stability in the economic system is

dependent on the emergence of a further set of social relations that preserve it, for a time at least, from catastrophic internal collisions and breakdowns. These relations constitute a mode of social regulation. They are made up of a series of formal and informal structures of governance and stabilization ranging from the state through business and labor associations, to modes of socialization which create ingrained habits of behaviour, and so on (Scott, 1988, pp. 9).

Hirst and Zeitlin agree saying that a mode of social regulation (MSR)

is a complex of institutions and norms which secure, at least for a certain period, the adjustment of individual agents and social groups to the over arching principle of the accumulation regime (Hirst and Zeitlin, 1992, pp. 85).

While regulation theory does not prescribe the exact nature of a particular mode of social regulation, it is generally agreed that:

1. A regime of accumulation does not create or require a particular mode of social regulation, "each regime, in short, may be regulated in a multiplicity of ways" (Scott, 1988, 9).
2. Because modes of social regulation are based on such things as "habits and customs, social norms, enforceable laws and state forms" (Peck and Tickell, 1992, pp. 349) unique modes "can exist at virtually any territorial level—local, regional, national, global" (Storper and Walker, 1989, 215).

Another aspect of regulation theory—its historicity—adds further strength to the argument that modes of social regulation, and therefore modes of development, can and do emerge at every geographic scale. Corbridge (1989) says regulation theory indicates that the global economic system has gone through four stages in the Twentieth Century. In stage one, the system was in equilibrium. Stage two was a period of crisis or disequilibrium resulting from a shift from the extensive to the Fordist regime of accumulation. Equilibrium returned in stage three when a suitable mode of social regulation emerged. The fourth (current) stage is also one of crisis caused by a failure of the monopolistic mode of social regulation to accommodate the change from the Fordist to a new 'flexible' regime of accumulation. Everywhere and at every geographic scale—community, subnational region, national, supranational regions and globally—people are struggling to develop modes of social regulation that will allow them to interact with this new regime of accumulation on their terms. As they do this, they are building the 'new economy'; not simply reacting to it.

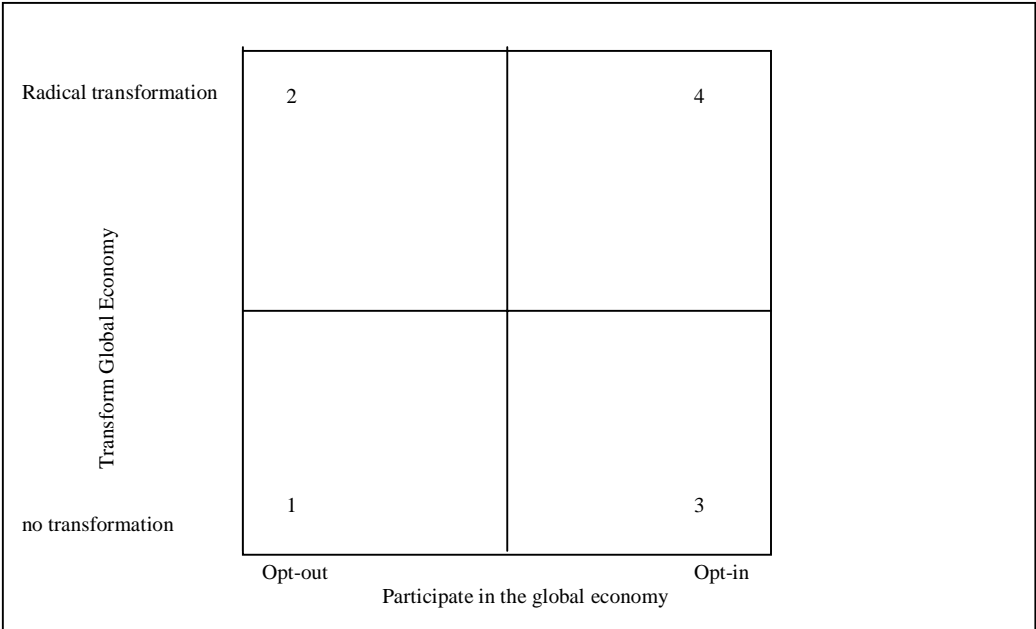
A number of authors offer observations about the nature of the modes of social regulation and the resulting modes of development that are part of the emerging new economy. For example, Amin and MalMBERG (1994, pp. 222) say the crisis in the global economy has resulted in "new opportunities for the location of economic activities" and that "the geography of post-Fordist production is said to be at once local and global". Scott (1988, pp. 108) says that new industrial spaces result from a "very specific articulation of local social conditions with wider coordinates of capitalist development in general". Finally, Dicken (1992, pp. 307) emphasizes that successful participation in the global economic system "is created and sustained through a highly localized process" and that "economic structures, values, cultures, institutions and histories contribute profoundly to that success". The recognition of opportunities and the creation of organizations, product, services and programs to in response to such opportunities (i.e. entrepreneurship) is a key component of this 'highly localized process'.

Local modes of social regulation can be, in Gramscian terms, both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic in their policies and programs according to the extent to which they consent to capitalist global economy, attempt to transform it or dissent from it. These three responses are associated with three different analytical/intuitive starting-points that motivate policies and programs in local modes of social regulationⁱⁱⁱ. The first is an analysis that claims that the peripheral communities have been excluded from capitalism and that the objective is to remedy this. The second is an analysis that claims that capitalism is at least in part culturally alien and that it is necessary to transform the 'alien' aspects of it as part of the process of participating in it. The third is an analysis that claims that capitalism is exploitative and beyond redemption and that the need is to exclude or resist it. These analytical/intuitive starting points are not simply abstract concepts. They and the beliefs about the economy associated with them are present in varying combinations and varying strengths among the members of all communities.

Figure 2 captures these possibilities by considering a group's response to the global economy on two continuums. The first is the degree to which a group opts into the global economy, or opts out. The second address the nature of this opting in or opting out. Is the approach to

accept the terms of the global economy ‘as is’, or is it to attempt to transform it in some fashion. A combination of the continuums results in four extreme possibilities. The first two occur when a group chooses to opt out of the economy. At one extreme the opting out can be passive; that is choosing not to participate and instead seeking isolation and even protection from the impact of the global economy. Alternatively, the opting out can be active and aggressive where a group rejects the global economy and seeks to resist it or overthrow it through protest and even ‘revolution’. The other two extreme positions (#s 3 and 4) occur when a group chooses to ‘opt in’ and actively participate in the global economy. Again that participation can be characterized further by the degree to which the group passively accommodates itself to the requirements of the global economy, or not. The Aboriginal approach in Canada (see Figure 1) has been of the opt-in variety, but it has not been passive. Participation in the economy has been accompanied by an ongoing struggle for land and other rights to allow this participation to be ‘on their own terms’. Indigenous responses elsewhere cover the entire spectrum of possibilities from rejection and violent revolution to passive acceptance and willing assimilation.

