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Volume 9, Number 1

cando
Inspiring Success

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Corinne Mount-Pleasant Jetté, OC
1950–2014
Dreamcatcher

This issue is dedicated to the memory of our friend, Corinne. She was one of the original members of the Cando Standing Committee on Education and helped to develop the EDO Certification Program. She was a tireless and passionate educator and advocate for Indigenous education.

We miss your wise counsel and laughter

We wish you well in your travels into the next world

The Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development is the first journal devoted exclusively to issues and practices in the field of economic development and Aboriginal peoples' communities. The journal, published jointly by Captus Press and Cando (Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers), offers articles that are of interest to those who teach and those who work in the field.

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The Artist

Maynard Johnny Jr.

Maynard Johnny (b. 1973) is primarily a self-taught artist who has been studying and working since the age of seventeen. He has been inspired by many NWC artists and particularly admires Robert Davidson, the late great Art Thompson, and Mark Henderson.

Maynard is principally involved in graphic work, but he is also designing and creating jewellery in silver and gold. Throughout his career Maynard has also been interested in, and enjoyed, working with wood. He has created a number of panels. His designs have been used as logos for a number of companies and Native organizations.

Maynard was also privileged enough to design a 8-ft. by 3-ft. sculpture of a salmon that was donated to the World Trade Centre in New York to honour those lost in the 9/11 tragedy. Maynard has been in a number of exhibitions, including Transporters Coast Salish Exhibition at Gallery of Greater Victoria and S'abadeb — The Gifts Coast Salish Exhibition at the Seattle Art Museum and the Royal British Columbia Museum, as well as a few small solo shows. Maynard hopes to continue sharing his culture through other mediums such as precious metals and wood in the near future.

Artist's Statement
The "Rise of the Guardian" Story

Maynard Johnny Jr.

The Coast Salish of southern Vancouver Island believe that the Hul'qumi'num people were created from Beings that fell from the sky; and as each Being came to this territory, they began the traditions and beliefs of the Coast Salish. As each Being began their life here on earth, they encountered spiritual and supernatural beings that became a guide in life on earth. The "Rise of the Guardian" reflects a man with a Thunderbird headdress because the Thunderbird was his first spiritual encounter and became his spiritual guide.

Photograph of artwork for the cover by Jay Ruzesky.

In the previous issue of JAED, Cando published a Special Edition with Dr. David Natcher and Marena Brinkhurst. In that issue, the focus was set on understanding on-reserve property rights and the development and management of on-reserve lands, with an eye to the diverse challenges associated with on-reserve economic development. In part, the papers point to the importance of expanding the gathering and utilization of reliable statistical data for informing future socio-economic policies. Most important, the eclectic collection of papers in Issue 8.2 demonstrate that while Aboriginal land tenure reform and institutional change has a long history, the reforms now being proposed will undoubtedly have profound and wide-reaching impacts on First Nation individuals and communities in the future.

This Issue (9.1) is dedicated to one of Cando's greatest supporters — Corinne Mount-Pleasant Jetté, OC (1950–2014). We echo the comments and thoughts of those who were fortunate to have been a friend and colleague of Corinne. The obituary published in the *Montreal Gazette* on February 18, 2014, provided an overview and highlight of Corinne's life:

> Her loss and her legacy will be felt by the thousands of family, close friends, colleagues, and individual's whose lives she touched over a lifetime of Social Activism and Teaching. First as an English teacher at Father MacDonald High School, Corinne went on to a rewarding career with the Faculty of Engineering and Computer Science at Concordia University, as a Professor of Technical Writing. As Associate Dean, she was part of a selfless and dedicated team that did what needed to be done to set the Faculty back on its feet after a senseless act of violence. A recipient of many distinguished honours, including the Order of Canada, Corinne was a past-president of both Montreal's Native Friendship Centre and the Centre for Research Action on Race Relations and a contributor to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Fiercely proud of her First Nations heritage, Corinne tirelessly endeavoured to reach out to young Native people throughout Canada and the U.S., as the founder of the Native Access to Engineering Programme. Her life has had a positive impact on so many.

Issue 9.1, begins with profiles of the 2013 Cando award winners, followed by Lessons from Experience, and Lessons from Research, ending with a current analysis of Aboriginal employment in the State of the Aboriginal Economy section. Combined, the articles and papers take us from the West Coast of British Columbia to the East Coast of Nova Scotia, including stops in the Northwest Territories, Winnipeg, and Saskatchewan along the way. The issue also profiles the art and on-going work of another one of Canada's prolific and creative Aboriginal artists: Maynard Johnny Jr.

Welcome to the 17th issue of Cando's *Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development*! We invite you to join our growing cadre of writers, researchers, and community practitioners who add to and support the publication of JAED specifically and Cando generally. Share a story, provide an update of your research, or partner with a researcher to profile your community profile, economic development plans, or small business and entrepreneurial activities. And, as always, we look forward to hearing your comments on the interviews, case studies, and papers presented in this and/or other issues of JAED. Last, we will see you at Cando's 22nd Annual AGM and Conference, taking place in Toronto next fall, 2015.

Warren Weir

Introduction

Wanda Wuttunee

Economic activity is happening in many Aboriginal communities across the country. Where can you get information that delivers worthwhile perspectives and examples? This section of the journal is designed to do just that.

On the individual entrepreneurial level, you can read how EDO winner Sarah Erasmus, took her skills to the local marketplace and is meeting community needs in Yellowknife, NWT. She runs Erasmus Apparel and maintains close connections with her community, the youth and traditions.

A skilled and experienced Economic Development Officer can make all the difference in a community's economic plans. Darrell Balkwill has worked with Whitecap Dakota First Nation in Saskatchewan. He has made a significant contribution to the level of development in that community and is an important part of the team. His other interests in the local and regional economic organizations means that important networking is accomplished to the benefit of Whitecap.

Kahkewistahaw Economic Management Corporation works on behalf of their community to meet goals for developing projects on their treaty lands and creating employment opportunities for their people. An hotel, a gas bar/convenience store, a gravel operation and a new hotel are current projects that are making an important difference in the community's welfare.

Long Plain's First Nations has established an urban reserve in Winnipeg. The details of how that was accomplished and the potential for the community are outlined in an article by Charlotte Bezamat-Mantes. Ms. Bexamat-Mantes is a student at the University of Paris and uses an holistic geo-political approach to outline the important aspects of this topic.

Suggestion: If the information speaks to you in this section, then do some outreach to the individuals highlighted here and have your questions answered. You will be pleased how much people enjoy sharing insights into their successes.

2013 Economic Developer of the Year Award Winners

Morgan Bamford, First Nation
FIRST NATION — MUNICIPAL CEDI PROGRAM COORDINATOR, CANDO

Michelle White-Wilsdon
LEAD RESEARCH & SPECIAL PROJECTS COORDINATOR, CANDO

Recognize! Celebrate! Honour!

In 1995 the Cando Economic Developer of the Year Award was created to recognize and promote recent or long-standing Aboriginal economic development initiatives throughout Canada. All winners past and present share a common desire to bring their communities forward as each pursues a vision of sustainable economic self-sufficiency. Although the path of economic development may vary from one Aboriginal community to another, the goal is always the same. That goal is to improve the wealth, prosperity and quality of life for Aboriginal people.

When the Economic Development of the Year Awards was established in 1995, only one award was given to the community who demonstrated excellence in Aboriginal economic development.

Throughout the years, it became apparent that there were businesses and individuals also deserving of recognition for their contributions to the advancement of Aboriginal eco-

From left to right: Trevor Acoose, Kahkewistahaw First Nation; Sarah Erasmus, Erasmus Apparel; and Darrell Balkwill, Whitecap Development Corporation.

nomic development. That is why today, Cando grants Economic Development of the Year Awards in three separate categories:

- Individual EDO
- Community
- Aboriginal Private Sector Business

Three outstanding examples of Aboriginal economic development were awarded for their hard work at the 2013 Cando Annual National Conference. Two finalists in each of the categories were selected to present to an audience during a special plenary during the conference. After all finalists were given an equal opportunity to present, the conference delegates voted via a secret ballot for the finalist who they believed was most deserving of the top award in each category. It is an honour to present to you the 2013 Economic Developer of the Year Award winners!

Cando Economic Developer of the Year Award Winner

Individual Category

Darrell Balkwill

Darrell Balkwill is currently the CEO of Whitecap Development Corporation for the Whitecap Dakota First Nation, located 26 kilometers south of the City of Saskatoon. He grew up in Saskatoon, receiving his Bachelor of Commerce from the University of Saskatchewan. Darrell has owned a number of successful businesses over the last 20 years and currently owns businesses in the health, transportation and real estate sectors.

In 1986, Darrell began employment with the Saskatoon Tribal Council as their Economic Development Officer. He worked with the seven member First Nations for 17 years assisting in the establishment of community economic development programming, planning and project development. In September 2003 Darrell joined Whitecap Dakota First Nation as the Director of Economic Development and has since been involved in additional economic development initiatives and investments to improve the economic sustainability of Whitecap and its members.

Darrell plays a critical role in establishing new partnerships and creating new business ventures to enhance the Whitecap Dakota First Nation economy. He has been involved and assisted in various economic development related strategic and investment plans. In his current capacity as CEO of the Whitecap Development Corporation, Darrell led the company through the successful implementation of numerous development initiatives, including: Dakota Dunes Hotel development; Dakota Dunes Golf Links expansion for a Club House; Saskatoon Tribal Council Casino Holdings, and; Whitecap Commercial Real Estate development. Most recently, Darrell played a key role in the creation of the Lake Diefenbaker Tourism Destination Area Plan. This resulted in the growth of both local and provincial tourism economies as well as millions of dollars in private and public investment in tourism-focused infrastructure. Darrell was also instrumental in the re-naming of Highway 219 to Chief Whitecap Trail.

Darrell has also volunteered extensively in Aboriginal economic development initiatives at the local, provincial and national levels. In 1990 he was a founding member of Cando (Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers); and served on Cando's Board of Directors for 12 years fulfilling terms as Vice-President and President. Darrell's other appointments include: Director — Economic Developers Association of Canada representing First Nations interests; Director — Saskatchewan Chapter of the Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business; founding member — Saskatoon Chamber of Commerce Aboriginal Opportunities Committee. Darrell is currently a Board Member for the MidSask Community Futures and Regional Economic Development Corporation; the Saskatoon Tribal Council Casino Holdings Corporation; Dakota Dunes Golf Links and Ideas Inc.

Darrell believes in preserving a strong sustainable community and works with the Whitecap Dakota First Nation Chief and Council to make Whitecap Dakota First Nation a lead and best practice to achieving economic success. Today, Whitecap Dakota First Nation boasts the lowest unemployment rate within all Saskatchewan First Nations communities. With his extensive experience and the success of the numerous development initiatives he has been a part of, there is no question that Darrell has played a key role in the economic success of the Whitecap Dakota First Nation and the surrounding region.

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Cando Economic Developer of the Year Award Winner

Community Category

Kahkewistahaw Economic Management Corporation

Kahkewistahaw First Nation (KFN) is located in southeastern Saskatchewan within Treaty 4 territory, and next to the Qu'Appelle Valley. In 2002, Chief and Council sought to establish a new corporate structure that would position the First Nation for future growth and development opportunities, generate wealth and employment, and that would protect the First Nation from any negative consequences should any of the business enterprises not succeed. The Kahkewistahaw Economic Management Corporation (KEMC) and its group of companies were established, separating the business and economic development function from the daily administration and politics of the First Nation.

KEMC develops and oversees all business activities associated with KFN, which includes an award winning Petro Canada Gas & Convenience Store, a Home Inn & Suites Hotel, Mamawi Holdings and a newly created Sand & Gravel business.

The Petro Canada started operations in 2004, and currently employs approximately 23 community members, has generated millions of dollars of revenue and is currently on pace to contribute over $500,000.00 this fiscal year. Realizing the importance of partnerships, KEMC established a lucrative partnership with D3H Hotels, a hotel management company that owns and operates ten hotels across Western Canada. The new Home Inn and Suites is an $8 million dollar facility, just opened in March 2013, and is located on KFN land in Yorkton, Saskatchewan. Mamawi Holdings is the entity that manages over 40 million dollars' worth of developed property in Yorkton, all of it located on Kahkewistahaw First Nation land and generates over $600,000.00 in lease revenue each fiscal year. These revenues have enabled the KEMC to create a new company called Kahkewistahaw Sand & Gravel, established in partnership with Peter's Crushing and Hauling. After investing nearly one million dollars into equipment required to begin operations, the new company has already begun generating revenue from its machinery and the product it makes.

Today, KEMC is a successful economic development organization with multi-million dollars in revenue and multi-million dollars in development on Kahkewistahaw First Nation land. There is no question that Kahkewistahaw First Nation is to be commended for the success of their economic development endeavors, and is set to create employment and wealth for their members and the general public well into the future.

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Cando Economic Developer of the Year Award Winner

Aboriginal Private Sector Business Category

Erasmus Apparel

Erasmus Apparel is an Aboriginal-owned company located in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories that embodies the hard-working and adventurous spirit that makes the north and its residents a most wonderful place. Creativity, passion, hard work, risk taking ... these are just a few of the terms that can be used to describe this successful new business. Erasmus Apparel is 100% Aboriginal-owned and an ideal example of how to become successful in the northern business world. As a youth entrepreneur, Sarah Erasmus is an inspiration and role model for Aboriginal youth and future generations on how hard work, perseverance and dedication can make your dreams come true.

In January of 2011, Sarah Erasmus was fresh out of design school, full of ambition, hopes and a vision for a successful northern business, when she decided to take a huge risk. She decided against the relative safety of taking her talent to an existing business and

instead took a chance, followed her dreams, and created Erasmus Apparel with the intent to fill a gap that existed in the northern marketplace. Erasmus Apparel was created to produce original clothing and products, designed and produced by a northerner for northerners.

The business started on little more than a dream and some support from her family. Working out of her parents' house, Sarah used the inspiration of her family and put her creativity to work making designs that would inspire all northerners. The designs she has come up with speak to all northerners but particularly to the Aboriginal community. The ingenious "*Got Diamonds? Thank a Dene.*" shirts, the children's traditional vest shirts, and even the iconic Erasmus Apparel moose logo itself are all a tribute to her Aboriginal roots and the pride she has in her culture.

Sarah is very proud of her Aboriginal heritage and looks to give back to the community at any opportunity she can find. A prime example of this is her ongoing support of local students through sponsorship of the "Outstanding Student Award" at K'alemi Dene School. Each year, one deserving student is recognized with an award, a gift and a plaque at the school. Sarah recognized the benefits that the school provides to Aboriginal youth and took it upon herself to provide a little recognition of this through the award. She fully funds the award and attends the K'alemi Dene School's award ceremony every year to present the award to a deserving student.

The creativity and generosity that have been instilled in her also take centre stage during the Breast Cancer and Prostate Cancer Awareness months. Every year during the autumn months, the Erasmus Apparel Breast Cancer Awareness and "Movember" merchandise are among the hottest items in town with a portion of the profits from their sales being donated to support these wonderful causes. The entire Erasmus Apparel family embraces this generous spirit as well, entering a team into the Run for the Cure and both donating and raising money during this event. These are just a few of the ways that Sarah gives back to the community with her time, effort and financial support.

Despite being a relatively new business, Erasmus Apparel is successful and growing with each passing season. Sarah has proven to be a savvy businesswoman. She has provided future aspiring entrepreneurs with a blueprint of how to successfully pursue their dreams while remaining true to their roots.

Winnipeg's First Urban Reserve & Long Plain First Nation's Economic Development

Charlotte Bezamat-Mantes
INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DE GÉOPOLITIQUE — UNIVERSITÉ PARIS 8
SAINT-DENIS, FRANCE

On May 23, 2013, the federal government granted reserve status to a land owned by the Treaty One Long Plain First Nation in Winnipeg. Located along Madison Street near Polo Park, a large shopping centre, it is the first reserve within city limits in Manitoba. Reserves, usually located in rural areas, provide few opportunities for economic development for bands that generally depend heavily on federal subsidies. As noted by Dennis Meeches (2014a), Long Plain First Nation's Chief, Treaty Land Entitlements (TLE) are unprecedented opportunities for bands' urban economic development: "Now, after all these years, it's kind of a blessing that the government was crooked back at the early part of the century. Because now we can expand into the cities. If they would have given us all our land back in 1871, we'd have no Treaty Land Entitlement, we'd never be in the cities" (Meeches, 2014a).

Under the Addition To Reserve Policy (ATRP) conversion process, urban reserves provide a second chance to bands wishing to make their economies more dynamic, to create jobs and to develop their own revenue sources. Madison urban reserve is thus part of a territorial and economic expansion strategy intended to provide the band with revenues independent from the federal government while allowing it to control the direction of its economic and social development. In the long run, the urban reserve might give the band the means to increase its governmental autonomy and reinforce its sovereignty. Since it increases the bands' territorial jurisdiction at the expense of the federal, provincial and municipal governments, it is also the source of a power struggle between them.