Figure 2: Community Responses to the Global Economy



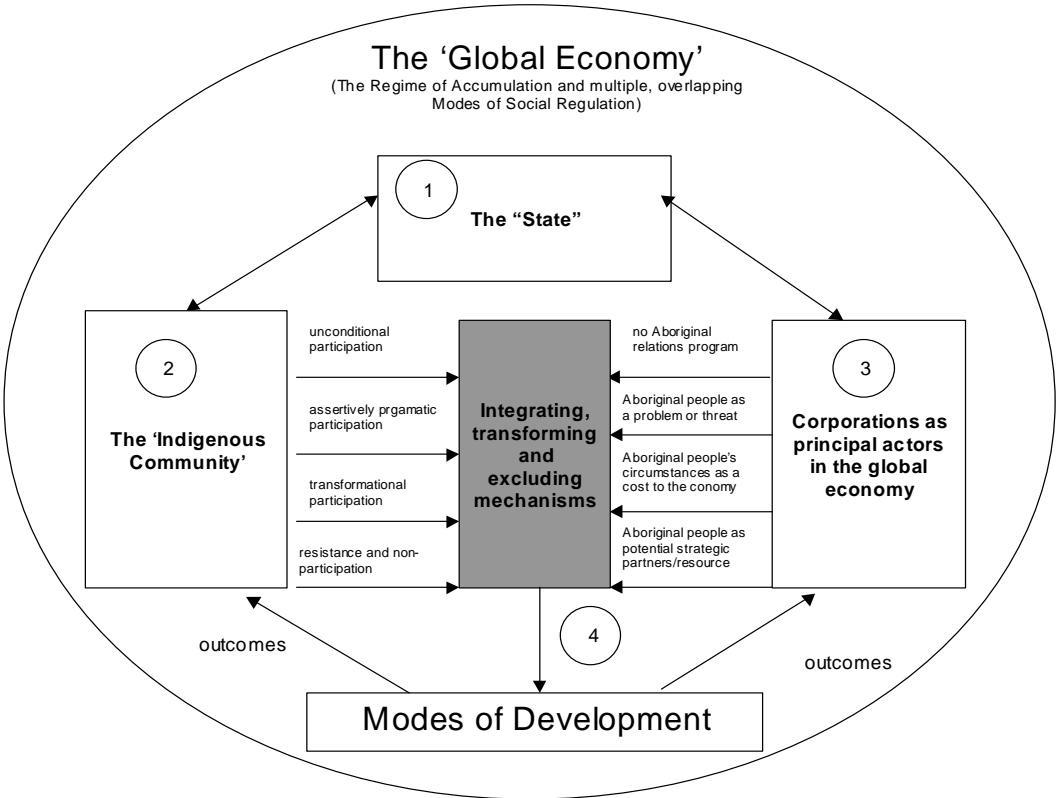
People in a particular community do not adopt their perspective on the global economy in isolation or in abstract. It emerges in response to their direct experience with actors in the global economic system. The two groups of actors they are most familiar with are the businesses (henceforth called corporations for simplicity’s sake) with which they interact as suppliers, customers and/or employees, and the ‘state’ at local, subnational, national and international levels.

Corporations are most closely associated with the regime of accumulation, indeed for many they are the ‘face’ of the regime. That it is not to say that corporations are not influence by and do not influence the mode of social regulation; of course they do, and they are. The ‘state’ at all its levels is most closely tied to the mode of social regulation. Indeed, the sum of the actions of the ‘state’ at all levels constitutes the bulk of the mode of social regulation at any particular time and place. The bulk but not the entirety. The organizations of the ‘civil’ sector also play an important role directly and through their influence on the state. The environmental movement and its organizations such as Green Peace and the Sierra Club are a

case in point. Similar forces have been at work and continue to work in the area of Indigenous rights.

It follows that the mix of integrating, transforming and excluding mechanisms adopted by a particular community in its approach to the global economy, and therefore the mode of development that emerges, is heavily influenced by the particular ‘face’ of the state and corporations that that community sees now and has seen in the past. This ‘face to face’ meeting while heavily influence by local circumstance occurs within the context of the dominant global regime of accumulation and multiple, overlapping and often conflicting modes of social regulation. The collage of mechanisms that is the global economic system operates at various geographic scales—‘global’ (e.g. World Bank, General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade, transnational corporations), supranational regional (e.g. North American Free Trade Agreement, regional industry groups), national (e.g. the constitution, treaties, regulations and policy governing the relationship between Canada and it Indigenous Peoples), subnational, and local, and varies by ‘industry’. Finally, this collage exists in the ‘eye of the beholder’. What Osoyoos ‘sees’ as its particular collage as it develops its Nk’Mip Project is many respects the same as what other winery and eco tourism operators in the Okanagan Valley see, but in important respects it is not. Figure 3 attempts to capture and illustrate this complex relationship. It is most definitely a ‘work in process.

Figure 3: Modes of Development



Areas of Investigation

1. the impact of the "state" on the on the multiple overlapping modes of social regularion and and therefore on the participants in the clobal economy, and the influence of the participants on the "state".
2. Indigenous approaches to economic development including current circumstances and objectives, approach to participation in the global economy including strategies for participation transformation and/or resistance, expected outcomes, actual outcomes.
3. Corporate responses to Indigenous issues, particularly motivating forces, strategies, expected outcomes, and actual outcomes.
4. Expected and actual Modes of Development emerging from the inter-relationships among #1, 2, & 3 in particular places, at particular times, and changes over time.

Indigenous groups that choose to ‘opt in’ to the global economy are not at the end of the process, they are at the beginning. To successfully ‘opt in’, on their own terms or not, they must identify business opportunities and then marshal resources and develop organizations to realize the potential that these opportunities have to satisfy their economic and other development objectives. This is the process of entrepreneurship. Not the entrepreneurship that is narrowly conceived of as a small business operated and/or a new business created by an entrepreneur, but the entrepreneurship that is broadly conceived of as an economy-building process—Schumpeterian entrepreneurship. Morris (1998) captures the nature of this process by stating, “entrepreneurship is a universal construct that is applicable to any person, organization (private or public, large or small), or nation” and that “an entrepreneurial orientation is critical for the survival and growth of companies as well as the economic prosperity of nations” (Morris, 1998, 2). Likewise Raymond Kao et al (2002) define entrepreneurship as, “not just a way of conducting business; it is an ideology originating from basic human needs and desires ... entails discovering the new, while changing, adapting and preserving the best of the old” (Kao et al, 2002, 44). Other authors, such as Blawatt (1998), Drucker (1985), Fiet (2002) and Moran and Ghoshal, 1999) express similar views.

Before examining the Nk’Mip Project in more detail, in the next section we will examine wine and Aboriginal tourism in general and in the Okanagan Valley. Doing this will help us understand the regime of accumulation and multifaceted mode of social regulation that the OIB faced and faces as it identifies and exploits business opportunities in pursuit of its development objectives.

Two Tourisms: Wine and Aboriginal

This section focuses on the two target markets central to the strategy underlying the Nk’Mip Project—wine tourism and Aboriginal tourism. A third—eco tourism—could have been added but we feel we can accomplish our purposes without doing so. The first subsection provides a brief overview of wine tourism in general, identifying three keys to success. The second describes wine tourism in the Okanagan Valley. The third looks at the growing Aboriginal tourism sector. Together these things constitute the ‘face of the global economy’ as seen by the Osoyoos Indian Band.

Wine Tourism

Globally, wine tourism continues to increase in popularity as wine lovers seek opportunities to taste and buy wine in unique settings. Successful wine tour operations are not limited to old world producers. In fact, new world wineries have enjoyed considerable success from wine tour sales. In 1995, Australia wineries had 5 million visits, as did the Napa Valley in California (Getz et al 1999, 20). Robert Mondavi Winery alone has over 300,000 visitors annually.

The wine tourism industry is more than just wine tasting at a winery. Hall and Macionis define it as the “...visitation to vineyards, wineries, wine festivals and wine shows for which grape wine tasting and/or experiencing the attributes of grape wine region are the prime motivating factors for visitors” (Hall and Macionis 1998). Successful wine tourism regions have three things in common: (i) a well-deserved reputation for quality wines, (ii) a critical mass of wineries catering to the wine tourist, and (iii) complimentary services and events.

Producing good quality wines is essential but not sufficient to create a successful wine tourism region. A successful region must build a strong reputation in the mind of the market for quality wines and a quality wine tourism experience through effective marketing efforts. Quality has to be communicated to markets through promotional efforts to create brand awareness of wineries, wines and the region. Further, no matter how good the product, a few

isolated wineries cannot support a viable wine tourism industry. A critical mass of wineries in relatively close proximity is essential not only to permit visitors to tour several facilities with ease, but also to provide the capacity to organize wine festivals and other events that help attract a large customer base to a region.

Finally, the complete wine tourism experience must include complementary services and events to create a unique visit for the tourist. Complementary services and events include: accommodations of all types, organized tours, other tourist attractions and recreation activities, fine dining facilities, good roads and other transportation services, and regional information sources. Success is also dependent on the ability of tourists to easily find wineries. Proper signage is necessary so tourists do not become lost and confused. It is important to wine tourists the signage reflect the wine theme of the region.

As wine tourism continues to grow, some areas, particularly Napa Valley, are experiencing high volumes of tourists causing congestion, and in the opinion of some, over-commercialization. According to Halliday “It (Napa Valley) witnessed exponential proliferation of wineries and cellar operations which were in fact more concerned with selling cheap tourist baubles than wine” (Halliday 1999). As a result, it has become a ‘victim of its own success’ at least in the minds those wine tourists for whom a quality wine experience is important. This creates an opportunity for other wine regions to attract tourists interested in quality wines and quality wine tours. A large volume of such tourists is not essential. A small number of high-yield tourists can support a region. High-yield customers are those who travel to a region specifically for wine-related reasons and stay for an extended time. These customers are looking for the complete wine experience.

Okanagan Valley Wine Industry and Tourism

The Okanagan Valley is located in the south central part of the province of British Columbia, Canada (see Map 1). The 124-mile long valley begins at the town of Osoyoos in the southern portion and runs north between the Cascade Mountains to the west and the Monashee Mountains to the east. The valley has distinct microclimates that range from the hot, sandy, desert in the southern valley to the cooler vineyard sites in the northern part of the valley. Chardonnay, Merlot, Cabernet Sauvignon, Pinot Gris and Pinot Noir are commonly grown in the south, while Pinot Blanc, Pinot Noir, Pinot Gris, Riesling and Gewurztraminer are grown in the mid and northern regions. The mid and northern areas also produce the region’s famed ice wines.

The most significant event in the Canadian winery industry occurred 13 years ago when the North American Free Trade Agreement was implemented. The NAFTA agreement opened the Canadian market to superior California wines. At that time, the Canadian wine sector produced low quality hybrid grapes. The Canadian federal government, in an effort to support Canadian vintners, provided financial assistance that enabled vintners to uproot their vineyards of hybrid grapes and plant vinifera varieties of grapes commonly found in Europe. This initiative has made it possible for Canadian vintners to compete in the continental market.

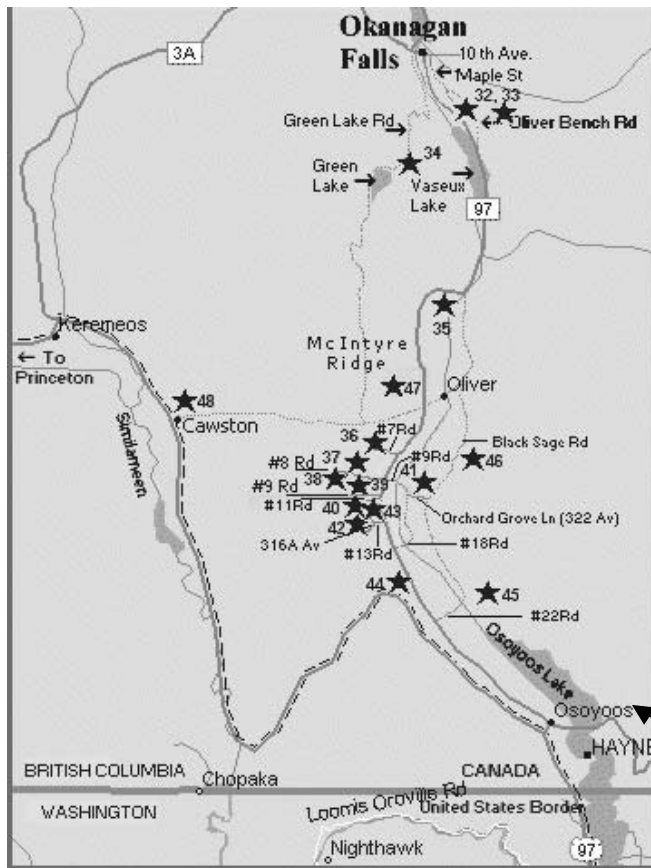
Wine production is a growing industry in the Okanagan Valley. Len Bykowski, president of the British Columbia Wine Institute in Kelowna, is quoted in the Calgary Herald newspaper as saying “In 1990, we harvested 4,800 tons of British Columbia grapes, producing 2.9 million litres of wine. This year it’s anticipated to be 16,000 tons of grapes and 9.6 million litres of wine” (Dolphin 2002). As production has increased, so have the number of wineries. In 1990 the Okanagan Valley had 14 wineries; today there are 72, compared to 200+ in the Napa Valley. These wineries account for 90 percent of all wineries in British Columbia.