The federal government also witnesses the loss of political economic pressure tools as the urban reserve provides the band with its own revenues. The creation of urban reserves is thus a trigger of conflict in two ways: on the one hand, it increases the autonomy of the TLE bands which is not necessarily desired by all; on the other hand, it represents an opportunity for TLE bands to increase their territory placed under Indigenous jurisdiction more or less where they wish while no longer having to submit to federal government's choices as has

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The work in this article is part of Charlotte Bezamat-Mantes's masters thesis in Geopolitics. Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Charlotte Bezamat-Mantes: cbezamatmantes@gmail.com

been the case since the signing of treaties. The following three themes highlight the economic and political stakes arising from urban reserves. First, it shows how the ATRP, though a complex and lengthy process, allowed Long Plain to break away from rural isolation and gain a new direction for its economic development. Second, it demonstrates that the conversion to reserve of the parcel in Winnipeg takes place within a larger strategy implemented by the band and how it participates in achieving the latter's goals. Finally, this article addresses the obstacles left to face for the success of this strategy.

A fee simple land conversion to reserve can only occur through the Additions to Reserve Policy (AADNC, 2014). It involves four levels of government: federal, provincial, municipal and that of the band. The documents required for the process have to go back and forth between levels of government, which significantly lengthens proceedings. The band must understand that administrative procedures are dealt with by provincial and federal levels and as such, it can hardly have any influence on them. The key part for a parcel conversion to reserve in a city is then the relationship between the band and the municipal government in order to get complete a Municipal Services Agreement (MSA). Its purpose is to address issues such as the provision of municipal services, tax-loss compensation and bylaw application and enforcement. Originally a mere administrative tool aimed at preparing a working relationship with the municipal government, the MSA turned into a means of pressure in the hands of the City council that forced the Long Plain band to adapt to the demands of the city of Winnipeg and that considerably lengthened the process. Manitoba only has 6 urban reserves and five of those are located outside city limits (AADNC, 2014). It means Manitoban municipalities are not necessarily informed of the conversion process or the federal government's legal obligations under TLEs.

Between 2006 and 2009, under Chief Dennis Meeches, the Madison property was to serve as a location for the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs' Governance House (Daniels, 2014; Paul, 2014). AMC would have rented the parcel and built a ten-storey building there. After the election of David Meeches as Chief in 2009, this project was given up without any progress in the conversion process. Factors mentioned during interviews to explain the failure of that project were: the change in the band leadership, meaning the internal politics of the First Nation; the lack of communication and cooperation between City council and the band; St. James residents' negative representations towards the creation of an urban reserve in their neighbourhood; the councillors' fears about having a disadvantaged reserve as they picture it in a rural area right in the middle of their city and the fact that they are to follow their constituents' will, generally informed by the negative ideas they held about Aboriginal people and reserves (Daniels, 2014; Fielding, 2014; MacKinnon, 2014; Paul, 2014).

From 2009 on, the band changed its tactics: it planned on developing economic activities on the property in order to generate its own streams of revenues. They decided to limit the new building's height to five floors. Long Plain and the City of Winnipeg signed the MSA in July 2010. Following the interview with the band's project manager, five factors facilitating the negotiations can be isolated: taking into account St. James councillor's demands; informing and consulting with the neighbourhood inhabitants regarding the economic development to come to promote good neighbourly relations; the settlement of third-party interests (particularly those of the businesses surrounding the property); fitting the project in the neighbourhood environment (a rather industrial area with low buildings and old houses); finally, granting enough human and financial resources to focus on the project in order to sign the MSA without delay and be able to proceed further with the conversion to reserve (Daniels, 2014). Negative perceptions about Aboriginals and reserves were neutral-

ized through the band's communication strategy and the use of an alternative terminology. The band hosted an open house meeting to inform the residents and answer their questions, and the parcel was designated as an 'economic development zone' thus avoiding negative connotations through the use of 'urban reserve' (Daniels, 2014; Fielding, 2014). The MSA is constraining for the band as it demands that the urban reserve planning be compatible with city planning and that Long Plain bylaws and potential land-related laws be consistent with the municipal bylaws. This can be interpreted as an encroachment on the band's sovereignty; others view it as a cost to do business that provides more benefits than inconveniences (Stevenson, 2014).

After the signing of the MSA (July 2010) and the fulfilment of other technical steps, the province issued an Order in Council transferring the rights, interests, mines and minerals and the property title to the federal government (March 2012). AADNC Minister then issued an Order in Council to recommend that the Privy Council grant reserve status (May 2013). The urban reserve development could then begin, seven years after the conversion to reserve started.

Long Plain's TLE and the conversion under the ATRP represent a significant step for the band: a rupture with the rural isolation that the home reserve suffers from and an access to an area of opportunity for economic development and job creation that seem impossible on the home reserve (Meeches, 2014a). Even though the conversion was costly, both in time and human means, it gave a Manitoban band the first reserve at the heart of a city, a location chosen because it matched its expectations and goals.

Winnipeg urban reserve is designed for economic use only and will not be a residential area. The former Manitoba Hydro building is currently partly rented to the Yellowquill College and a First Nation law firm is to move in during 2014. The band plans on building a band-owned gas station and smoke shop that would generate as much as $2 million a year (Daniels, 2014). At the same time, the first floor is kept for businesses in which the band may have profit-sharing, creating an additional source of revenues along with the rents and the other four floors are for office space rental (Meeches, 2014b). Another project, 'TEST' (for Tax Exemption Treaty 1), consists in creating a depot so that customers can have goods delivered on the reserve and benefit from tax exemption in exchange for the payment of a percentage to the band (Meeches, 2014c). The band thus plans its economic development largely through cooperation with the private sector.

Second, Long Plain has been in the process of adopting a land code since January 2012 to enter the First Nation Land Management Regime. This would greatly increase the band's autonomy towards AADNC. Indeed under the regime bands do not have to wait for AADNC's slow approval, making it much easier for them to rent their land and set up leases. It also grants the Chief and Council the power to pass land-related laws and to plan their reserve land development more efficiently. According to Chief Meeches (2014b), the land code will only apply, at least at first, to the urban reserves. This underlines the fact that the land code is firstly aimed at facilitating economic development.

The creation and development of Long Plain urban reserve in Winnipeg has positive medium and long term consequences for the band and its members as well as for the First Nation community in Winnipeg and the city's First Nation entrepreneurs.

The main goal of the reserve is to generate revenues for the band to reinvest on the home community (Meeches, 2014b). The First Nation would then be able to fund the development of economic activities on the main reserve thus creating jobs and reducing the currently very high unemployment rate. Dennis Meeches' long term vision is to create a strong

viable economy on the home community in order to better the band members' living conditions. Investments on infrastructures could also be made. For example, building a new sewer and water plant to alleviate the current infrastructure's insufficiencies would allow the band to build new housings on the reserve thus reducing the current overcrowding. In the long run, the urban reserve development could make it more attractive to live on the main reserve than to leave for the city, while guaranteeing employment and housing conditions at least equal to those that are sought off-reserve.

The creation of Manitoba capital's first urban reserve is also an opportunity for the 28 285 registered Indians of Winnipeg (Statistics Canada, 2011): they could benefit from tax exemption on tobacco, gas and other products (businesses evoked as part of the economic development were: a medical clinic, a pharmacy, a cafeteria, a Tim Hortons (Daniels, 2014)) within the city limits, right next to Polo Park shopping centre. This is not the case today with other opportunities lying out of the city including Roseau River urban reserve in the rural municipality (RM) of Rosser or to Swan Lake's in the RM of Headingley. The office space on Madison reserve is also an opportunity for First Nations entrepreneurs and their staff as they will have the occasion to set their activities on reserve land and thus avoid paying property and income taxes and the tax on industrial and commercial profits.

The creation of the urban reserve can also have a direct effect on the band's political and economic independence. These newly created streams of revenues will enable the community to develop its own programs as it sees fit and that would match its needs and priorities in a timely manner. Since those revenues are independent from the federal government, the band will not be accountable to AADNC regarding the way the money is spent. Self-sufficiency through urban reserve-generated revenues enables the band to strengthen its economic development, to better its members' living conditions, and to exercise its inherent right to self-determination.

The economic development planned by Long Plain being largely based on a partnership with the private sector, the band has to present itself as a good financial manager with an economically viable project that can rapidly be developed to become profitable, and as a politically stable entity to reassure its economic partners.

Currently, bands are not necessarily seen as credible economic players by the private sector as they are often heavily subsidized by the federal government. This might act as a deterrent for obtaining the financing necessary for economic development. The existing representations regarding corruption within reserves' political systems might also discourage the business community from participating in the bands' economic projects.

Competition between bands for the means for economic development might also hurt economic activities of First nations as a whole. When the province allowed for the opening of two new casinos in 2000, some advocated for a collective ownership benefitting several bands. Instead, a harsh rivalry between bands led to the creation of two individual band-owned casinos benefitting only Opaskwayak Cree Nation and Brokenhead First Nation and its tribal council (Romanow, 2014). But to Dennis Meeches, urban reserves are an opportunity for Southern Manitoba First Nations to cooperate in order to make each band's economic development more efficient. He suggests that an organization be created to coordinate the future Winnipeg urban reserves (Meeches, 2014b). That organization could create a common legislation regarding taxes so that competition between bands does not lead them to reduce the level of taxation they apply on their own reserve. By working collectively on that topic, bands would not have to lower their tax level as a competitive lever. This would provide each band with the guarantee that the creation of other urban reserves will not lead to

competition but to the reinforcement of economic development. This kind of organization is still at an early stage and for some alliance on the economic level will never transcend bands' broader divisions (Courchene, 2014).

In the existing framework, the conversion to reserve is a lengthy and complex process that entails collaboration between the requesting band and the other three levels of government. A working relationship between the band and the municipality is crucial, even more so in a city setting, as the MSA is mandatory to convert a fee simple property to reserve and those two governments will be required to keep working together. Taking into account the City Council's anxieties, consulting with the neighbourhood residents and attempting to maintain a good neighbourly relation are three key factors paving the way for a harmonious relationship with the impacted municipality and the signing of the MSA without delay. That document is admittedly constraining for the band, but it is an indispensable condition for the creation of the urban reserve. The economic development of Madison urban reserve would be facilitated by the land code and the building of partnerships with the private sector. Those require that the band be a politically and economically viable and stable entity with a clear vision of its goals and the means to achieve them.

The development of on-reserve activities will be beneficial to Long Plain members as well as to registered Indians and the First Nation business community in Winnipeg. The revenues the band will get through these activities can be reinvested on the main reserve to reinvigorate its economic activity and better the community's living conditions. As well as being a key part in attaining self-sufficiency and providing the band with the financial means to choose its social and economic development, Long Plain's urban reserve in Winnipeg contributes to increasing the band's political independence from the federal government and represents the exertion of its inherent right to self-determination.

Urban reserves are currently scarce in Manitoba, but Long Plain's positive experience can be shared with other bands to speed up the creation of more of them. Urban reserves can be a tool to generate revenues and help address the many economic and social challenges First Nations face. They also represent the opportunity to avoid competition between bands and implement joint economic development between the various urban reserves or on collectively owned urban reserves. This, in the long run, would reinforce the self-sufficiency and political independence of each First Nation involved.

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Introduction

David Newhouse

The emerging practice of economic development within Aboriginal communities is resulting in the development of formal processes of planning that can be used to consider and weigh the economic and social needs of local communities and for constructing and entering into relationships of mutual benefit.

David Natcher, Tom Allen and Trian Schmid, all of the University of Saskatchewan, examine the challenges facing 14 Saskatchewan First Nations and the approaches they've taken to balance economic and social needs. Their research illustrates the need for local institutions that support local community needs, desires and ways of doing things. Their findings echo those of the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development in the need for separation of political and business decision making, the creation of an entity separate from Chief and Council for economic development and clear and transparent governance processes that support political stability.

David Millette from the First Nations Land Management Resource Centre examines the community planning process of the Tsawwassen First Nation in British Columbia. The paper focuses on the land use planning process that has occurred since the signing of the Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement, the first urban treaty in Canada. First Nations land use planning in urban environments requires a high degree of cultural sensitivity, an understanding of municipal and government land use planning and decision making processes, as well as a keen understanding of one's own values, priorities and objectives.

Janice Tulk of University of Cape Breton describes and analyzes the Unamak'ki Economic Development Model, a collaborative approach to economic development among five Unamak'ki communities in Nova Scotia. Her paper illustrates this approach using the Sydney Tar Ponds

Clean Up Project. The partnership model is one that could be used as an approach to economic development in other areas of the country.

These papers illustrate that Aboriginal economic development is developing into a community of practice that is finding its foundation in Aboriginal cultural values and mainstream community economic development processes.

Balancing Politics and the Dispersal of Business Revenues among First Nations in Saskatchewan, Canada[1]

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we present the results of interviews conducted with 14 First Nations in Saskatchewan on the ways in which they balance the need for economic development while meeting the social welfare needs of community members. Specific themes include (i) the separation between business and politics; (ii) the existence and role of boards of directors; (iii) strategic versus reactive decision-making; and (iv) the tension between revenue reinvestment and disbursement. Among the First Nations interviewed, three have put into place formal structures to separate business from politics, and have prioritized strategic and long-term investment over revenue dispersal. The remaining 11 First Nations use economic development as a vehicle to meet the social welfare needs of community members, including the funding of social program, Elders care, family allowances, and host of other social welfare services. This paper offers insight into the challenges First Nation governments encounter as they struggle to meet the diverse needs of their citizenry.

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Introduction

Since the 1980s, the findings of the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development have been used to explain the economic disparity among indigenous communities in the United States and Canada. Among the principal findings of the Harvard Project is that successful economic development of Native American communities often requires a clear separation between elected officials, for instance Chiefs and Councils, and business development enterprises. Through a number of North American case studies, Cornell (2006) and his colleagues (Jorgensen, 2007; Kalt, 2008) have found that when politics interferes with business management, enterprises generally suffer, and the development of local economies is often undermined. Grant and Taylor (2007) have come to similar conclusions but note the unique challenges faced by Native American and First Nation Chiefs and Councils to maintain effective distance from business development while at the same time ensuring that the proceeds from band owned enterprises are used to support community services and initiatives.[2] Wuttunee (2010: 180) also acknowledges the tension between economic development and the expectation that elected leaders will direct profits from band-owned businesses to the social welfare needs of First Nation members. In fact, Wuttunee et al. (2008: 3) argues that band owned businesses should be used first and foremost to advance the social and environmental objectives of First Nation communities.

While laudable, the social enterprise approach to economic development does carry with it significant risks when attempting to balance market competitiveness and social benefits. A business that has all of its revenues dispersed to support the social welfare needs of community members may eventually be weakened by a lack of funds for reinvestment and growth. Yet a business that does not allocate funds to support the social needs of community members will garner little community support, leaving both the enterprise and leadership vulnerable to change. Therefore, the challenge for First Nation governments is to find a balance between meeting the social needs of community members and the need for reinvestment in order to stabilize and grow businesses into the future.

It is with this balance in mind that we examined the ways in which a sample of First Nations in Saskatchewan, Canada have chosen to allocate revenues from their own economic development initiatives. This is not an assessment of what makes a strategy good or bad, but rather a discussion of the different paths chosen, and the challenges encountered, as First Nation governments struggle to meet the diverse needs of their citizenry.

Background

One of the functions of government is to allocate financial resources to programs and services that provide social benefits to its citizens. In Canada, funds are often generated through the collection of taxes and levies for regulated activities such as permits and licenses. Other sources of funds include transfers from higher levels of government. For instance, in the province of Saskatchewan, municipal governments receive funding from the provincial government to deliver programs and various services, which are based on community needs assessments. Community needs assessments account for the condition of public infrastructure, trends in population, gaps in service delivery, and the priorities and

[2] In the United States, indigenous peoples are generally identified as Native American whereas in Canada, First Nation is more commonly used.

expressed needs of residents for future programming (Witkin and Altschuld, 1995). Based on the determination of community needs, annual funding transfers are then made available.

Throughout Canada, First Nation administrations (Chiefs, Councilors and band staff) serve as governments for their respective citizens. Across Canada there are 617 First Nation governments. The Federal responsibility to provide funding and support to First Nations was first enacted in 1867, through the British North America Act (BNAA). At this time, "Indians and lands reserved for the Indians" became the exclusive jurisdictional responsibility of the Federal Government. As noted in the colonial rhetoric of the then Prime Minister of Canada, John A. Macdonald, it was the responsibility of the federal government to assume "the onerous duty of [Aboriginal] guardianship as of persons underage and incapable of the management of their own affairs" (in Brody, 2000: 182). Through the BNAA, as well as subsequent provisions guaranteed through the signing of historic treaties (Treaties 1–11), the Federal government assumed responsibility for funding various programs and services that are delivered on First Nation reserve lands, such as education, housing, public works, and family services.

The funding that First Nations receive from the Federal government is to be equivalent to the funding levels that non-First Nation communities receive from provincial governments for the delivery of comparable public services. However, by the Federal government's own admission, the funding provided to First Nations falls well short of those levels provided to non-First Nation communities (Quesnel, 2012). In fact, transfer payments from the Federal government to First Nations have been capped at a two percent increase since 1996, making no allowance for population growth and the compounded needs of First Nation communities (MacDonald and Wilson, 2013). This shortfall serves as a considerable challenge to First Nation governments as they try to deliver programs and services to meet the needs of membership; a fact made clear when one considers that 64 percent of Saskatchewan First Nation children are living below the poverty line, compared to 16 percent of non-First Nation children (MacDonald and Wilson, 2013: 6). In addition to inadequate funding levels, funding transfers from the Federal government are accompanied by a plethora of regulations and restrictions on how those funds are to be reallocated by First Nation governments to support to local programs. Limited in the ways funding transfers can be utilized, First Nation governments are constrained in deciding how best to deliver on-reserve programs; a form of administrative patronage that some argue has entrenched the power of the Federal government in First Nation affairs (Neu and Thierrien, 2003: 5–6). Federal policies of 'financial accountability' and the 'yardsticking' have in many ways undermined the ability of First Nation governments to deliver essential community services (Gibson, 2000: 289).

In an effort to gain some measure of financial autonomy, many First Nations have turned to business development and revenue-generating enterprises to provide additional and discretional spending that can be used to address community needs. For example, it is estimated that the Squamish First Nation in British Columbia redirects between $20 million to $24 million annually from band owned businesses to subsidize their delivery of community programs and services (Schwartz, 2013). Economic development as a vehicle for the creation of unrestricted public funds has become a necessity for many First Nation leaders, and is a critical way for First Nation governments to exert independence and to gain some measure of financial autonomy.

The approaches that First Nations take to economic development are varied, and often include a combination of individual entrepreneurial activities, band-owned enterprises, joint

ventures with private industries, and tribal council development corporations. Weir (2007) has estimated that since the 1990s the number of Aboriginal owned for-profit organizations, particularly small businesses and entrepreneurs, has increased from 3,000 to 27,000. These businesses range from small gas stations and laundry services to multi-million dollar casinos and mining ventures. Despite the various approaches employed by First Nations to develop local economies, Anderson and Bone (1995) argue that many share a set of common principles, including (i) a predominately collective approach to economic development that is closely tied to each First Nations' traditional lands and its identity as a Nation; (ii) economic self-sufficiency as a necessary condition for the realization of self-government; and (iii) to improve the socio-economic circumstances of First Nations in order to preserve and strengthen traditional culture, values, and languages. While it is not always clear who benefits most directly from business development, or where profits are ultimately directed, one thing that is clear is that many Aboriginal governments in Canada are using economic development as a means to fund community services (Weir, 2007: 47).

Methodology

Our research began by contacting a random sample of First Nations in Saskatchewan. In total there are 72 First Nations in Saskatchewan. Of these 72 First Nations, 16 were contacted and asked if they would be willing to participate in this study. Of those 16 First Nations, 14 agreed to be interviewed. The First Nations that were included in our sample are geographically diverse (north and south), vary in their proximity to urban centers, are representative of First Nation Treaty regions in Saskatchewan (Treaties 4, 6, 8, 10), and all operate a number of economic development enterprises. Given the confidential nature of the subject matter, it was agreed that no names or other identifying indicators would be used.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with representatives from each of the 14 First Nations. In nine cases, interviews were conducted with First Nation Economic Development Officers (EDO). In each of these cases the EDO worked on behalf of their respective Chief and Council or tribal council, and was generally responsible for identifying and implementing economic development plans, ensuring that the interests of First Nation members are reflected in business development, and providing professional support for entrepreneurship and business incubation. The remaining five interviews were conducted with First Nation Chiefs (1) and Councilors (4) who were elected officials and held the administrative portfolio for economic development for their First Nation. As noted above, the objective of our interviews was to explore the ways in which each of these 14 First Nations attempted to balance the need for economic development while meeting the social welfare needs of community members. Specific themes explored during the interviews included (i) the separation between business and politics; (ii) the existence and role of boards of directors; (iii) strategic versus reactive decision-making; and (iv) the tension between revenue reinvestment and disbursement.

Results

The results of our interviews demonstrate that among our sample of 14 Saskatchewan First Nations, there is considerable variability in the way in which First Nation manage band-owned revenues. Three of the 14 First Nations interviewed said that they have a clear separation between business and politics. For each of these three First Nations a formal

structure has been put into place to eliminate political interference in business management, with the intention to create economic stability in their organizations that could then attract outside investment. While the Chiefs and Councils are all apprised of the decisions being made, they have no discretionary authority over how revenues from band owned businesses are invested or redistributed. As one interviewee stated, "the structure that we have now ensures that a new person coming in cannot just wipe out all that has been done. New Chiefs step into a structure and have opportunities to learn from their peers."

For one of these First Nations the optimal organization is a development corporation structured as a limited liability partnership. The First Nation is the owner and appoints the Board of Directors but the Board makes all financial decisions while the First Nation leadership sets goals.

> "We are very fortunate that the majority of individuals on the Board of Directors have business experience and are accustomed to good governance, that is a big asset. There are others [First Nations] trying to achieve the success and structure that we have had, but they don't understand the role of a Board of Directors and the importance of governance and that is key."

For these First Nations building financial stability was most critical. With stability, economic development can proceed, and community members will enjoy the long-term benefits. The reinvestment of revenues and keeping a sufficient pool of funds available for strategic investment was considered most important. In this way the long-term needs of community members can be met through long-term economic development:

> "Our goal is to provide employment and business opportunities so members can support themselves."

> "Dividends are side benefits of the corporation, not the focus. We need to be profitable first."

> "We are at a development stage right now, so we are focusing on re-investment. All profits of the business are kept within the business right now."

Among the other 11 First Nations, most (10) admitted that their greatest challenge is creating distance between politics and business management. In fact, seven First Nation representatives noted that a plan was being put into place for such separation but had not yet been approved by their respective Chiefs and Councils. Each of these First Nation representatives also emphasized the importance of strong and transparent governance that can withstand frequent changes in elected leadership.

> "In some case Chiefs may have been elected based on certain promises made. However, when they come into office they must learn that a process is in place and they simply cannot do as they wish. In cases when they do try act on favouritism, nepotism or repaying political favours, the system needs to be strong enough to stop it."

Only one of the 14 First Nation representatives said that they have no structure in place, nor have there been any discussions about how best to organize business and politics. Rather, for this First Nation, the Chief and Council will maintain complete discretion over

how proceeds from band owned businesses will be dispersed or reinvested. It was acknowledged that in the past this has proven problematic given frequent political turnover and the use of band-owned revenues as rewards for political support.

> "Often, politicians use band enterprises as a way to reward voters or to hire friends and family. As a result, business performance suffers."

This statement supports the findings of Natcher and his colleagues (2013) who found a direct correlation between political instability (frequent electoral change) and poor economic performance among First Nations in Saskatchewan.

While a minority of our sample indicated that they do have a separation between business and politics (3\14), a majority of the First Nations interviewed noted that they have a board of directors in place to advise Chief and Council on economic development matters (11\14). In each of these cases, boards were established to administer large economic development initiatives, for instance the development of commercial properties. In these cases, business managers and financial operating officers provide information to the Boards who then have the authority to make investment decisions. Yet having a board in place does not necessarily guarantee sound business advice or the separation of business and politics. Rather, depending on the organizational structure chosen, the distance between the board of directors and First Nation leadership may be negligible:

> "The Board of Directors runs the business, in a sense they are separate from Chief and Council but that are also band members. So the Chief and Council can determine the need for funding. Sometimes they allow money to stay in the business. If they [Chief and Council] decide there is a surplus, it usually goes out on a per capita basis, usually just before Christmas."

Even when boards are established, members can sometimes remain beholding to First Nation leaders. In fact, in was noted that in some cases family members of Chiefs are appointed to the board soon after elections. While this does not necessarily indicate any wrongdoing, or suggest a lack of capacity, it does give the appearance of scant separation between business and politics. In other cases, changes in board membership may be attributed to ideological conflicts. For example, in one case it was noted that despite having a very successful management board in place, with out-of-province members with proven business expertise, community members demanded that the board be replaced with band members who were more aware of community economic conditions and sympathetic to community needs. In this case tensions arose over the board's decision to reinvest revenues rather then distribute them to support the social welfare needs of community members. Soon following the board's restructuring: "All of the money was used to support community services and there was no plan to hold anything back for the development corporation."

Half of the First Nations interviewed (7\14) characterized their approach to economic development as short-term and reactive to the immediate needs of First Nation members:

> "In general, we are still budgeting and not strategic. Budgeting is reactionary and should be avoided because that process is designed to use up all revenues."

However, all First Nations noted the importance of strategic planning.

> "You really need to plan ahead for what you will do when you make money. That has to be done before the heat of battle — before there was money on the table."

While all the First Nations interviewed acknowledged an important part of strategic planning was the need for reinvestment for future business development, several admitted the challenge of breaking from their tradition of revenue distribution, often in the form of annual per capita payouts, in lieu of redirecting profits to reinvestment. There was a consensus among those First Nations (5) who redistribute revenues through per capita payouts, that even though their leadership and community members recognize that this is not the most effective use of funds, there is no way to gracefully end the practice, especially if leadership hopes to remain in elected office.

> "Per capita distribution is inevitable because it is always brought up through political campaigns. We want to lock things up a bit to control the amounts, age limits, and maybe to tie it to education. But right now that isn't possible."

> "Our revenues come in at Christmas and each band member gets $100. Once you start this you can't stop it, people expect it."

> "At one time we tried to decrease the dividend because of an investment opportunity and it was a hard sell because they had come to rely on the funds."

Others (9) were adamant that per capita payments were not a good way to manage economic development revenues. Rather, First Nations who began with an annual locked-in distribution program eventually changed to more flexible distribution based on a percentage of annual revenues. It was also acknowledged that leadership and some First Nation members resisted this change. However, they were eventually convinced that a more flexible rate of distribution would in the long-term term lead to the better provisioning of community services. Yet other First Nations refused to alter from their tradition of dispersing income revenues due to the need to support the immediate social needs of community members. In fact several (8) First Nation representatives acknowledged that the needs of community members simply outweigh the need for reinvestment.

> "We are working on a process for re-investment, but right now the needs of the community outweigh the investment interests."

> "It would be nice to hold some back for economic development but once you start doing something it is hard to go back. We now pay for funerals, elders' living expenses, and even make per capita payments."

The desire to provide for the social welfare needs of First Nation members does not nullify the financial realities First Nations face in developing and maintaining business enterprises. In fact, all the First Nations interviewed acknowledged the importance of reinvestment and sound business development. Yet they also admitted that this is not always possible in light of the immediate and more pressing needs of First Nation members. For these First Nations their day-today business operations involve balancing the social welfare needs of community members and staying viable as an economic enterprise. Finding this balance serves a formidable and ongoing challenge to First Nation leaders.

> "Sure we're interested in growing the investments, but how do you ignore pressing short term community needs. How do you tell people with urgent needs today to wait for hypothetical opportunities in the future?"

Discussion

The environment that leads some First Nations to achieve economic success while simultaneously meeting the social welfare needs of community members is complex and has been the focus of numerous studies. Helin (2006) for example, argues that the key to First Nation self-reliance is to first create a strong business model supported through own-source revenues. This is achieved by supporting entrepreneurial activities, attracting external investment, separating business from politics, and developing long term and strategic approaches to business planning (Helin, 2006: 262). This approach is similar to the Nation Building Model advanced by the Harvard Project on Native American Economic Development that also calls for (i) clear and enforceable rules that protect business from politics; (ii) the establishment of an independent board that provides sound business advice; (iii) convincing community members that short term payoffs are incompatible with long term gains; (iv) reinvestment for business development; and (v) annual planning and regular reporting of business activities. While bearing in mind that it is difficult, if not impossible to completely separate local politics from business development, these administrative controls afford an opportunity to manage the political-business interface most effectively (Cornell, 2006). In fact, the results of the Harvard Project indicate that the most economically successful Native American communities have several of these conditions in place. Among our sample of First Nations three have chosen a Nation Building approach to community economic development. In these cases, clear separations have been made that effectively separate business development from the politics of the Nation. This has been achieved by establishing independent boards or by entering limited liability partnerships that keeps matters of business and development free of political influence, reinvestment of business revenues, and strategic and long-term planning.

Critics of the Nation Building approach have, however, challenged this model on grounds that is embraces a western orientation to economic development that is underpinned by an individualistic motivations and economic self-interest (Dowling, 2005). It further conflicts with the more collectivist nature of First Nation culture that tends to prioritize community well-being and the equitable redistribution of wealth; a difference that was identified in the findings of Report for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996):

> The fundamental difference in emphasis between the Aboriginal view of economics and the beliefs of liberal capitalism relates less to the means by which wealth is created than to the appropriate distribution of resources once these have been acquired. Aboriginal cultures share a deeply embedded belief that the welfare of the collective is a higher priority than the acquisition of wealth by the individual.

Mowbray (2005) warns that by advancing economic policies premised on neo-liberal reforms and "faith in free market forces", the federal government is more apt to obfuscate from its fiduciary responsibilities of providing support to First Nation programs and services. To hold government accountable, and to ultimately reverse the deplorable conditions found on many First Nation reserves, requires a rejection of neo-liberal reforms, and to devise new models of economic development that are grounded first and foremost in

the needs and values of First Nation communities. Bone and Anderson (1995) note that First Nations need not accept the notion that to succeed economically requires the abandoning of social welfare goals. Rather a more compassionate form of capitalism can be pursued that seeks a balance between the market and community needs (Newhouse, 2001). Embedded within the values of First Nation culture, the compassionate capitalism of First Nations would emphasize community well being, respect for tradition, and a shared responsibility for the future. Newhouse (2001) warns that those First Nation leaders who fail to use economic development to advance the social welfare needs of community members will in the long-term erode Aboriginal worldviews and values. Therefore, it is essential that elected leaders use economic development to advance the social welfare of community members.

Among the First Nations interviewed for this research, a majority (11\14) are by design and necessity using economic development as a vehicle to meet the social welfare needs of First Nation members. In these cases, revenues are redistributed to provide for a range of services, including social program, Elders care, family allowances and host of other social welfare services. For these First Nations, economic development is being driven by community needs and the urgency to alleviate social suffering.

Conclusion

Today in Canada, First Nation governments are challenged to deliver the most basic of public services. Inequalities facing First Nations include limited family income, low educational attainment, high infant mortality, limited family support services, chronic illness, and increasingly high rates of suicide (MacDonald and Wilson 2013: 7). Although the Federal government is responsible for supporting programs and services that can remedy these conditions, they have, since the signing of the British North American Act in 1876, systematically faulted on their trust and treaty responsibilities to First Nations.

In response to this breach of trust, First Nations have turned to economic development to provide for the basic necessities of community living. Through a range of entrepreneurial, tribal, and joint ventures arrangements, First Nations are seeking some degree of financial independence through their own economic development ventures. While the approaches First Nations pursue are varied, all have tried to find a balance between meeting the immediate needs of community members and the need for longer-term business investment. This is a balance not easily reconciled. Some have chosen an approach more consistent with the Nation-Building Model where a clear separation exists between business and politics. Among the Nations in our sample that have chosen this approach the most critical factor to success is economic growth through financial reinvestment. In these cases all revenues are returned to band-owned businesses to provide employment, attract external investment, and create long-term financial stability. Yet the majority of the First Nations interviewed have chosen to redistribute revenues from ban-owned businesses in order to provide for the immediate social welfare needs of citizens.

Through our discussions with First Nation leaders and economic development officers, we have learned that there is no single or best solution. As noted by one First Nation representatives, “there is no single solution, but rather many alternative paths to follow.” Out of necessity, First Nation governments are pursuing various economic strategies in order to meet the diverse needs of their citizens. While some approaches have been criticized on grounds that they conflict, and may potentially erode the collectivist values of Aboriginal

communities, remaining subservient to a patronage relationship with the Federal government may prove equally erosive. First Nation communities may also have to accept that per capita payout and other forms of revenue dispersal are not the most effective way to advance the social welfare needs of community members. Last, support should be given to those leaders who are proposing long-term and transparent approaches to economic development that can lead to both financial autonomy of First Nations and improved social well-being of citizens. Finding this balance may be a formidable challenge, yet the reconciliation of these two objectives will gain in importance as First Nations devise their own economic development strategies during this era of federal diminution in First Nation funding.

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Incremental Planning: The Tsawwassen First Nation Experience

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> The idea is to integrate and not assimilate, finding balance between challenging interests, and arriving at a healthy and desirable place to live for my community and our welcomed investors.
>
> Chief Kim Baird, August, 2012

ABSTRACT

In terms of community planning in Canada, it can easily be argued that the Tsawwassen First Nation in British Columbia is undergoing one of the most challenging processes in present-day planning practice. Since the signing of the *Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement* — the first contemporary urban treaty in the country, several economic development activities have been negotiated, all within a comprehensive land use planning strategy initiated by Tsawwassen Chief Kim Baird, that can only be referred to as 'innovative' and 'bold'. Several multimillion dollar projects are in the works, including a four hundred (400) million dollar shopping mall, an inland port, and a series of subdivisions that will eventually accommodate 4,000 new residents.