The relatively small size of the wine producing sector in British Columbia forced the vintners to recognize the need to differentiate themselves from Californian and European operations. Many have sought to do so by producing high quality, distinctive wines (Costantineau 2002). Ice wine is an example of this differentiation strategy. In addition to high quality wine, the wineries of the Okanagan strategy includes the construction of top-end facilities, like those found in California or Europe, to attract potential customers who may have gone to Napa Valley in the past.

For wine tourists, the Okanagan Valley is divided into the north tour and the south tour. The north tour begins in the city of Kelowna and includes: Sumac Ridge Estate Winery, Hainle Vineyards Estate Winery, Mission Hill Winery, Quails' Gate Estate Winery, Pinot Reach Cellars and Gray Monk. The largest winery of the north tour is Mission Hill, which had 100,000 visitors in 2001. The company is forecasting an annual 25 percent visitor growth rate. For the past 22 years the city of Kelowna has hosted the Okanagan Fall Wine Festival. In 2002 the Festival attracted 125,000 people; a 44 percent increase from the previous year.

The south tour (Map 2) begins 35 minutes south of the city of Penticton passing through the towns of Okanagan Falls and Oliver and eventually ending in Osoyoos. The wineries most commonly visited include; Inniskillin Okanagan Valley Vineyards, Hester Creek Estate Winery, Gehringer Brothers Estate Winery, Tinhorn Creek Vineyards, Blue Mountain Vineyard and Cellars and Hawthorne Mountain Vineyards. The town of Oliver is the self-appointed "wine capital of Canada". The claim has some credibility as Oliver is surrounded by 13 wineries. Oliver's closest rival, the town of Niagara-on-the-Lake in Ontario, has 10 wineries. Fifty percent of British Columbia's wine production comes from wineries located between Osoyoos and Oliver. The region grows 15 to 25 percent of all grapes produced in Canada and has 10 percent of all wineries within the country. Ten years ago only 3 wineries were operating in the Oliver Area. Nk'Mip Cellars is the southern most winery on the south tour. It is strategically located at the junction of the valley's north-south highway (the wine route) and a major east-west transportation route leading from recreation areas in eastern British Columbia and the rest of Canada beyond, to Vancouver on British Columbia's Pacific coast. Nk'Mip Cellars is the first winery travellers will encounter entering the Okanagan Valley from the south, and it is the only Okanagan winery directly accessible to drivers on the east-west route.

Map 2: South Okanagan Wineries



- 32. Wild Goose Vineyards
- 33. Stag's Hollow Winery & Vineyard
- 34. Hawthorne Mountain Vineyards
- 35. Jackson Triggs Vintners
- 36. Tinhorn Creek Vineyards
- 37. Gehringer Brothers Estate Winery
- 38. Hester Creek Estate Winery
- 39. Silver Sage Winery
- 40. Domaine Combret
- 41. Carriage House Wines
- 42. Golden Mile Cellars
- 43. Inniskillin Okanagan Vineyards
- 44. Gersighel Wineberg
- 45. Burrowing Owl Vineyards
- 46. Black Hills Estate Winery
- 47. Fairview Cellars
- 48. Crowsnest Vineyards

Nk'Mip Cellars and Interpretive Centre

From <http://www.winesnw.com/bcsouthokanaganmap.html>

It is not just the award-winning wines and quality wineries that draw people to the Valley, but also the beautiful scenery, agreeable climate and numerous outdoor adventure opportunities such as horseback riding, bicycle tours, mountain biking, golfing and hiking. The region, without the wineries, is considered an ideal vacation destination.

Aboriginal Tourism

According to the Government of Canada Department of Industry, in 2000, the tourism industry in Canada was valued at \$54.1 billion and employed almost 550,000 people. Aboriginal tourism accounts for less than 1 percent of this total generating \$300 million annually and employing 16,000 people through an estimated 1,500 Aboriginal owned and operated businesses. Forecasts predict that Aboriginal tourism annual revenue will rise to \$1.9 billion within a decade (Margaret Brady, 2001). In comparison, in New Zealand there are 150 Maori-owned tourism businesses while in Australia there are 200 Aborigine-owned businesses with annual sales totalling \$130 million.

Currently, the vast majority of tourists utilizing Aboriginal tourism businesses are from Canada and the United States. However, recently Canadian Aboriginal tourism has been generating significant interest from travelers in Europe (Williams and Richter, 2002). This European interest in Aboriginal sites and attractions, while promising, is constrained by limited market awareness of Aboriginal tourist destinations and poor access to effective distribution intermediaries. Anecdotally, it appears Europeans are interested in experiencing an Aboriginal tourist location, but are not aware of their options, or who to speak with, regarding this type of vacation.

In spite of the general low awareness level of Canadian Aboriginal tourist destinations in the European market, there are 30 tour operators in France that include Aboriginal destinations in

the packages they offer to customers, and another 30 in Germany. These tour operators indicate some difficulty selling stand-alone Aboriginal destinations. Instead, they find that such destinations can be an important as value added component of larger tour packages that include non-Aboriginal attractions as well.

This issue is a significant concern because 70 percent of Europeans, when traveling internationally, employ the services of a tour operator (Williams and Richter, 2002). To generate awareness of Aboriginal tourist destinations among European tourists, marketing efforts must be directed at tour operators and through them to their customers. These marketing efforts should highlight the Aboriginal lifestyle and culture, in conjunction with the themes of nature, history and adventure in Canada.

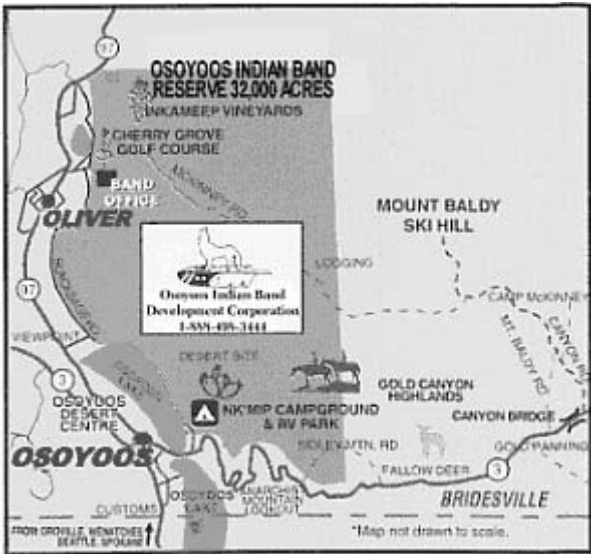
The Nk'Mip Project

The Osoyoos Indian Band was formed on November 21, 1877. It now has 567 members (370 of whom live 'on reserve') on a land-base of 32,000-acre in the southern Okanagan Valley (see Map 3). The land of the OIB is among the most environmentally sensitive in Canada—the country's only desert ecosystem. More than 60 percent of this unique ecosystem has been completely destroyed, and less than 10 percent remains relatively undisturbed, much of this on Osoyoos land. This ecosystem provides habitat for a third of Canada's endangered species; among them, half the vertebrates considered at risk, more than 100 rare plants and 300 rare invertebrates. Yet it is this land that is foundation for much of the OIB's wine/tourism-related economic development activity. As Stephen Hume says this seems to produce

two colliding realities—the carefully manicured fields of industrial scale viniculture ... and the dusty, dishevelled sweep of prime rattlesnake habitat that hasn't changed since some Okanagan warriors rode south to fight the Americans on the side of Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce (Hume 2002).