The planning process of integrating the First Nation lands within a peri-urban framework, all-the-while maintaining a progressive, jurisdictional approach that places traditional values, transparency and community well-being at the forefront of a list of several important and at times competing planning tenets, is, at best, ambitious. The objective, to Chief Baird, is to create an economy that welcomes investment, all-the-while attracting families, within a First Nation regime that is fair to all stakeholders.

The journey has been a long one, having its roots in colonial times, with the Chief's great grand-father's eventual address to the McKenna-McBride Commission, adhering to the British Columbia Treaty Commission's Treaty Process, becoming a signatory to the *Framework Agreement on First Nation Lands Management*, and culminating in what would arguably be the most significant urban treaty in Canadian history — the *Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement*. The whole has provided for a complex blend of lands whose uses together must satisfy needs that extend from the culturally important past into an economically viable future. The land use planning process for this very special set of lands and stakeholders is therefore not straightforward, having required an incremental approach that is novel and worth consideration for other communities undergoing rapid change.

> "...I beg to introduce to you the bearer of this, the chief of the Tchwassen village. He and His people are very anxious to see their reservation staked out by the government...."
>
> Father L. Fouquet, Oblate Missionary, 1865[1]

Introduction

Situated within the Greater Vancouver region of British Columbia's lower mainland, the Tsawwassen First Nation is poised to become one of the area's principle actors in the realm of economic development. Since the signing of the *Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement* — the first contemporary urban treaty in the country, several economic development activities have been negotiated, all within a comprehensive land use planning strategy that was initiated by former Chief Kim Baird, that can only be referred to as 'innovative' and 'bold'.[2] Several multimillion dollar projects are in the works, including a four hundred (400) million dollar shopping mall, an inland port, and a series of subdivisions that will eventually accommodate 4,000 new residents. In terms of community planning in Canada, it can readily be argued that the Tsawwassen First Nation is undergoing one of the most challenging processes in present-day planning practice. The planning process of integrating the First Nation lands within a peri-urban framework, all-the-while maintaining a progressive, jurisdictional approach that places traditional values, transparency and community well-being at the forefront of a list of several important and at times competing planning tenets, is ambitious, to say the least. The objective, to former Chief Baird, is to create an economy that welcomes investment, all-the-while attracting families, within a First Nation regime that is fair to all stakeholders.

The journey has been a long one, having its roots in early colonial times, with the former Chief's great grand-father's eventual address to the McKenna-McBride Commission, adhering to the British Columbia Treaty Commission's Treaty Process, becoming a signatory to the *Framework Agreement on First Nation Lands Management*, and culminating in what would arguably be one of the most significant urban treaties in Canadian history. The whole has provided for a complex blend of lands whose uses together must satisfy needs that extend from the culturally important past into an economically viable future. The land use planning process for this very special set of lands and stakeholders is therefore not straightforward, having required an incremental approach that is novel and worth consideration for other communities undergoing rapid change.

By the time the above quoted letter of Oblate missionary Fouquet reached the Lands and Works Department in New Westminster in 1865, colonial activities were already shaping what would become the Tsawwassen reserve. As early as 1860, we get a glimpse of part of the difficulties when settlers were removing official markers of Indians lands: In a letter by

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[1] Father L. Fouquet, letter sent to the Lands and Work Department in New Westminster, August 15, 1865. British Columbia Public Archives Document File Number B1328.

[2] Chief Baird was in office from 1999 to 2012.

the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, R, Moody, for example, we find him referring to an incident during which parcel boundary posts installed on a previous day had been removed by a settler who had installed a fence to mark the same lands as his own.[3] Father Fouquet certainly saw urgency in establishing a set parcel of land for the Tsawwassen people: Pre-emption, the mechanism through which lands could be appropriated by colonials, was rapidly locking away lands around the traditional Tsawwassen village near the southern reaches of the expanse between the mouth of the Fraser River and Point Roberts.[4] The latter process was closed to indigenous people and as lands became tied to others, it became urgent for an official survey of the reserve to be carried out. The reserve's external boundaries were set in 1871,[5] and the Tsawwassen reserve was formally established at 290 hectares, without any detailed consideration for site actualities or community needs (Figure 1).[6] This was typical of reserve surveying, leaving descendants of aboriginal populations across Canada to fight for land rights for generations to follow. Later, in 1914, Tsawwassen Chief Harry Joe appealed to the McKenna-McBride Commission for additional lands, but was refused. Chief Joe would not live to see the results of what he had initiated, but his great grand-daughter, former Chief Kim Baird, would lead her community in a set of actions that would include adhesion to the *Framework Agreement on First Nation Land Management* (the *Framework Agreement*)[7], and culminating into what would become known as the *Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement*,[8] which would include a set of lands — the Tsawwassen Treaty Settlement Lands, comprising 724 hectares.

The land considerations within the treaty negotiations and the resulting treaty were complex, with several stakeholders and competing needs. Within the regional context, the land base is relatively small: Land for economic development opportunities including com-

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[3] Letter dated April 5, 1860, from R. Moody, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works, to the Attorney General; British Columbia Public Archives Document File Number F920, 37A, B1337. See also a related letter in which the settler undertakes to respect the same boundaries (document has no date); British Columbia Public Archives Document File Number F920, 37A, B1337.

[4] The Tsawwassen Traditional Territory is vast: It is bordered on the north-east by the watersheds which feed into Pitt Lake and follows the course of the Pitt River to Pitt Meadows where it empties into the Fraser River. It includes the portion of New Westminster along the Fraser River, and follows the outflow of the Fraser just south of Sea Island. From Sea Island it cuts across the Strait of Georgia to Galliano Island. It includes all of Saltspring Island. The western border is Sampson Narrows. It runs between Saltspring Island and the Saanich Peninsula in Satellite Channel, then heads north to Swanson Channel, and includes Pender and then Saturna Island heading south to Boundary Pass. At the northern extremity of Boundary Pass, the boundary of the territory heads directly north-east to White Rock. It misses the watershed of the Campbell River as we move north to Aldergrove. From Aldergrove, the territory winds north including the watersheds of the Serpentine and Nicomekl Rivers, until it reaches Pitt Meadows again. Much, although not all, of the territory has become urbanized. A great deal of it is now agricultural, while some areas around Pitt Lake remain heavily forested. For a detailed analysis of the territory, see Daniel M. Millette, "Reconstructing Culture: A Traditional Use Study of the Tsawwassen First Nation", (Delta: Tsawwassen First Nation and British Columbia Ministry of Forests, 1998).

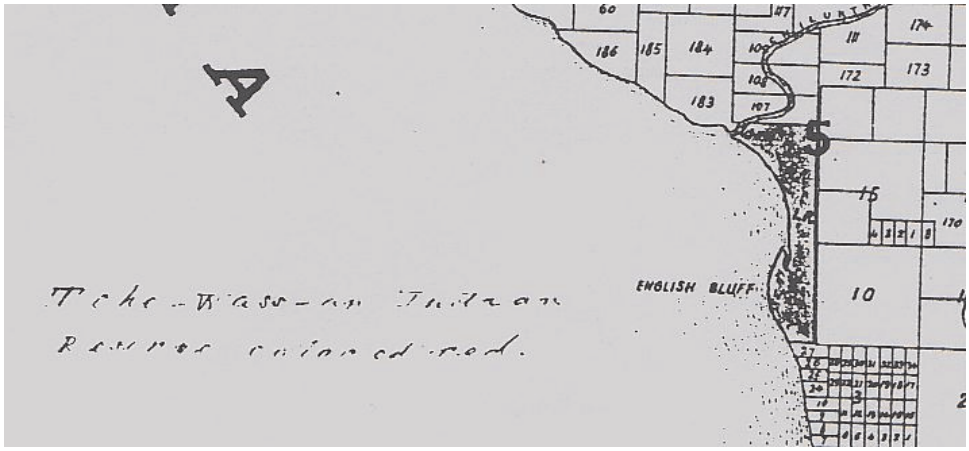
[5] British Columbia Papers — Indian Land Question 1850–1875 (Victoria: R. Wolfenden, 1875). p. 92.

[6] Figure 1, courtesy of the Tsawwassen First Nation archives; Figures 2, 3 and 5, by author; Figure 4, courtesy of Tsawwassen First Nation (Land Use Plan by Daniel M. Millette, RPP, MCIP); Figure 6, courtesy of Tsawwassen First Nation (Neighborhood Context Plan by AECOM); Figure 7 courtesy of Tsawwassen First Nation <http://www.tsawwassenfirstnation.com/pdfs/TFN-About/Information-Centre/Strategic-Planning/Land_Use_Concept_2011.pdf> (Neighborhood Plan by AECOM).

[7] The Tsawwassen First Nation became a signatory to the Framework Agreement on First Nation Land Management in 2003, enacting its Land Code in 2005.

[8] The Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement was enacted in 2009.

FIGURE 1
"Tche-wass-an Indian Reserve Confirmed" (1878)



Source: Image courtesy of the Tsawwassen First Nation.

mercial uses, market housing, and housing for Tsawwassen community members was required. All of the lands are vital in terms of Tsawwassen heritage, with archaeological evidence dating occupancy to, depending on interpretation, between 4,000 and 9,000 years; heritage sites therefore required assessment and protection.[9] At the same time, approximately half the pre-existing Agricultural Land Reserve (ALR) lands remained within the land use designation, and the other half removed. And added to the complexities, public misconceptions with issues such as consideration for what was, at the time, the potential expansion of the neighbouring port cluttered the process.[10] The end result is a 'new' Tsawwassen land base that straddles two strategic road accesses: Highway 17 leading to the Tsawwassen Ferry Terminal, and Deltaport Way, leading to the Roberts Bank port and terminal; a railway corridor also links the lands to the broader national and international transportation networks (Figure 2). All of the lands have been transferred in "fee simple" to the Tsawwassen First Nation, with Certificate of Possession (CP) lands registered within the provincial land title registry.[11] The whole is a complex blend of lands whose uses together must satisfy needs

[9] See ARCAS Consulting Archaeologists. Archaeological Investigations at Tsawwassen, BC. Volumes I–IV. Delta. 1992–1996.

[10] The Deltaport Roberts Bank Container Terminal was built in 1970, with expansions in 1983–1984, 1997 and 2010. In 2004, outside of the treaty negotiation process, Chief Baird negotiated an agreement with the Vancouver Port Authority in its one (1) billion dollar plans to expand the port, for compensation and employment for her people.

[11] A "Certificate of Possession" (CP) is documentary evidence of a First Nation member's lawful possession of Reserve lands pursuant to the Indian Act. The Government of Canada retains legal title to the land. The CP holder is entitled to the use of the land, and rights are transferable by sale or bequeath to another First Nation individual.

FIGURE 2
Tsawwassen Final Agreement Lands

Source: Image prepared by author.

that extend from the culturally significant past into an economically viable future. The land use planning process for this very special set of lands is therefore not straightforward, having required an incremental approach that is novel and worth consideration for other communities undergoing similar, rapid change.

The Challenge

Dating back at least fifteen (15) years, former Chief Baird realized that regional-locational advantages would be central to her community's need to generate long-term community sustainability. As treaty negotiations progressed, so too did the frequency with which economic development opportunities increase. Negotiations for example, with the development of Deltaport's Roberts Bank forty-seven (47) million dollar container terminal were well underway during treaty negotiations and the resultant agreement would have to be fit within any land use planning process. At the same time, other entities competed 'against' any pondered economic development considerations: The Agricultural Land Commission, for instance, highlighted the ALR designation over much of the proposed treaty settlement lands. And other groups signalled their interests such as those protecting migratory bird corridors and nesting grounds. Regionally, the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD) was working on its own regional planning strategy — the "Liveable Region Strategy", initially hoping to include the Tsawwassen First Nation's lands as green space and farmland. And the neighbouring municipality of Delta was concerned over potential growth, given its stated limited servicing capacities. Internally, within the Tsawwassen First Nation community, several voices were making themselves heard: Certificate of Possession (CP) holders vied for development opportunities, while non-CP holders raised concerns over potentially rapid development; both groups wanted the inclusion of community amenities and culture and traditional values to be at the core, while the same two groups wanted a planning process through which all members would be included. Land use planning was thus central to any treaty outcome and it became clear that whatever the process, it would have to be inclusive of "all" interested parties, with the Tsawwassen First Nation members guiding it.[12]

The community planning process that was ultimately devised was an incremental and cumulative one, beginning with the powers acquired as signatory to the *Framework Agreement* and eventually, as a partner with Canada in the *Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement*.

The Tsawwassen Land Use Plan: The *Framework Agreement on First Nation Lands Management*

In 2003, Tsawwassen Chief and Council decided that, while persistently negotiating within the British Columbia Treaty Process, the First Nation would become a signatory to the *Framework Agreement*, enabling a Land Code to be developed, complete with a set of community-specific laws that would help govern over the nation's lands.[13] The Chief and her Council felt that the nation should broaden its jurisdiction in the absence of what the treaty had thus far accomplished. Key is that the *Framework Agreement* is an innovative

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[12] For an example of the complexities involved in planning municipal lands where Indian Act reserves have been surveyed, see Jordan Stanger-Ross, "Municipal Colonialism in Vancouver: City Planning and Conflict over Indian Reserves, 1928–1950s" in The Canadian Historical Review, 2008, Volume 89, Number 4, pp. 541–580.

[13] The Framework Agreement on First Nations Lands Management was signed by thirteen First Nations and Canada on February 12, 1996. It is ratified by individual First Nations and brought into effect by Canada in the First Nations Land Management Act, assented to June 17, 1999. For the full text of the First Nations Lands Management Act, see <http://laws.justice.gc.ca/eng/F-11.8/page-1.html>.

agreement offering the opportunity for First Nation jurisdiction and control (legal authority) over reserve lands and resources to First Nations who become signatories to it; at a minimum, this removes some twenty-five (25) percent of the *Indian Act* provisions over the First Nation, and thus provides the nation with much greater flexibility in terms of lands governance, including the efficient and immediate development of an type of land related plan.[14] Signatory First Nations take the necessary steps to ratify the *Framework Agreement* through the drafting and enacting of a Land Code and by proceeding to reassume control over their lands and resources.[15] For the Tsawwassen First Nation, this would on the one hand represent a major step towards lands governance autonomy, all-the-while establishing a minimum threshold in terms of negotiating lands management and governance within the treaty; nowhere, outside of a few modern treaties and self-governing agreements do we find more First Nation autonomy for the governance over reserve lands in Canada. First Nations operating under the *Framework Agreement* can define land use planning processes that can be managed internally and be completely controlled by the same community. This can include any planning process that the First Nation might chose, such an approach that might consider traditional planning concepts blended with western planning principles that together can result in a land use plan that corresponds more closely to the First Nation's planning ideals.[16]

Operating under the *Framework Agreement*, community involvement in developing a land use plan is of key importance: For the Tsawwassen First Nation, while a significant amount of reserve lands were held by Certificates of Possession, the nation's Chief and Council wanted as much community member involvement as possible. At the same time, there were treaty negotiating assessments required: Would the proposed set of treaty lands be adequate for the Tsawwassen First Nation community needs? Thus the land planning exercise comprised of actual planning, paralleled by hypothetical planning in order to 'test' treaty possibilities. The resulting process is outlined in Figure 3.

Community input was inclusive, with several overlapping opportunities for Tsawwassen members, whether Certificate of Possession holders or not, to provide comments or land use suggestions.[17] In this way, Tsawwassen Elders, youth, Chief and Council, families and indi-

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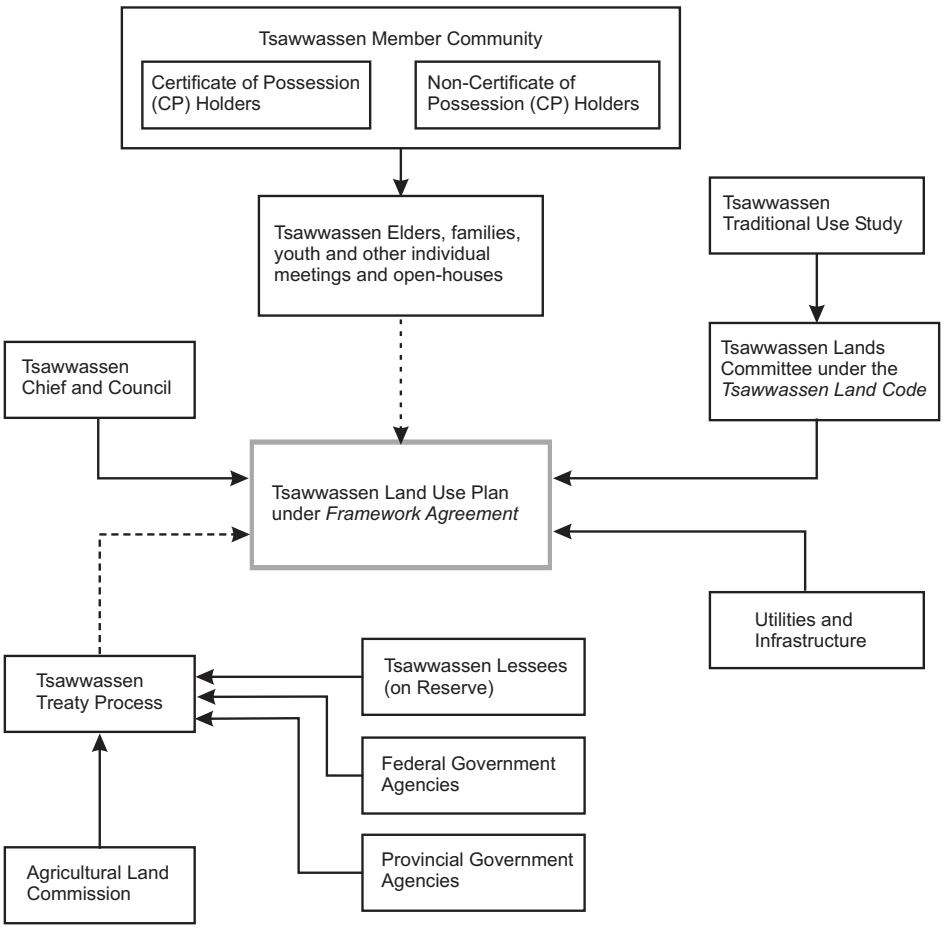
[14] There are several (land) aspects that underlie the Framework Agreement, including: The removal of reserve lands from the Indian Act and establishing community control over First Nation land management and governance, increased accountability to members of the First Nation, more efficient management of First Nation lands, the transfer by Canada of previous land revenues to the First Nation, the ability of the First Nation to protect the environment, the ability of the First nation to address rules related to land during marriage breakdowns, the recognition of significant law-making powers respecting First Nation lands, the removal of the need to obtain Ministerial approval for First Nation land related laws, the recognition in Canadian courts of First Nation laws, the ability to create local dispute resolution processes, the establishment of a legal registry system, and, the establishment of a First Nation run Lands Advisory Board to provide technical assistance. The Framework Agreement applies to existing reserve lands including natural resources (except for oil and gas, migratory birds, fish and atomic energy).

[15] As the First Nation's principle land law, the Land Code becomes the document that enables the same First Nation to pass further land laws, including land use related laws and any associated policies and land governance processes.

[16] For a discussion on a theoretical approach ('blended planning approach'), see Daniel M. Millette. "Land Use Planning on Aboriginal Lands — Towards a New Model for Planning on Reserve Lands. In *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 2012, Volume 20, Number 2, pp. 20–35.

[17] For a discussion on the positive results in inclusive community participation, see Sheeri Torjmann and Ann Makhoul, *Community-Led Development* (Ottawa: Institute of Social Policy. 2012).

FIGURE 3
Tsawwassen Land Use Planning Process —
Input under the *Framework Agreement on First Nation Land Management*



viduals were invited to participate.[18] Thus, the first level of opportunity for community input took place at community meetings, open to all Tsawwassen members. The information was generally channelled through a Lands Committee, with the planner in attendance at meetings, recording community member suggestions and comments.[19] The Lands Committee comprised of representative community groups — families, Elders, youths, Chief and Council members, CP holders, and non-CP holders. The composition of the same committee

[18] The pre-Treaty lands of the Tsawwassen First Nation reserve comprised of over 85% lands held by Certificate of Possession.

[19] Through its Land Code, the community had established a Lands Committee which, for the development of this particular Land Use Plan, served as a steering committee, with direct input to the Planner.

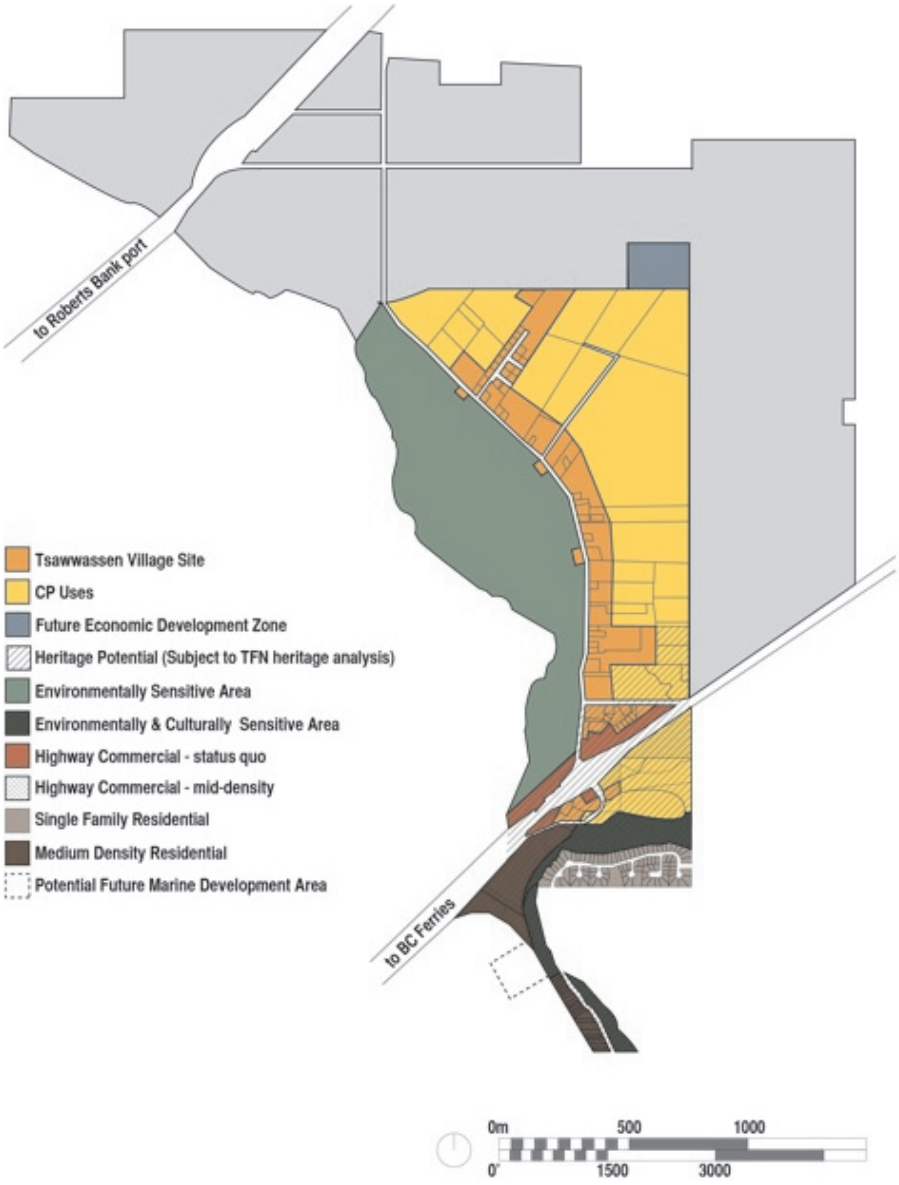
therefore made it relatively straight-forward to facilitate consultation meetings between the different community components. Family meetings, for example, were arranged by the corresponding family members on the Lands Committee. Similarly, meetings with individuals who may or may not have wanted to be 'public' with their land use ideas, were facilitated by the Lands Committee. Chief and Council, although directly providing input to the planner, were connected to the Lands Committee with one member of Chief and Council being a member of the Lands Committee. A comprehensive Traditional Use Study, undertaken earlier, also informed the process in terms of Traditional Use Sites and heritage values.[20] Related to what were at the time intense treaty negotiations, the planning process also included a component whereby specific treaty (land) options were discussed and tested. Options and considerations based on Federal Government agencies, Provincial Government agencies were explored within the process; this included what were reserve lands at the time, as well as what were then "potential treaty settlement lands". As the Agricultural Land Commission's mandate applied to some of the lands under consideration for treaty, commission staff were also provided with opportunity for comments. Finally, the planner, assisted by a community member, dealt directly with public utilities, servicing and infrastructure.

The process therefore focussed on inclusiveness on as many levels as possible, all-the-while operating as a test site for the more expansive set of lands that might eventually come through treaty. In essence, the land use planning process developed under the *Framework Agreement* was devised in part to accommodate what were largely unknowns: CP holder agreements with third parties, port expansion details, potential commercial interests, and so on. The land use plan that was therefore generated from the process was the first phase of the broader process (Figure 4). Within the reserve lands, and recognizing that because there had never been a detailed land use plan,[21] one section of the reserve lands was grandfathered within what is referred to as "Tsawwassen Village Site". Fronting the same zone is the foreshore, designated as an "Environmentally Sensitive" zone. In effect, much of the area is a marsh that had cumulated over several decades due to the two causeways leading to the coal / container port to the north, and the British Columbia Ferries terminal to the south. Another zone was designated as "Environmentally and Culturally Sensitive", sited along the slope of the bluff (English Bluff). One slightly controversial zone was the "CP Uses" zone. This was a somewhat temporary compromise agreed to by the parties, given the economic development potential of the land coupled to the strategic realities of treaty negotiations. The precise types of land uses for this zone were therefore undetermined at the time of the land use plan development, although it was agreed that specific uses would have to be approved on a case-by-case basis prior to any development taking place. Along the highway leading to the British Columbia Ferries terminal, the land was zoned as "Commercial" (status quo and mid-density). The Tsawwassen member community felt that whether there would be a treaty of not, any commercial development would stand a better chance of being successful if located along highway 99. A "Future Economic Development" zone was designated on community land, relatively close to where any future inland port activities might occur. With a shortage of community housing and a need for income generating market housing, a substantial parcel was reserved as "Residential" (single family and medium density) zones. Finally, a significant area was designated as having "Heritage Potential", overlaying several zones

[20] See Daniel M. Millette, "Reconstructing Culture: A Traditional Use Study of the Tsawwassen First Nation", (Delta: Tsawwassen First Nation and British Columbia Ministry of Forests, 1998).

[21] A previous land use plan was developed in 2002 for a portion of the Tsawwassen reserve lands.

FIGURE 4
Tsawwassen First Nation Land Use Plan under the *Framework Agreement on First Nation Land Management* (2005–2006)



Source: Plan courtesy of the Tsawwassen First Nation.

simultaneously. Heritage impacts would be assessed as development would take place. A "Potential Future Marine Development" area, along the foreshore to the south of the British Columbia Ferries causeway was also identified as a specific zone. Beyond the reserve lands

and at the time, purely hypothetical, other zones were tentatively identified. In several ways, adhesion to the *Framework Agreement* and the subsequent Tsawwassen First Nation Land Code served as steps towards greater land governance autonomy, with several sets of policies and processes developed during the period immediately following the community's enactment of its Land Code. The first land use plan for the Tsawwassen First Nation reserve lands thus came to fruition at the end of 2005 and served as a guide for future plans and development considerations. Meanwhile, the TFNFA was being negotiated.

The Tsawwassen Land Planning Process: The *Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement*

Once the *Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement* was ratified by the Tsawwassen community, among the list of pressing governance matters was that of the development of a more detailed land use plan.[22] The process would be a complex one, with a multifarious stakeholder combination: Tsawwassen Members and a host of other important interest groups: Leaseholders, the neighbouring Municipality of Delta, the Regional Government, public utilities, and several potential development partners. All wanted a transparent and engaging process that would focus on communication between stakeholders. The most challenging aspect of the process lay in the fact that these peri-urban lands had not been developed and no substantial services or infrastructure were therefore in place; on the one hand, the undeveloped lands were seen from a *tabula rasa* approach, while on the other hand, the cost implications of bringing services were substantial. Ultimately, the new land use plan would aim to reconcile the advantages of undeveloped lands with the costs of developing the same undeveloped lands. At the same time, the planning process would endeavour at integrating the needs and ambitions of individual land holders with those of the new Tsawwassen government, all-the-while providing a process for amending the same plan in the future. A key underlying tenet for former Chief Baird was that whatever solution that might rise from a land use planning process, the lands were to provide very long term economic benefits to improve her community's quality of live.

Among several other land related laws that the Tsawwassen First Nation is empowered to legislate under the *Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement*, the Tsawwassen Government can make laws relating to the management and use of Tsawwassen lands, including planning, zoning and development,[23] the provision of services to the same lands,[24]and the approval of developments.[25] Within its treaty, the Tsawwassen First Nation also commits to providing a process through which residents of its lands who might be affected by a law regarding planning, zoning and development, are consulted, similar to a municipal process where a similar law might be pondered.[26] Mechanisms and commitments were therefore put

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[22] For a brief summary of the issues facing Chief Baird within the treaty process, see M. Harcourt and K. Cameron, City Making in Paradise — Nine Decisions that Saved Vancouver (Vancouver: Douglas and Mcintyre, 2007). pp. 198–203.

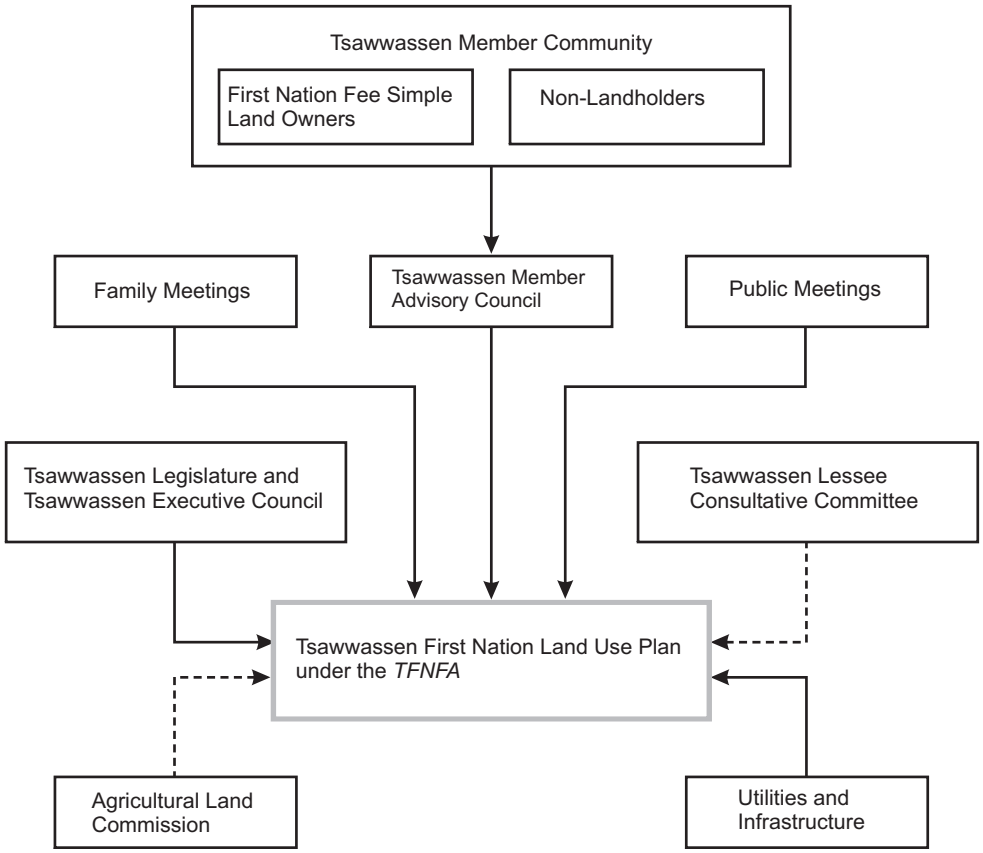
[23] Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement, 6.1.d

[24] Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement, 6.1.f

[25] Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement, 6.1.h

[26] Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement, 10.

FIGURE 5
Tsawwassen First Nation Land Use Plan Input Process under the *TFNFA*



in place to ensure a planning process that is inclusive and familiar to residents.[27] As a further, unique feature, the *Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement* included a provision that recognized that the Tsawwassen community's land use plan would be deemed compatible with the GVRD's "Liveable Region Strategy". In spite of the complexities and competing needs, the planning process within the *Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement* was devised to accommodate all parties within a balanced approach (Figure 5).

[27] There are several land related chapters included in the Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement. These include Chapter 4 — Lands, Chapter 5 — Land Title, and Chapter 6 — Land Management. The latter reflects to some extent the legislative powers and commitments that affect planning and other land development activities on Tsawwassen Lands. For the complete text of the Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement, see <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/T-21.5/>.