To Clarence Louie, current Chief of the OIB, the appearance of colliding realities is deceiving. Instead, these disparate pieces are not only compatible; they are complementary—so much so that one can't exist without the other. For Chief Louie, economic development and the self-sufficiency it creates is the best way to secure the right of his people to be who they are, to take pride in their heritage and to protect the fragile desert landscape in which a good part of their cultural identity is forever rooted. The Nk'Mip Project is the product of this belief.

Map 3: The Osoyoos Indian Band



From <http://www.oib.ca/location.htm>






Before describing the Nk'Mip Project in some detail it is useful to take a brief look at the other economic development activities of the OIB. Through the Osoyoos Indian Band Development Corporation (OIBDC), the band owns and operates nine profitable enterprises—a construction company, a sand and gravel company, a forestry company, a campground, a recreational vehicle park, a golf course, two housing developments and a grocery store. Nk'Mip Cellars is the tenth business. The motto of the development corporation is 'working with business to preserve our past by strengthening our future'. Two of the development objectives of the band and the OIBDC are to (i) achieve full employment for its members, and (ii) become economically self-sufficient by 2010. These and OIB's other goals are presented in Figure 4. All five are consistent with the Aboriginal approach to development described in Figure 1. Clearly they are opting into the global economy, but attempting to do so on their own terms.

In 1994, the OIB had self-generated revenues from commercial activities of \$1.3 million. By 2002 revenues from business activities had increased \$14.3 million, a more than ten-fold increase. Further, in 1994 the value of payments received from the federal government exceeded self-generated revenues. By 2002, self-generated revenues were seven times the amount of federal government payments. Not yet self-sufficient, but clear progress towards the goal

to decrease the dependency on government funding through increased level of self generated income, joint ventures, leasing, land and resource development so that economically we can one day be self sufficient (OIB 2003)

Success on the employment front has been equally impressive. By 2002, the OIBDC business had created so many jobs that non-native workers from off the reserve were needed to supplement the Indian workers from the OIB and from other bands who come looking for work that they couldn't find at home. In an article in Windspeaker (Petten 2001), Chief Louie credits the continuing success of the OIBDC and its many businesses to three main factors: (i) location, (ii) band ownership of land, and (iii) an entrepreneurial attitude.

Figure 4: Osoyoos Indian Band Goals

-  to increase the level of education in the following areas: academic, athletic, vocational and cultural - and that this responsibility will be shared by the Band, parents and students to be motivated to life long learning.
-  to decrease the dependency on government funding through increased level of self-generated income, joint ventures, leasing, land and resource development so that economically we can one day be self-sufficient.
-  to develop programs that reduce dependency and create community involvement that brings back the traditional Indian concepts of honour, caring, sharing and respect.
-  to promote a well disciplined organization that will reduce the political influence within the Band and its agencies.
-  to increase the standard of living opportunity for every Osoyoos Indian Band Member.

From <http://www.oib.ca/mission.htm>

As discussed in the previous section, the Okanagan Valley is a major tourist destination for Canadian and foreign travelers summer and winter. The Osoyoos Indian Band's location in

the valley, the nature of its lands and its long involvement in the wine industry meant that it was well-placed to participate effectively in the large and growing tourism industry. Complementing the location of the Band's land was the fact that almost all 32,000 acres were owned and controlled by the community as opposed to individuals. This made large, community-owned, integrated enterprises like the vineyards, the winery and the interpretative centre possible. Location and community ownership in and of themselves would not have resulted in successful businesses. Someone had to see the inherent opportunities in these circumstances and develop businesses to take advantage of these opportunities—the Chief's final factor, an entrepreneurial attitude. Someone, or more correctly several 'someones', have; hence the OIB success to date.

The OIB current activities and future plans centre on a group of business activities together called the Nk'Mip Project. Included in this \$25 million project are (i) the recently opened winery—Nk'Mip Cellars—and associated vineyards, (ii) a recreation vehicle park and campground (opened), (iii) the \$5-million Nk'Mip Desert and Heritage Interpretive Centre, currently operating out of temporary facilities, (iv) a 120-room full service hotel in the planning stages, and (v) a golf course (in addition to the one they already own and operate) also in the planning stages. The existing and proposed ventures will be located in close proximity on a 1,200-acre parcel of band land that adjoins the town of Osoyoos and fronts on Osoyoos Lake. The success of the project depends on successful participation in the wine tourism and eco/cultural tourism market segments. Nk'Mip Cellars and the Nk'Mip Desert and Heritage Interpretive Centre are the vehicles being developed by the OIB to pursue this success. The two are described in some detail in the following paragraphs.

The \$5-million Nk'Mip Desert and Heritage Interpretive Centre^{iv} is being developed to appeal to the growing market for cultural/eco tourism by educating visitors about 3,000 years of Osoyoos band history and the unique nature of the community's desert environment. Chief Clarence Louie says

The Desert and Heritage Centre is probably going to be our biggest business venture, and it's going to combine all of those things that you see in a first class desert interpretive centre –the educational stuff, the scientific stuff, the desert trails, the walks, the scientific interpretive stuff ... the other major component of it, which is really special, is the uniqueness of the Okanagan First Nations, with the language and the heritage and the cultural component to it.

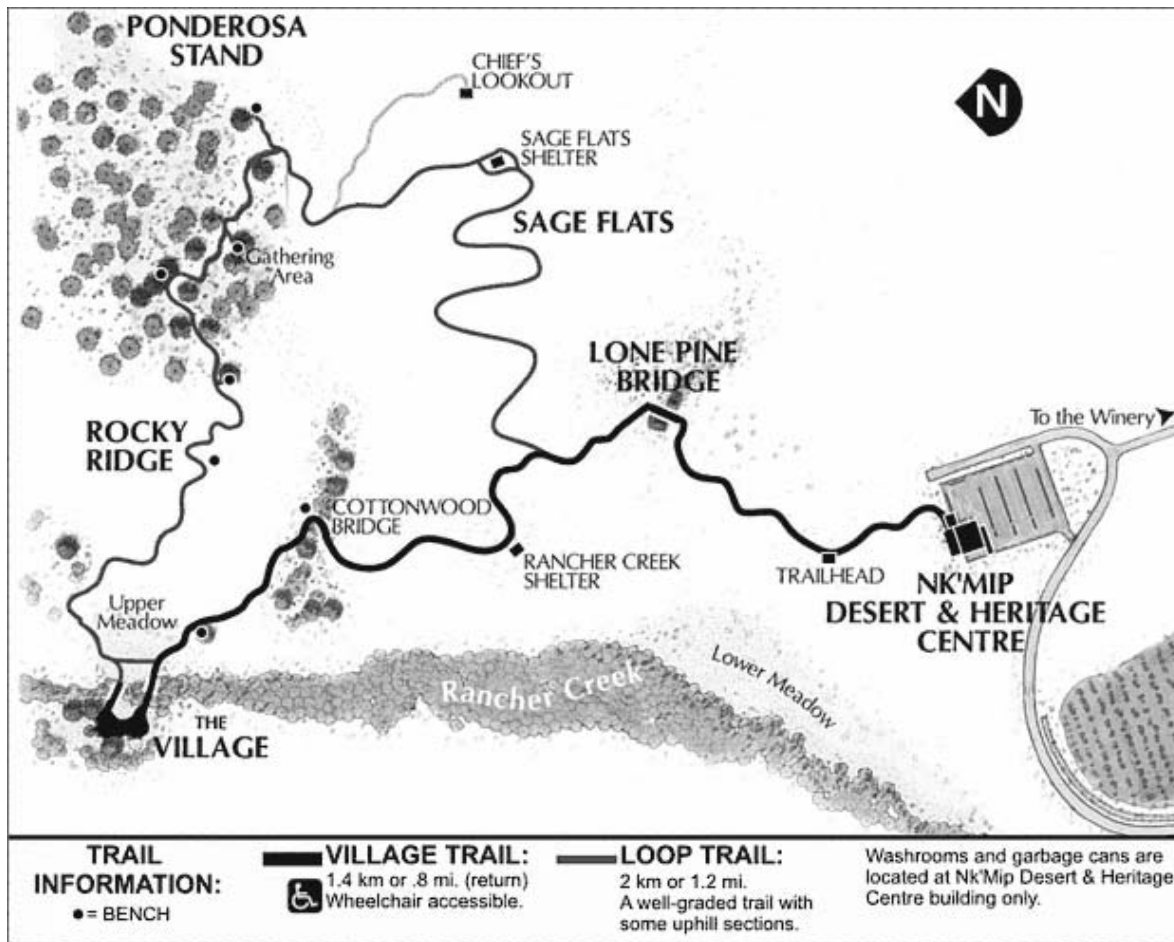
While appealing to the cultural/eco tourism market, indeed as part of the appeal to that market, the centre will preserve up to 1,000 acres of the unique dessert ecosystem. It will also work to restore habitat, and reintroduce to the area species at risk.

The plans for a permanent building for the centre have been developed. The OIB is in the process of raising the necessary capital. In the interim, the centre is housed in a temporary building containing a gift shop. Explaining the decision to use the temporary facility, Chief Louie says

I don't care what kind of business you run, there's always adjustments to be made. You know, you have to prove the numbers that you're contemplating as far as visitors, and prove that the business has the capabilities of financially surviving. And also, in order to build a multi-million dollar building, it's good to go through the initial stage of having a temporary structure, just to prove all the work you're going to do and millions and millions of dollars of fundraising makes financial and business sense (Petten 2002)

As well, a start has been made on the interpretive trails and a traditional Okanagan village has been built (see Map 5).

Map 4



from: <http://www.nkmipdesert.com/maptrail.htm>

The centre began operation in the temporary facility on June 13, 2002 with the gift shop half-stocked and admission by donation. By July 15, the retail store was fully stocked and the centre began charging full admission. From its opening in June to September 30th, the Nk'Mip Desert and Heritage Interpretive attracted 3865 visitors (down from projections). It is important to note that Nk'Mip Cellars did not open until September 2002, six months later than planned, so these visitors were attracted solely by the centre. Visitors spent an average of \$8.20 per person on food and gifts (up from projections). Total revenue for the period was \$52,000, 61% (\$31,700) from gift shop. According to centre manager Geraldine Manossa

The gift shop became a destination on its own for tourists and local people. With this in mind, the gift shop is now called "Coyote's Gifts" creating an identity for the shop to stand alone as an attraction with added revenue in some months when the centre is closed.

People want to buy goods that relate to the Nk'Mip Desert & Heritage Centre and its programs. Next year we will be expanding products that have our logo as well as featuring postcards and prints that show the site's sculptures, interpretive village, and local wildlife.

Manossa is optimistic about the future even in the temporary facility. She feels that "with adequate marketing and a full-season of operations next year, tripling gross-revenue is easily achievable".

Now the winery. Nk'Mip Cellars, opened in September 2002, is the culmination of almost 35 years of Osoyoos Indian Band involvement in the wine industry. The story begins in 1968. In that year, in association with Andres Wines Ltd, the OIB began planting its first vineyard.

This has grown into the band-owned 230-acre Inkameep Vineyard, 20 kilometres north of Osoyoos. The vineyard provides high quality vinifera grapes to many of the wineries in the Okanagan valley and some further afield. There are another 1,000 acres of vineyard on Osoyoos land most owned by Vincor International Inc. Vincor is Canada's largest wine producer and OIB's joint venture partner in Nk'Mip Cellars. By the end of 2003, almost 25% of the vineyard acreage in the Okanagan valley will be on Osoyoos land.

The next phase of the OIB's involvement in the wine business began in 1980. The band erected a building near the Inkameep Vineyard for T.G. Bright & Co. (now Vincor), which the company leased for 25 years and equipped it as a winery. The lease has since been extended and the winery is undergoing a \$10-million. Speaking of the company's ongoing relationship with the Osoyoos Indian Band, Donald Triggs of Chief Executive Officer of Vincor says

We have a very long and important relationship with the Band. Two-thirds of the employees in the Oliver winery are from the band. Our relationship goes back 25 years. Our winery is on band land. We now have vineyards developed on band land of over 800 acres. Our future in the Okanagan is very much intertwined with the future of the band (Schreiner2002).