As with the process under the *Framework Agreement*, the community led the initiative. Several groups of families and individuals, including Certificate of possession and non-CP holders, were organized to provide a first tier of input. The community's input flowed directly to the Tsawwassen Member Advisory Council who in turn informed the planner. Family meetings and public meetings also provided input and worked as a way of communicating progress to the Tsawwassen and broader communities. Paralleling the community's input through the Tsawwassen Advisory Council, the Executive Council also provided direct input to the planner. With the new treaty commitments and the general will to provide an opportunity for non-Tsawwassen Members (lessees) residing within the Treaty Settlement Lands to offer comments on potential land uses, the process accommodated the same group within an advisory role.[28] Finally, the planner dealt directly with the Agricultural Land Commission and service entities.

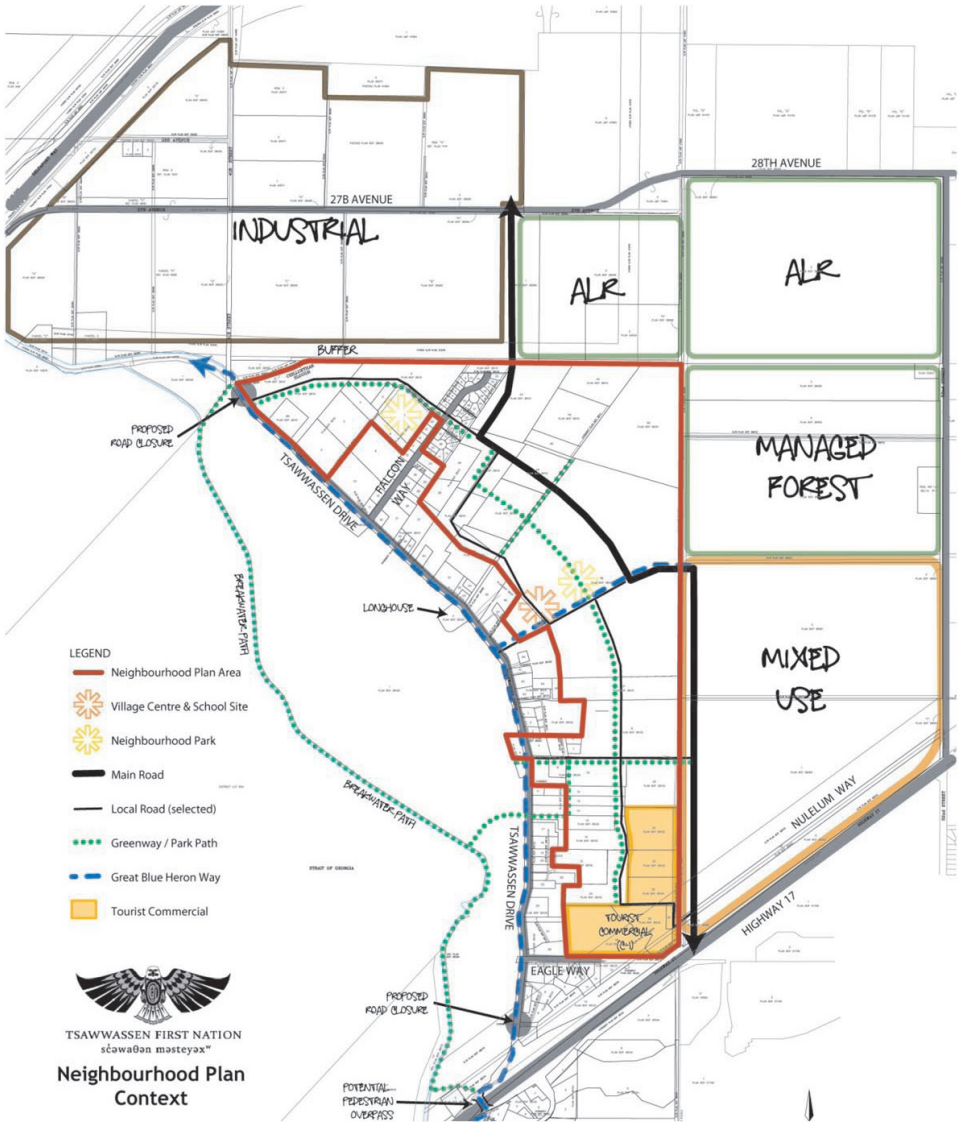
At the end of the initial meetings with the community and lessees, the plan's guiding principles were clear, including a wide range of economic development opportunities and housing options (for Members), a strong emphasis on environmental sustainability, preserving and enhancing a strong village centre, maintaining a Tsawwassen First Nation cultural identity, and enabling and encouraging community members to work together in maximizing opportunities and economic returns. The first set of plans that flowed from the initial consultation meetings tended to reflect the plan devised under the *Framework Agreement* (Figure 6). The Tsawwassen village site was left relatively unchanged, for the most part grandfathered, with a greenway separating it from most other land uses. Similarly, the area previously designated as "Environmentally Sensitive" was preserved, as well as portions of the "Commercial" zone along Highway 99. Within the new land parcels, an "Industrial" zone was, not surprisingly, set aside for inland port activities, as were areas for Agricultural Land Reserve consideration (including a potential "Managed Forest" zone) and a "Mixed Use" zone. Key is that once these general zones were identified through the community input process, the same zones were (and continue to be) refined through further, continuous and dynamic stakeholder input. From Figure 7 we get the first example of the refined zoning process with the "Neighbourhood Plan" ("Preferred Land Use Concept"). The CP-held lands that were zones for "CP Uses" in the land use plan under the *Framework Agreement* have now been brought together within the preferred land use concept under the *Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement*. The zoning is detailed, complete with community preferences on housing types by area, and a clearly defined central community amenity area. Housing development is therefore being planned at pre-determined intervals, according to community wishes, third-party investor strategies, and market conditions. The other broad zones are similarly being refined by the community.

Conclusion

The planning process of integrating the Tsawwassen Lands within a peri-urban framework, all-the-while maintaining a progressive, jurisdictional approach that places traditional values, First Nation culture, and community well-being at the forefront of a list of several important and at times competing planning tenets, has been challenging. In spite of some criticism, the Tsawwassen nation has had the opportunity to plan its lands in an incremental

[28] The same non-Member population also has representation on the community's tax authority.

FIGURE 6
Tsawwassen First Nation Neighbourhood Context Plan under the *TFNFA* (2008–2009)



Source: Plan courtesy of the Tsawwassen First Nation.

fashion that looks at the community in a holistic sense. For former Chief Baird, the journey has been a long one, having its roots in colonial times, with her great grand-father's eventual address to the McKenna-McBride Commission, adhering to the British Columbia Treaty Commission's Treaty Process, becoming a signatory to the *Framework Agreement*, and cul-

FIGURE 7
Tsawwassen First Nation Neighbourhood Plan (refined) under the *TFNFA* (2011)

Source: Plan courtesy of the Tsawwassen First Nation.

minating in what would be the first treaty concluded within the British Columbia Treaty process. For the Tsawwassen First Nation community, the resulting land base and treaty commitments, while complicated in terms of expectations from the varied stakeholders, will go a long way in reconciling the culturally important past with an economically viable

future. With its land use plan in place, the community can readily engage with potential investors and newcomers. In terms of community land use planning in Canada, the community has undergone (and continues to undergo) one of the most challenging processes in present-day planning practice. Since the signing of the *Tsawwassen First Nation Final Agreement*, several economic development activities have been negotiated, all within the comprehensive land use planning strategy that was initiated by former Chief Kim Baird. The community members appear fully satisfied, having voted ninety-seven (97) percent in favour of its latest commercial venture.

The land use planning process for this very special set of lands has not been straightforward, requiring cultural sensitivity and having required an incremental approach that is novel and worth consideration for other communities undergoing rapid change. Key lessons learned from the earlier planning processes include the need for extensive community and stakeholder input, the requirement for servicing negotiations from the initial planning stages, the prioritization of projects within the plan, and the need for flexibility in implementation (reacting to broader economic changes). Most of these lessons learned from the earlier planning exercises formed part of the later planning process. There remain challenges, including difficult political and technical issues, particularly in wading through servicing agreements and resident consultation processes. However, because the planning process is comprehensive, is based on a common community vision and set out within an incremental approach, the chances of success are high indeed.

Collaborative Aboriginal Economic Development: The Unama'ki Economic Development Model

Janice Esther Tulk
PURDY CRAWFORD CHAIR IN ABORIGINAL BUSINESS STUDIES

The establishment of partnerships is often identified as an important means of engaging in Aboriginal economic development.[1] Several studies have highlighted the value brought to Aboriginal communities through partnerships, not only in terms of increased employment and revenue production, but also capacity building, cultural preservation, and resource control (Brown et al., 2012; Boyd & Trosper, 2010; AAEDIRP, 2010; Missens et al., 2007; Hindle et al., 2005; Anderson, 1997; Ferrazi, 1989). In the *Federal Framework for Aboriginal Economic Development*, the establishment of partnerships was one of four strategic priorities highlighted by the Government of Canada, which asserts that, "Forging new and effective partnerships ... with provinces and territories and the private sector will ensure long-term sustainable economic development" (2009: 12). Often the economic alliances outlined focus on those between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal partners; however, increasingly Aboriginal businesses and communities are partnering with each other for economic development.

The Unama'ki[2] Economic Development Model[3] is one such initiative in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, Canada. Established in 2007, it is "a unique economic partnership between the five Unama'ki communities" (interview with Owen Fitzgerald, December 9, 2011).

[1] This paper has benefitted from feedback provided by colleagues Keith Brown, Mary Beth Doucette, and Allan MacKenzie, as well as Unama'ki Economic Benefits Office (UEBO) employees Owen Fitzgerald and Alex Paul. Thank you to research assistant Shawna Boyer for conducting some of the interviews referenced in this article during a 2012 summer internship and research assistant Khea Googoo for compiling relevant publications on the Unama'ki Economic Development Model and the Tar Ponds remediation during spring 2012.

[2] Unama'ki, which means "foggy land" or "land of fog," is the Mi'kmaw term for Cape Breton Island. The five Mi'kmaw communities in Unama'ki are Membertou, Eskasoni, Potlotek, Wagmatcook, and Waycobah.

[3] This model was formerly referred to as the "Collaborative Approach to Economic Development, The Unama'ki Model" in a video documentary of March 2011 (see <http://www.unamaki.ca/community-updates.asp>, accessed February 22, 2013).

This paper will describe the Unama'ki Economic Development Model, explain how and why it was established, discuss and assess its success through its first initiative related to the Sydney Tar Ponds remediation, and identify best practices leading to this success.

The Unama'ki Economic Development Model

The Unama'ki Economic Development Model refers to an approach to Aboriginal economic development established among five Unama'ki communities in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. The structures supporting this model include the Unama'ki Economic Benefits steering committee and an office established to accomplish the work directed by this steering committee, as well as the various committees and advisory bodies comprised of stakeholders who provide guidance. The initial goal of the partnership between the five Unama'ki communities was "to maximize economic benefits from major construction projects happening on the island [Cape Breton]" (Unama'ki "Steering Committee"; see also Fitzgerald 2009: 13). Shared between the partner communities was a collaborative vision: "if there was a project taking place close to one of the communities, that community would take the lead in it and they ... would make sure that there was a maximum benefit for Aboriginal people across the island" (interview with Alex Paul, July 31, 2012).

The driving force behind the establishment of both was the opportunity provided by the Sydney Tar Ponds and Coke Ovens clean up project. For nearly a century, one of the major industries in Sydney, Nova Scotia was the production of steel and coke. The environmental impact of this industry included "more than a million tonnes of contaminated soil and sediment" deposited in four areas in the vicinity of the former steel mill: "North and South Tar Ponds; Former Coke Ovens property; An old dump uphill from the Coke Ovens; [and] A stream that carried contaminants from the Coke Ovens to the Tar Ponds" (Sydney Tar Ponds Agency "Project"). As the clean up moved from vision to planning to implementation, opportunities were identified for Aboriginal participation in the clean up effort: "The 400 million dollar Sydney Tar Ponds Clean Up project [presented] an opportunity that, if we [could] structure this correctly, a lot of Aboriginals and Aboriginal businesses [could] gain some really valuable experience and could build capacity" (interview with Owen Fitzgerald, December 9, 2011).

Through consultation and negotiation with government partners, the Unama'ki Economic Benefits Office (UEBO) was able to advocate successfully for Aboriginal set-asides. Critical to the vision was that there would be meaningful participation by Aboriginals in the remediation process. As Owen Fitzgerald, executive director of the UEBO, noted, too often memorandums of understanding and other agreements are brokered to enable Aboriginal participation, but in the end good intentions do not materialize into tangible results (interview, December 9, 2011). The structure and approach of the Unama'ki Economic Development Model is designed to ensure success in these endeavours.

The Structure of the Unama'ki Economic Development Model

The steering committee, which was established in 2007, includes two or three representatives from each of the five of the Unama'ki communities (usually Native Employment Officers, but sometimes Economic Development Officers), as well as representatives from

Ulnooweg Development[4], Mi'kmaq Employment Training Secretariat (METS)[5], and the Membertou Entrepreneur Centre. Other Mi'kmaw[6] stakeholders have participated in the steering committee over the years, including the Union of Nova Scotia Indians (UNSI), Unama'ki College (UC) (formerly known as Mi'kmaq College Institute), and the Nova Scotia Community College (NSCC). The executive director of the Unama'ki Economic Benefits Office also sits on this committee. It is co-chaired by Dan Christmas of Membertou and Tracy Menge of Eskasoni, and meetings held every month or two alternate between each of the five communities. It oversees and provides direction to the work of the Unama'ki Economic Benefits Office, provides input to the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership program (ASEP), and reviews initiatives in training, business development, and the establishment of partnerships.

The UEBO was established with funding from Enterprise Cape Breton Corporation (ECBC)[7] and the Sydney Tar Ponds Agency (STPA) to implement the objectives of the steering committee and provide business support to local Aboriginal peoples. From the beginning, it served to facilitate partnerships and development: "This office acts as a liaison between the communities, the Unama'ki businesses and the Sydney Tar Ponds Agency and other large industrial projects in the area" (Unama'ki, 2008). Though the Tar Ponds project is coming to a close (2013), the office still fulfills this role in initiatives with new business partners. The UEBO has grown to include seven full-time staff members, including an executive director, a director, a training coordinator, two training support/job coaches, a finance officer, and an administrative assistant (Unama'ki "Contact"). Since the UEBO responds to the needs of the communities and other stakeholders, staff positions are added or removed as necessary. For example, during the height of the Tar Ponds remediation, there was a procurement-community business liaison officer (see Fitzgerald, 2009: 17). The primary office is located in Membertou, and satellite offices are located in Eskasoni and Wagmatcook.

There is an executive body comprised of the co-chairs from the steering committee and the executive director and director of the UEBO. This executive brings recommendations to and shares information with the board of directors on behalf of the steering committee and the ASEP committee. It also receives information and advice from the Sydney Tar Ponds Agency Priorities and Planning Committee. The board of directors is made up of the five Unama'ki chiefs. This arrangement was established once the steering committee perceived the need for a formalized governance structure. The board of directors has decision-making power and provides direction to the economic development initiatives, but receives feedback and recommendations from a number of stakeholders.

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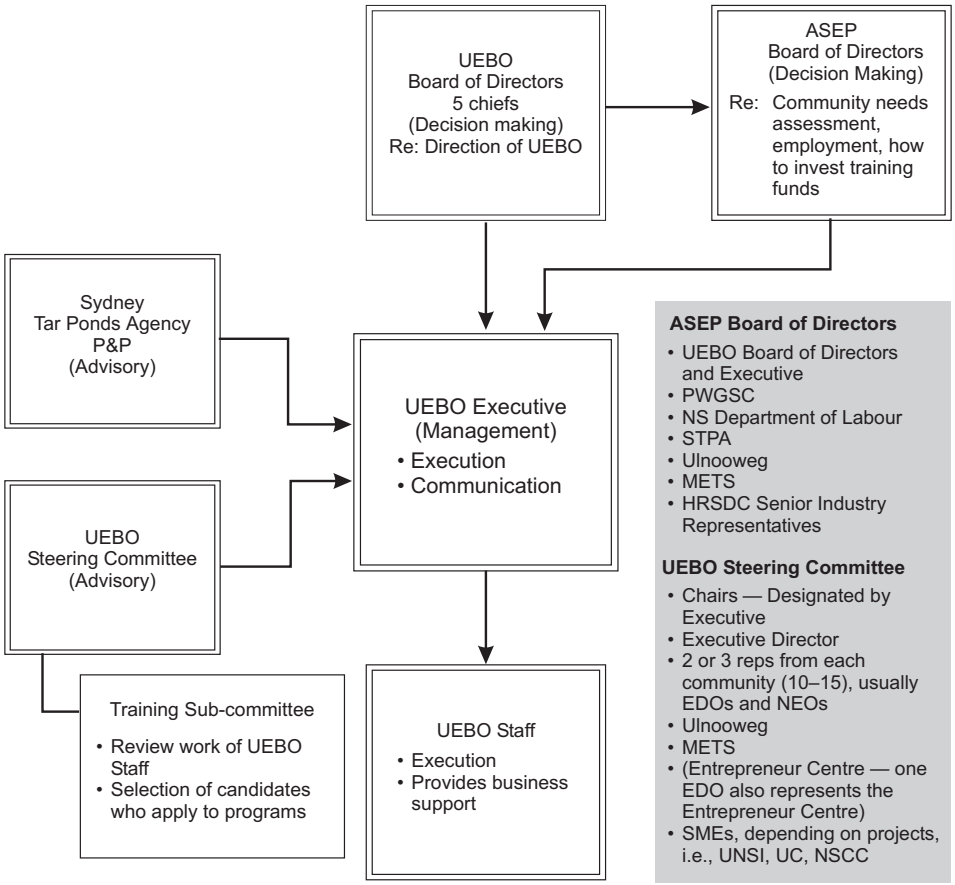
[4] Ulnooweg Development Group, Inc provides loans to Aboriginal business owners in Atlantic Canada, maintains an Aboriginal business directory, and hosts an awards event to recognize Aboriginal entrepreneurs and businesses (Ulnooweg, 2005).