According to Julianna Hayes, the relationship between Vincor and OIB is *a business partnership pure and simple. Vincor get access to vineyards in one of the hottest and richest growing climates in Canada. The Osoyoos Band gets the resources to develop their land and obtain a piece of an emerging industry (Hayes 2002).*

Nk'Mip Cellars opened on Sept 13, 2002. The \$7-million project includes the 18,000 square foot winery (see Figure 3) and a 20-acre vineyard. It is North America's first Aboriginal winery, and the second in the world (a Maori-owned winery opened in New Zealand in 1998). The OIB provided an operating line of almost \$1-million and \$2-3-million from various federal agencies and for this investment owns 51% of the venture. Vincor invested about \$3-million and owns the remaining 49%. At least as important as the money is Vincor expertise. As Don Triggs, Vincor's chief executive says. "We have shared with them everything that we know in design of the winery, in processing and in managing hospitality (Schriener 2002)". Vincor will be the managing partner in Nk'Mip for 10 years, after which it can sell its interest to the OIB. The business plan calls for the winery to turn a profit in three years.

Figure 5: Nk'Mip Cellars



from: <http://www.nkmipcellars.com/backgrounder.html>

With a capacity of 15,000 cases, the Nk'Mip winery is not large. As Don Triggs says "we've not targeted it to make large quantities of wine. The real objective here is to make small quantities of very high-end wine" (Schriener 2002). Nk'Mip currently produces are Chardonnay, Pinot Blanc, Pinot Noir and Merlot, exclusively from grapes from the Inkameep Vineyard. Nk'Mip expects to sell at least 40% of this output to visitors to the winery. Most of

the remaining production will be distributed through Vincor's marketing channels to restaurants and specialty wine stores, notably the 12 VQA stores in BC. There is also an interest in the international market. To this end, group of international wine writers was invited to the Nk'Mip Cellars official opening.

From its opening on September 13, 2002 to January 30, 2003 (the off-season for tourism in the Okanagan Valley), Nk'Mip Cellars received 5,642 visitors. The average expenditure per person by month was: Sept \$13.84, Oct \$15.38, Nov \$ 24.18, Dec. 33.82, Jan 22.60, almost all on wine. During this period the interpretive centre was closed. Which brings us to the present. The winery and interpretive centre will enter their first full season of operation in the spring of 2003.

Nk'Mip Project Summary

Through its Nk'Mip Project, the OIB is seeking to compete effectively in the wine tourism and eco/cultural tourism markets. The question is—can they do so? There is a two-part answer to this question. The first relates to potential. To this we answer, yes. They have the markets, location, and products in place that should allow them to compete effectively in both markets, and beyond that to realize synergies between the two markets. The second part of the answer relates to the realization of this potential. The answer to this is, it depends; and what it depends on a key element of the marketing mix—promotion.

First to elaborate on the potential. Without a doubt the two market segments targeted by the Nk'Mip project are attractive. Both have grown steadily over the last decade and both show good promise for continued strong growth. Both markets are far from saturated. Indeed, they are at the stage where additional quality participants are likely to contribute to overall growth benefiting existing competitors rather than taking market share from them.

The location of the Nk'Mip project in the Okanagan Valley and its specific location within the valley satisfy the criteria for successful participation in both segments. From a wine tourism perspective, in the valley there is a critical mass of wineries with an earned reputation for quality and a good selection of wine-related activities and services. Beyond that, the valley is a major tourism recreation destination summer and winter, well served by road, rail and air. Nk'Mip's location at the southern end of the valley provides the project with particular location advantages with respect to both wine and eco/cultural tourists. Nk'Mip Cellars is the first winery tourists see when they enter the valley from the south or the last stop on the trail when they leave. In addition, the project has access to the east-west traffic on Highway 3, something available to no other Okanagan winery. From an eco/cultural tourism perspective, the project has the additional locational advantage provided by the unique desert ecosystem in which it is situated.

Building on its locational advantages, the Nk'Mip Project has product offerings that should satisfy both wine and eco/cultural tourists. Nk'Mip Cellars will provide quality wines and a quality wine experience on its own and as part of the larger critical mass of wineries and wine-related activities in the valley. The unique eco/cultural experience provided by the interpretive centre will add to the overall experience of the wine tourist. At the same time, the interpretive centre will be marketable in its own right to eco/cultural tourists from North America, Europe and elsewhere. To this group, the winery will be an interesting value-added attraction. The other features of the Okanagan valley will provide the more comprehensive destination experience that these tourists in both segments desire. The Nk'Mip project campground, recreation vehicle park, full-service hotel and golf course will also add value for both groups.

Targeting attractive markets, providing good products and having a good location are not sufficient for success. The final piece of the puzzle is promotion. The target customers must be informed before they can partake of the products and service offered. Here the OIB faces two distinct challenges, one for each market. Promoting the wine-related offering to wine tourist is the more straightforward of the two. The customers are already in the valley and are motivated. They simply need to be made aware of Nk'Mip Cellars and 'they will come'. The vehicles for creating such awareness exist—themed signage, tour maps, organized tours, tourist information centres, wine festivals, and the like. Nk'Mip Cellars must make use of them.

Attracting eco/cultural tourists is more challenging because, unlike the wine tourists, they are not already coming to the valley in large numbers. One obvious target is the European market. There is strong evidence European travelers are seeking Aboriginal tourist destinations. The European traveler is looking for sites with Aboriginal lifestyle and culture, but also wants a broad-based experience. The Nk'Mip Project and, more generally, the Okanagan offer such an experience. Travel operators have a high-level of influence on the travel plan decision process, as shown by the number of Europeans using travel operators for international travel plans. Tour operators require information so they can assist their clients with travel plans. Initial promotional activities could be focused on the 60 tour operators in France and Germany currently offering Aboriginal tour packages. The interest is there, but the information is lacking.

Conclusion

The Nk'Mip Project and more generally all the development activities of the OIB are consistent with the characteristics of Aboriginal economic development set out in Figure 1. The community is central to the project in many ways. The land that is the foundation of the project is community-owned. The OIB's business are also community-owned and while the management of the business is in the hands of the OIBDC, the OIBDC is under the direct and close control of the community leaders—the Chief and Council. The development objectives of the OIB (Figure 4), while broader than the purposes of Aboriginal development set out in Figure 1, certainly encompass them. There is no doubt that the Osoyoos people seek to:

1. Attain economic self-sufficiency as a necessary condition for the preservation and strengthening of communities.
2. Control activities on traditional lands.
3. Improve the socioeconomic circumstances of Aboriginal people.
4. Strengthen traditional culture, values and languages and the reflect the same in development activities

It is also clear that the process the OIB has adopted to achieve their purposes is consistent with the one described in Figure 1 and that it involves 'opting in' to the global economy. The OIB is:

1. Creating and operating businesses that can compete profitably over the long run in the global economy to
 - a) Exercise the control over activities on traditional lands
 - b) Build the economy necessary to preserve and strengthen communities and improve socioeconomic conditions.
2. Forming alliances and joint ventures among themselves and with non-Aboriginal partners to create businesses that can compete profitably in the global economy.
3. Building capacity for economic development through: (i) education, training and institution building and (ii) the realization of the treaty and Aboriginal rights to land and resources.