[5] Funded by Human Resource Development Canada (HRDC), the Mi'kmaq Employment Training Secretariat coordinates training for First Nations across Nova Scotia (see Mi'kmaq Employment, 2009).

[6] The Mi'kmaq are indigenous to the area known as Mi'kma'ki, which encompasses Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, the Gaspé Peninsula in Québec, the west coast of Newfoundland, and northern Maine. In the Smith-Francis orthography, adopted by the Grand Council in 1982, Mi'kmaq is the plural noun and the name of the language spoken by this First Nation, while Mi'kmaw is the singular noun and the adjectival form.

[7] ECBC is a Crown corporation that delivers the programs of the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA), as well as its own development programs, in Cape Breton and the Mulgrave area. See <http://www.ecbc-secb.gc.ca>.

FIGURE 1
Organizational Structure



Source: Diagram prepared by Mary Beth Doucette.

A Priorities and Planning Committee representing the Sydney Tar Ponds Agency and the local First Nation communities is comprised of the president of the Sydney Tar Ponds Agency, a senior federal representative of Public Works and Government Services Canada (PWGSC), a senior provincial representative of Transportation and Infrastructure Renewal, and the executive body (co-chairs of the steering committee and executive director and director of the UEBO). This committee was tasked with defining what "meaningful Aboriginal participation" in the Sydney Tar Ponds remediation meant and identifying the means through which it would be achieved. They matched assets with opportunities, negotiated set-asides, negotiated the sharing of the first set-aside, established creative ways of implementing training and mentorship components to the set-asides, and defined policy around Aboriginal employment targets. Initially they met every two months, rotating between the Membertou UEBO and government offices, but later met as required.

In 2008, the Unama'ki Economic Benefits Office secured more that $4 million in funding for training from HRSDC, under their Aboriginal Skills and Employment Program (ASEP). A training committee was established to review training needs and challenges in the five Unama'ki communities. Native Employment Officers (NEOs) from each community meet with training staff from the UEBO to recommend training initiatives and review and select applicants for training programs. Their recommendations are then brought to the steering committee. This committee is an important means of ensuring a transparent and fair process for the selection of candidates applying to training programs. The committee is chaired by the director of the UEBO.[8]

With training through the ASEP program, it was necessary to establish separately incorporated board with decision-making power. The ASEP board consists of the five Unama'ki chiefs; representatives of Public Works and Government Services Canada, the provincial Department of Labour, the Sydney Tar Ponds Agency, Ulnooweg Development, and Mi'kmaq Employment Training Secretariat (METS); senior industry representatives; the executive body (with executive director and director of the UEBO *ex officio*); and a representative of Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (*ex officio*). This group meets on a quarterly basis to exchange information on industry opportunities and needs, and assets in Unama'ki communities. This group makes decisions as to how to invest training funds based on recommendations from the executive body.[9]

The Approach of the Unama'ki Economic Development Model

The Unama'ki Economic Development Model employs a three-pillared model for Aboriginal economic development (AED) built upon a foundation of community engagement and support. The key to the success of this approach is the buy-in from communities at a grassroots level. With Aboriginal communities directing initiatives, it is possible to secure serious participation as the project moves forward (interview with Owen Fitzgerald, December 9, 2011). Once this foundation is firmly set, through consultation and the establishment of an Aboriginal steering committee, the three key pillars can be set in place.

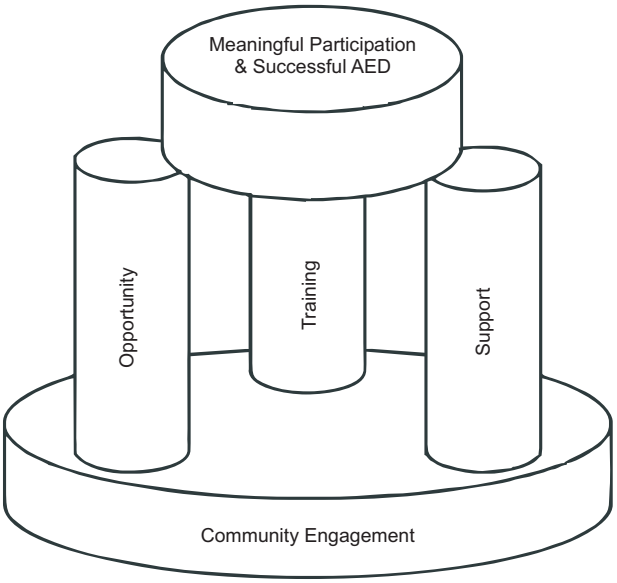
The three pillars of the Unama'ki approach to Aboriginal economic development are opportunity, training, and support. In discussing the first pillar, the modifier "real" is often added in an effort to emphasize that the viability of any initiative should be tested through the use of good business practices (interview with Owen Fitzgerald, December 9, 2011). The foundation of opportunity requires survey and assessment of the surrounding areas to identify possible development initiatives that Aboriginal peoples could lead or participate in with industry partners. For those in Unama'ki, the immediate opportunity in the mid-2000s was the Tar Ponds remediation; however, in other communities it could be natural resource development, ship-building, or wind energy, for example. A strong business plan was emphasized as critical, as well as leadership to see the plan through.

Once a real opportunity is identified and assessed as viable, the second pillar of training comes into play. For the Unama'ki approach this means careful assessment of the number and types of jobs expected in relation to a development initiative, as well as key training

[8] This position has recently been renamed Provincial Director of Training.

[9] The descriptions in this section are based on information provided by Owen Fitzgerald (April 19, 2013).

FIGURE 2
Three Pillared Approach for Aboriginal Economic Development



required for each. They then work with partners to create training programs that will respond to these needs and recruit community members to these programs. Development partners are expected to demonstrate their commitment by being engaged throughout this process. For example, the partner business is directly involved in the recruitment and selection of training candidates (twice as many people are trained as the business anticipates hiring) and then the business selects from candidates who successfully complete training to fill vacancies. In the early years of the Unama'ki Economic Development Model, the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Program (ASEP) was an important training funder for the Tar Ponds remediation (discussed below).

Representatives of the UEBO are careful to note that it is not enough for there to be development initiatives or job opportunities and training. The third pillar of the approach — support — is essential to ensure success and the UEBO provides support to both businesses and individuals. On the latter, Owen Fitzgerald noted, "There are challenges when many people haven't been in the workforce, or been out of it a long time: cultural differences, isolation, and the dependency that has been created in rural communities" (interview, December 9, 2011). He explained this with the imagery of a tent, noting that with only one or two posts, the tent will collapse, but with a third post it becomes more stable (ibid). Support, not unlike the training programs offered by the UEBO, must be tailored to businesses and community members, sometimes on a case-by-case basis. The support provided can range from job preparedness skills for individuals to highly specialized workshops for businesses. For example, some of the Aboriginal companies interested in bidding on contracts for the Tar Ponds remediation did not have experience going through a government tender process

before, which requires the use of the MERX electronic bidding system (see INAC, 2010: 3). The UEBO "[brought] in experts, engineers, estimators, and the such, to conduct ... workshops" to ensure Aboriginal businesses could be competitive in the tender process (Fitzgerald, 2009: 14).

The Case of the Sydney Tar Ponds Clean Up Project

As aforementioned, the initial "real opportunity" available for Aboriginal communities in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia was the remediation of the Sydney Tar Ponds site. The overall cost of the remediation was to be $400 million. There was desire among Unama'ki Aboriginal communities to participate in this clean up in a meaningful way that would provide employment opportunities and capacity development. This dialogue, of course, was put in motion many years before the Unama'ki Economic Benefits Office and steering committee were officially formed in 2007. In the years prior to this, Dan Christmas, Chief Terry Paul, and Bernd Christmas of Membertou, along with many others, had been engaged in conversations with the provincial and federal governments around the possibility of Aboriginal participation in the clean up project, and the five Unama'ki chiefs agreed that this should be pursued. At the urging of Dan Christmas in January 2007, the five communities came together to identify the path forward through a unified approach (interview with Owen Fitzgerald, December 9, 2011).

Initially, there was some scepticism that Aboriginal participation in the remediation would be successful and so it was determined that the first step in the path forward should be a pilot project valued at $5 million. An Aboriginal set-aside was established for the cooling pond component of the overall clean up. The cooling pond was an area of the Tar Ponds filled with contaminants from the coke ovens plant that would be subjected to a stabilization and solidification process. Given its small scale, it was appropriately sized as a test case. Unique, however, was the way in which the bidding and selection process occurred. The tender was open to majority-owned (at least 51%) Aboriginal businesses. The tender, however, was not awarded to a single business, but to the top three. As Owen Fitzgerald described, "three companies share the work, with the top company getting a larger percentage" thereby providing more individuals and companies with capacity development and wealth (interview, December 9, 2011). The agreement also stipulated that 70% of the workforce was to be Aboriginal.[10] The six month contract awarded to three construction companies — Norman Morris Joint Venture (Eskasoni), MB2 Excavating and Construction (Membertou), and the Membertou-HAZCO Remediation Group (Membertou) — provided employment for twenty-two Aboriginal workers (85% Aboriginal participation) and was completed in April 2008 (Fitzgerald, 2009: 14).

Following the success of this pilot, the UEBO was able to negotiate for additional Aboriginal set-asides. The Unama'ki Procurement Strategy signed between the UEBO and provincial and federal governments established an additional $14 million in set-asides, ensuring meaningful participation in the remediation process. These set-asides encompassed "removal, conditioning and transport of Coke Ovens Brook sediment, stockpiling capping material, water treatment operations, operating a material processing facility, building and maintaining access roads, and environmental controls" (MacVicar, 2008: 1).

[10] In Fitzgerald (2009: 14), it is stated that the workforce was to be 75% Aboriginal; however, while reviewing a draft of this document on March 21, 2013, Fitzgerald clarified that the target was 70%.

In addition to generating wealth, providing employment opportunities, and increasing the capacity of Aboriginal businesses and workers, there were less tangible — though equally significant — benefits from the establishment of and participation in Aboriginal set-asides. One of the participants in the original set-aside noted that the awarding of these initial contracts "was important to communities because we were able to first of all participate in the clean up in our own area, something that needed to be cleaned up for years. We had concerns about the Tar Ponds and about what effects it had on our own local environment" (interview, July 26, 2012). Further, as Chief Terry Paul observed, "One major outcome of the first Nova Scotia Aboriginal Set-Aside, is that these companies don't just have hope, they now have confidence and a growing determination to succeed" (quoted in Fitzgerald, 2009: 15). This confidence and determination was bolstered when the Aboriginal-owned company MB2 Construction in partnership with Beaver Marine (Halifax, NS), won a $37.6 million contract in an open bidding process (ibid). Aboriginal companies in total participated in $71 million in projects (interview with Owen Fitzgerald, December 9, 2011).

Training

By 2008, it became clear that there was a need to begin planning for opportunities after the Tar Ponds remediation, which was expected to conclude by 2013–2014. The UEBO leveraged its success in the Tar Ponds Clean Up to secure $4 million in funding from the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership (ASEP) program. The ASEP training initiative aimed "to create and retain up to 150 full-time jobs for local Aboriginal people in the construction industry and [committed] to construction industry related training and training upgrading for 500 local Aboriginals" (Fitzgerald, 2009: 16). In particular, the ASEP training program focussed on several key areas: life skills (workforce preparation); essential skills (specialized upgrading); construction-specific courses; occupational health and safety training; trades training (welding, electrical, etc.); on-the-job training; and Aboriginal business development (emphasis on entrepreneurship) ("Government of Canada Provides", 2008).[11] An ASEP advisory board with industry representatives was established to help guide the development of training initiatives.

Prior to implementing specific training programs, the UEBO assessed opportunities in relation to other industries and companies, such as Emera (utility services), the Newpage Paper Mill (paper production in factory), port development (shipping and crane operation), the development of the lower Churchill Falls, and ship building. In each case, the UEBO engaged in data collection, identifying the departments involved in each operation or business, the number and type of positions required in each department, the skill level and training required for each position, the projected need for new employees in the next 5–10 years, rates of turn-over, and so on. This data helped the UEBO understand what opportunities might exist in the near-term, the types of training required, and how many individuals to train in each type of job to provide choices to employers without flooding the job pool (interview with Owen Fitzgerald, December 9, 2011). This research proved to be critical. Initially the UEBO anticipated training workers for the construction industry, but quickly

[11] The original press release stated that the program would also focus on high school equivalency and university training; however, communities are responsible for both (Owen Fitzgerald, personal communication, March 21, 2013).

learned that there was a need to prioritize other types of training, such as environmental monitoring and civil technicians (interview with Alex Paul, July 31, 2012).

The customized training in these programs, provided by accredited institutions, goes beyond the confines of mainstream education initiatives to include significant student support throughout the training period, as well as on-the-job assistance as necessary. For example, job coaches supervise student participation in training programs and provide guidance and counselling as required. Should a student be missing from training for any reason, they follow up and assist the student in returning to their program. The environment that is fostered focuses on team work and students in programs also support each other (interview with key informant, July 31, 2012).[12] The training also emphasizes practical skills related to all stages of the job search process, including resume-writing, creation and maintenance of work portfolios, interview skills, and appropriate attire for interviews (interview with key informant, August 3, 2012).

The ASEP training program concluded in 2012 and a new training program, the Nova Scotia Aboriginal Employment Partnership, was approved in January 2013 with funding from provincial and federal sources. It will continue the work of creating a skilled Aboriginal workforce (interview with key informant, July 31, 2012; UEBO, 2013).

Diavik Diamond Mines runs a training program in the North West Territories that bears many similarities to this model (see Diavik, 2002). Its success has been attributed to the partnership approach between contractors, community organizations, governments, and educational institutions; the combination of classroom and practical training; the orientation toward team-building; the availability of training in home communities; and the "linking [of] training program objectives with workforce skill requirements" (Missens et al., 2007: 67). As the Unama'ki model emphasizes these same principles, they may suggest best practices for the establishment of other training initiatives in the future.

Success of the Unama'ki Economic Development Model

The success of the Unama'ki Economic Development Model can be attributed to its business approach to development, while emphasizing holistic and collaborative methods. In regards to the business approach, Alex Paul, director at the UEBO, highlighted transparency and accountability as critical business approaches leading to the success of the model. The UEBO reports to the steering committee, funders, chiefs and councils, and the Unama'ki communities more broadly, in terms of job creation and retention, as well as the overall number of community members trained. This reporting is critically important for demonstrating that the partnership is of value to all Unama'ki communities even though its administrative centre is in Membertou (interview with Alex Paul, July 31, 2012).

Alex also emphasized the importance of leadership to the success of this model. He said that "leadership is key," for it is the vision of the steering committee that directs the work (interview with Alex Paul, July 31, 2012). Rose Julian, an economic development officer in the mainland Mi'kmaw community of Paq'tnkek, also highlighted strong leadership as central to the success of the UEBO (interview, March 11, 2013). It is worth noting that in a

[12] All interview participants remain anonymous to protect confidentiality, except where they have explicitly agreed to attributed quotations.

recent study of the Membertou business model, visionary leadership was identified as one of seven principles leading to the success of that community's economic development initiatives. That study also highlighted accountability and transparency as key factors (Brown et al., 2012: 33, 37–38).

There are also particular orientations that bolster success, such as the problem-solving or solution-based approach of the UEBO. As Alex Paul explained, "When we come and work with our industry partners, we want to hear what opportunities exist and then we'll come to them with solutions, instead of saying 'You have a problem. Why don't you fix it?' We actually create the solution for them" (interview, July 31, 2012). The UEBO assists its partners in locating and hiring a highly trained workforce, while also adding under-represented groups to their labour force (Alex Paul, personal communication, March 25, 2013).