The evidence suggests that the development process is resulting in good progress toward the attainment of the OIB's goals. It also shows this successful depends on the successful practice of entrepreneurship and marketing (and it is impossible to say where one ends and the other begins). Business by business opportunities have to be identified, markets researched, and products developed and made available to people where and when they wanted them at an acceptable price. And critically, an effective promotion campaign must be developed and implemented to inform the market about the existence of the product or service. To paraphrase an old saying, no matter how much better the mousetrap, customers will not beat a path to your door, especially if they don't know where your door is. The experience of the European tour operators with Aboriginal tourism products is a case in point.

Finally, it is important to note that the people of the OIB are not the only ones benefiting from their successful development efforts. There are important spillovers to the surrounding non-Aboriginal communities, and the region as a whole.

Sources

- Agrawal, A. (1995). Dismantling the Divide Between Indigenous and Scientific Knowledge. *Development and Change* 26(3). 413-439.
- Amin, A. and A. Malmberg. (1994). Competing Structural and Institutional Influence of the Geography of Production in Europe. in *Post-Fordism: A Reader*, ed. Ash Amin, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd. 227-248
- Anderson, Robert B. 1997. *First Nations Economic Development: The Role of Corporate/Aboriginal Partnerships*. World Development. Volume 25(9): 1483-1503.
- Anderson R. B. (1999). Economic Development among the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada: Hope for the Future. Toronto: Captus University Press.
- Anderson R. B. (2002b). Economic Development and Aboriginal Canadians. A Case Study in Economic development. *The Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*. 7(1): 45-65
- Bebbington, A. (1993). Modernization from Below: An Alternative Indigenous Paradigm. *Economic Geography* 69 (3). 274 - 292.
- Blawatt, K. (1998). *Entrepreneurship: Process and Management*. Scarborough: Prentice Hall Canada.
- Calgary Herald; Calgary, Alberta; November 28, 2002; Ric Dolphin
- Corbridge, S. (1989). Post-Marxism and Development Studies: Beyond the Impasse. *World Development* 18(5): 623-639.
- Corbridge, S. (1986). *Capitalist World Development: A Critique of Radical Development Geography*. Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Costantineau, Bruce (2002). .Vancouver Sun. August 20, 2002; Bruce
- Dicken, P. (1992) International Production in a Volatile Regulatory Environment. *Geoforum* 23(3): 303-316.
- Dodd, Tim H (1999). Attracting repeat customers to wineries. *International Journal of Wine Marketing*. 11(2): 18-28
- Drucker, P. F. (1985). *Innovation and Entrepreneurship*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.
- Elam, M. (1994) Puzzling Out the Post-Fordist Debate. in *Post-Fordism: A Reader*, ed. Ash Amin, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd. 43-70
- Fiet, J. O. (2002). *The Systematic Search for Entrepreneurial Discoveries*. Westport: Quorum Books.
- Getz, Donald, Ross Dowling, Jack Carlsen, Donald Anderson (1999). Critical success factors for wine tourism. *International Journal of Wine Marketing*. 11(3): 20-42.

- Gismondi, Anthony (2002). Finding just the right blend: Nk'Mip Cellars, North America's first Aboriginal owned and operated winery The Vancouver Sun; September 18: E2
- Government of Canada Department of Industry, 2001. Tourism Sector. Service Industries Overviews Series.
- Hall, M., and N. Macionis, 1998. "Wine Tourism in Australia and New Zealand." Chapter 12 in R. Butler, M. Hall and J. Jenkins (eds.), *Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas*. Chichester: Wiley.
- Halliday, J. (1999). "Wine tourism – a personal perspective.
- Hayes, Julianna (2002). Winery Makes North American History. Okanagan Sunday. September.
- Hirst, P. and J. Zeitlin. (1992). Flexible Specialization Versus Post-Fordism. in *Pathways to Industrialization and Regional Development*, ed. Michael Storper and Allen Scott. London: Routledge. 70-115.
- Hume, Stephen (2001). Growing success in the desert: Economic Freedom. National Post. Aug 4: A17.
- Kao, R. W. Y., K. R. Kao and R. R. Kao. (2002). *Entrepreneurism for the Market Economy*. London: Imperial College Press.
- Moran, P. and S. Ghoshal. 1999. Markets, Firms, and the Process of Economic Development. *The Academy of Management Review*, 24(3): 390–412.
- Morris, M. (1998). *Entrepreneurial Intensity: Sustainable Advantages for Individuals, Organizations and Societies*. Westport: Quorum Books.
- National Post August 27, 2001, Margaret Brady
- OIB (2003). <http://www.oib.ca/mission.htm>
- Peck, J. and Adam Tickell. (1992) Local Modes of Social Regulation. *Geoforum*, 23(3): 347-363.
- Petten, Cheryl (2001). Economic development meets cultural preservation in project. *Windspeaker*. 19(5); BG1
- Petten, Cheryl (2002). First Aboriginal-owned winery opens for business. *Windspeaker*. 20(6); 13, 29.
- RCAP. (1996). *The Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People*. Ottawa: Government of Canada.
- Robinson, M. and E. Ghostkeeper. (1987). Native and Local Economies: A Consideration of Economic Evolution and the Next Economy. *Arctic*, 40(2): 138–44.
- Robinson, M. and E. Ghostkeeper. (1988). Implementing the Next Economy. *Arctic*, 41(3): 173–82.
- Schreiner, John (2002). Grape expectations: Osoyoos Indian Band thought to have first Aboriginal winery in North America. National Post. Jul 18: FP9
- Scott, A. J. (1988). *New Industrial Spaces: Flexible Production Organization and Regional Development in North America and Western Europe*. London: Pion Ltd.
- So, A. Y. (1990). *Social Change and Development: Modernization, Dependency, and World-System Theories*. Newbury Park: Sage Publication.
- Storper, M. and R. Walker. (1989). *The Capitalist Imperative: Territory, Technology and Industrial Growth*. New York: Basil Blackwell
- Tucker, V. (1999). The Myth of Development: A Critique of a Eurocentric Discourse. In Ronald Munck and Denis O'Hearn, editors. *Critical Development Theory: Contributions to a New Paradigm*. London: Zed Books 1-26
- Williams and Richter (2002). Developing and Supporting European Tour Operator Channels for Canadian Aboriginal Tourism Development. *Journal of Travel Research*. 40(May)

ⁱ 1991 Census data is used because it forms the base-line for a series of projections that are part of the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People. Development progress, or the lack thereof, can be measured against this baseline.

ⁱⁱ The Aboriginal economic development strategy and the role played entrepreneurship and business development in this strategy is described in much greater detail in Anderson 1999 & 2002.

ⁱⁱⁱ This approach is inspired by Schuurman's (1993) discussion of Eugenio Tironi's analysis of social movement discourses in Santiago, Chile.

^{iv} See the Centre's website at <http://www.nkmipdesert.com/>