For those who have benefitted from the efforts of the Unama'ki Economic Development Model, other factors that contribute to the model's success are highlighted. A participant in the original set-aside noted each community in Unama'ki has different strengths that can work in a complementary fashion and the same is true for the skill sets of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal partners. He also felt that the partnership between Unama'ki communities was successful because it showcases Aboriginal success and provides opportunities to learn from others to address weaknesses in the communities (interview with key informant, July 26, 2012). The Unama'ki Economic Development Model, then, recognizes the value of collaboration, as well as the resulting knowledge transfer and enhancement of community capacity.

Others have attributed the success of the model to the fact that there are real employment opportunities available at the end of the training period. A member of the steering committee observed, "They train you and there is employment at the end of the program. ... You can train, train, train, but if there is no meaningful job at the end, then it's just another training program" (interview with key informant, August 3, 2012). To go beyond training toward meaningful participation in economic development initiatives, jobs must exist at the end of training programs. Related to this, Rose Julian has observed that the success of the Unama'ki Economic Development Model is largely related to the comprehensive planning that occurs to support these opportunities and economic trends (interview, March 11, 2013).

Finally, the ability to identify and provide a clear pathway to meaningful participation in local and regional economies for Aboriginals was highlighted as significant for the success of this model. As an employee of the UEBO noted, particularly regarding the pillars of training and support, the UEBO "bridged a gap for other community members to help them ... succeed in their future" (interview with key informant, August 9, 2012). A critical part of achieving this success is the support provided which extends beyond pure training. As observed by another employee of the UEBO, "They [those in training programs] are never left to swim alone. They always have the support officers there to receive the information they require to be successful, including addictions counselling or whatever they might need that isn't provided at the office" (interview with key informant, July 29, 2012).

As Dan Christmas summarized, "Success of the Unama'ki Economic Benefits Office is due to its strong business approach to economic development, strong engagement of the communities through the steering committee, strong communication, effective partnering efforts with government and industry, a strong training program that is tied to industry needs and support for the people in training and support for the people that are starting new jobs" (as quoted in Unama'ki, 2009). It is clear that this approach instills confidence in govern-

ment funding partners. Over the next two years, the UEBO will coordinate training for seven hundred Aboriginal workers for anticipated employment in the shipbuilding industry with $6 million from the federal government (Lambie, 2013; UEBO, 2013).

Another indicator of the success of this model is the desire of other Mi'kmaw communities in mainland Nova Scotia to partner with the UEBO. When the community of Paq'tnkek decided to pursue an interchange on highway 104 at Afton to open up another area of their reserve for commercial and residential development, Rose Julian approached the UEBO to collaborate and share best practices: "To me, it made no sense to reinvent that wheel if there was already a wheel that was successful in Mi'kmaw country" (interview, March 11, 2013).[13] In particular, the principle of establishing nation-to-nation relationships and the UEBO model for capacity building are best practices that might be replicated in other contexts and regions.

While continued collaborations with provincial and federal governments, as well as the interest of other communities in working with the UEBO and employing its practices are important indicators of success, the UEBO has also received a number of awards. The UEBO was honoured with an Atlantic Canada Aboriginal Entrepreneur Award in 2010, the Stewardship Award sponsored by the Sunshine Rotary Club from Sydney and Area Chamber of Commerce in 2011, and a Community Partnership Award from the Strait Campus of Nova Scotia Community College in 2012 (see UEBO, 2010, 2011, 2012).

Conclusions

The Unama'ki Economic Development Model has been successfully employed to secure meaningful participation in economic development opportunities for Aboriginal peoples in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, as demonstrated through the Tar Ponds remediation project and the establishment of significant Aboriginal set-asides. While the partnership between five Unama'ki communities was formed to act on immediate and near-term opportunities on the island, the focus of this development model on education and support ensures that those who are trained through UEBO programs will enjoy employment opportunities in the long-term. The success of the model thus far affirms that Aboriginal partners can provide solutions to non-Aboriginal partners as they respond to the challenges of an aging workforce and equity employment targets.

The greatest success, however, is the establishment of a mechanism through which Aboriginal communities can collectively work with other business and government partners to secure benefits from the development of local natural resources and environmental remediation. This meaningful participation in economic development initiatives provides employment, individual and community wealth, skill and capacity development, and experience that will lead to improved living and work conditions for Aboriginal people. It also fosters confidence that will ensure that workers are well-positioned for future opportunities.

It remains to be seen whether this model for collaborative economic development could be successfully deployed in other areas of Canada; whether it would work in an intertribal setting where there is greater diversity in culture, history, and experience; or whether (and the degree to which) its success is geographically based. Nevertheless, this three-pillared

[13] For more information on the establishment of the Afton interchange and the Highway 104 Commercial Development Project, see Paq'tnkek First Nation (2011).

model set on a foundation of community engagement, may prove valuable for other economic initiatives, such as the development of Lower Churchill Falls hydroelectric energy project.

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An Analysis of Aboriginal Employment: 2009–2013

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ABSTRACT

The employment, unemployment and participation rates are examined for Aboriginals living off-reserve in Canada from 2009 to 2013 as well as for non-Aboriginals. Employment is analyzed by educational level, gender and age, province and territory and by industry and sector. The rates of employment and unemployment for Aboriginals have continued to improve, lessening the differences with non-Aboriginals. Those in the 15 to 24 age group and women had the largest improvements in their employment and unemployment rates in 2013. The level of education obtained is directly related to the rate of employment for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals and explains most of the difference in their rate of employment, but does not explain the differences in unemployment rates. The highest rate of employment for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals is in Alberta. The areas in which the highest percent of those employed are in health care and social assistance followed by retail trade.

Introduction

One way to obtain a sense of how the economy is going is to take a look at the rates of employment, unemployment and participation, which are examined in this article. The data is based upon Aboriginals living off-reserve and who are 15 years and older. All references are to this population. Comparison data is also provided for non-Aboriginals in Canada. The article contains five years of data, from 2009 to 2013, to provide a clearer understanding of the changes that have been occurring.

Unemployment, Employment and Participation Rates

The Aboriginal unemployment rate has continued to decline, which it has done since 2009 except for 2010. Historically, the unemployment rate for Aboriginals has been considerably higher than for non-Aboriginals; however, the gap has narrowed. In 2009 the unemployment rate was 13.8 for Aboriginals and 8.1 for non-Aboriginals. In 2013 these rates declined to 11.6 and 6.9 respectively. This has resulted in the difference in the unemployment rate narrowing from 5.7 in 2009 to 4.7 in 2013.

The employment rate is the percent of the population that is employed. In general, the higher the rate the better off the society would be. In 2010 the employment rate for Aboriginals was 53.7 and has increased each year since then to 57.2 in 2013. In contrast, the non-Aboriginal employment rate was 61.8 in 2010 and has increased to only 62.0 in 2013. The difference in the employment rate has therefore narrowed from 8.1 in 2010 to 4.8 in 2013.

The participation rate is the percent of the population working and seeking to work. The higher the rate, the greater the percent of the working age population who are either working or seeking to work. The more people working and seeking to work, the greater the number of people who may be employed. Larger numbers of people employed implies greater income and the economic benefits associated with it. The Aboriginal participation rate decreased in 2013 to 64.7, in contrast to it increasing from 2010 to 2012. The non-Aboriginal participation rate has decreased each year since 2009 and was 66.6 in 2013. Please see Table 1.

Employment by Age and Gender

The improvement in the employment rate for Aboriginals in 2013 may be attributed to women, whose employment rate increased to 54.1 from 52.5 in 2012. The men's employment rate declined from 61.6 to 60.5. The age group that most contributed to this improvement was the 15- to 24-year-olds. Their employment rate increased to 49.2 from 45.9. The employment rate for the women in this 15- to 24-year-old age group increased to 48.3 from 43.4, while for the men it increased to 50.1 from 48.3. Although this increase in the employment rate to 49.2 for the 15- to 24-year-olds is encouraging, it compares unfavourably with the rate of 55.3 for non-Aboriginals.

The greatest change in the rate of employment occurred with the Aboriginal men 55 years and over, which decreased from 41.9 in 2012 to 35.8 in 2013. In contrast, the employment rate for women in this group increased from 29.3 to 32.4. Please see Table 2.

TABLE 1
Labour Force Estimates for Canada
2009 through 2013 Annual Averages, in Thousands (Except the Rates)

	Non-Aboriginal				
	2009	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**
Population	26646.7	26997.5	27316.6	27635.1	27985.7
Labour Force	17899.1	18110.3	18268.7	18436.0	18644.0
Employment	16441.1	16684.5	16931.9	17124.9	17349.8
Full-time Employment*	13277.8	13452.0	13696.2	13906.0	14072.3
Part-time Employment	3163.4	3232.5	3235.7	3218.9	3277.5
Unemployment	1458.0	1425.8	1336.8	1311.1	1294.2
Not in Labour Force	8747.6	8887.2	9047.9	9199.1	9341.7
Employment Rate	61.7	**61.8**	62.0	62.0	**62.0**
Unemployment Rate	**8.1**	**7.9**	**7.3**	**7.1**	**6.9**
Participation Rate	**67.2**	67.1	66.9	66.7	**66.6**

	Aboriginal				
	2009	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**
Population	650.6	660.6	670.5	679.4	**687.5**
Labour Force	427.7	413.8	430.1	443.0	**444.8**
Employment	368.5	354.8	374.5	386.4	**393.1**
Full-time Employment*	299.2	283.8	297.6	310.1	**317.3**
Part-time Employment	69.3	71.0	76.9	76.3	**75.8**
Unemployment	59.1	59.0	55.7	56.6	**51.7**
Not in Labour Force	222.9	246.8	240.4	236.4	**242.7**
Employment Rate	**56.6**	**53.7**	**55.8**	**56.9**	**57.2**
Unemployment Rate	**13.8**	**14.3**	**12.9**	**12.8**	**11.6**
Participation Rate	**65.7**	**62.6**	**64.1**	**65.2**	**64.7**

Note: * Data based on 10 provinces, 15 years and older, and living-off reserve.

Employment rate is Employment/Population
Labour force (age 15 plus) is Employment + Unemloyment
Unemployment rate is Unemployment/Labour Force
Participation rate is Labour Force/Population

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

TABLE 2
Labour Force Estimates for Canada
Employment Rates by Age and Gender

	Percent Employed				
	Non-Aboriginal				
	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Both Sexes					
15 Years and Over	61.7	61.8	62.0	62.0	62.0
15–24 Years	55.8	55.3	55.8	54.8	**55.3**
25–54 Years	80.6	80.9	81.3	81.7	81.9
55 Years and Over	32.8	33.7	34.1	34.7	35.1
Men					
15 Years and Over	65.3	65.6	66.0	66.0	65.9
15–24 Years	54.0	53.7	54.7	53.6	54.3
25–54 Years	83.7	84.3	85.1	85.0	85.5
55 Years and Over	38.3	39.5	39.7	40.2	40.6
Women					
15 Years and Over	58.2	58.1	58.0	58.1	58.2
15–24 Years	57.7	57.0	56.9	56.1	56.4
25–54 Years	77.5	77.4	77.6	78.0	78.3
55 Years and Over	27.9	28.6	29.1	29.8	30.2

	Percent Employed				
	Aboriginal				
	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Both Sexes					
15 Years and Over	56.6	53.7	55.8	56.9	57.2
15–24 Years	46.0	45.0	47.3	**45.9**	**49.2**
25–54 Years	68.5	65.8	67.8	69.5	69.3
55 Years and Over	34.5	30.3	33.3	35.2	34.0
Men					
15 Years and Over	59.9	56.0	59.1	**61.6**	**60.5**
15–24 Years	48.0	45.3	48.4	48.3	50.1
25–54 Years	72.7	69.8	71.7	74.6	73.9
55 Years and Over	37.2	30.4	37.7	**41.9**	**35.8**
Women					
15 Years and Over	53.6	51.6	52.8	**52.5**	**54.1**
15–24 Years	44.0	44.7	46.3	43.4	48.3
25–54 Years	64.8	62.1	64.2	64.7	64.9
55 Years and Over	31.9	30.3	29.3	**29.3**	**32.4**

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

Unemployment by Age and Gender

The level of Aboriginal unemployment decreased to 11.6 in 2013 from 12.8 in 2012. Most of the decrease in 2013 was achieved by the women whose unemployment rate went from 12.7 in 2012 to 10.7 in 2013. For the men the rate declined from 12.8 to 12.5. The women in the 15 to 24 age group had the largest decrease in their unemployment rate, going from 21.9 to 16.7. The unemployment rate for the men in this age group declined from 20.0 to 19.1. While this is an improvement and is considerably better than their rate of 23.8 in 2009 and 2010, it is an unacceptably high level of unemployment. Women in the 25 to 54 age group also experienced a meaningful decrease in their unemployment rate, moving from 10.6 in 2012 to 9.2 in 2013.

The unemployment rate for non-Aboriginals declined from 7.1 to 6.9 from 2012 to 2013. This is considerably less of a decrease (.2) than achieved by Aboriginals in 2013 (1.2). The gap between the unemployment rates between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals has been declining since 2010, when the rates were 14.3 versus 7.9 respectively (a 6.4 gap) and the 2013 rates of 11.6 versus 6.9 (a 4.7 gap). However, even though the gap is narrowing, the difference is still large. Please see Table 3.

Employment by Level of Education

The higher the level of education completed the higher is the rate of employment and the rate of participation. This is true for both Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. This relationship has been consistently shown to be the case in each of the five years reported in this article. It should be noted however, that for those who have some secondary education, but did not complete it, their employment rate is lower than for those who only graduated from high school. This is the case for both Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals.

When we analyze employment rates by the level of education obtained, there is no meaningful difference between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. The one exception is for those obtaining a University degree. In this case Aboriginals with Bachelor degrees and above had a much higher employment rate of 81.3 in 2013, compared to the rate of 74.7 for non-Aboriginals.

This data suggests that a major explanation for the difference in the rate of employment between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals is the level of education achieved. For those with less than a high school education the employment rate for Aboriginals was 35.2 compared to 33.2 for non-Aboriginals in 2013. This group represents 29.9% of the Aboriginal population, but only 18% of the non-Aboriginal population. Given their low employment rates and the significantly larger proportion of the Aboriginal population that did not complete high school, this group brings down the overall employment rate for Aboriginals, when compared with non-Aboriginals.

The direct relationship between education and employment may also be seen by examining the rates for high school graduates and for those with high school and above. The employment rate for Aboriginal high school graduates was 62.1 and 60.5 for non-Aboriginals in 2013. This group comprises similar proportions of their populations with 22.4% and 20.4% of their populations respectively. The employment rate for those who graduated high school and have obtained more than a high school education was 66.6 for Aboriginals in 2013 and for non-Aboriginals it was 68.3. This group comprises 70.1% of the Aboriginal population and 82% of the non-Aboriginal population.

TABLE 3
Labour Force Estimates for Canada
Unemployment Rates by Age and Gender

	Percent Unemployed				
	Non-Aboriginal				
	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Both Sexes					
15 Years and Over	8.1	**7.9**	7.3	**7.1**	**6.9**
15–24 Years	15	14.6	14.0	14.1	13.5
25–54 Years	7.0	6.8	6.1	5.9	5.8
55 Years and Over	6.5	6.3	6.3	5.9	6.0
Men					
15 Years And Over	9.3	8.6	7.7	7.3	7.4
15–-24 Years	17.8	16.9	15.6	15.8	14.9
25–54 Years	7.9	7.2	6.2	6.1	6.0
55 Years and Over	7.3	7.0	6.6	6.2	6.4
Women					
15 Years and Over	6.9	7.1	6.9	6.6	6.5
15–24 Years	12	12.2	12.2	12.3	12.0
25–54 Years	5.9	6.3	5.9	5.6	5.5
55 Years and Over	5.4	5.4	5.8	5.6	5.5

	Percent Unemployed				
	Aboriginal				
	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Both Sexes					
15 Years and Over	13.8	**14.3**	12.9	**12.8**	**11.6**
15–24 Years	22.5	21.1	19.2	20.9	17.9
25–54 Years	11.6	12.3	11.0	10.7	10.0
55 Years and Over	10.8	12.4	11.4	9.1	9.3
Men					
15 Years And Over	15.1	15.8	14.7	**12.8**	**12.5**
15–-24 Years	23.8	23.8	22.2	**20.0**	**19.1**
25–54 Years	12.6	13.3	12.5	10.9	10.7
55 Years and Over	13.8	14.9	12.7	10.5	11.0
Women					
15 Years and Over	12.5	12.7	11.0	**12.7**	**10.7**
15–24 Years	21.1	18.3	16.1	**21.9**	**16.7**
25–54 Years	10.6	11.3	9.5	**10.6**	**9.2**
55 Years and Over	7.3	9.9	9.8	7.4	7.6

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

Another way of saying this is that if the educational level attained by Aboriginals was the same as that achieved by non-Aboriginals, the employment rates would be similar. Please see Table 4.

Unemployment by Educational Level

Although Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals with the same level of educational have similar employment rates, this relationship does not hold with regard to unemployment rates. The unemployment rate for Aboriginals, 11.6 in 2013, is substantially higher than it is for non-Aboriginals, 6.9 in 2013, even when their educational level is the same. For those who did not graduate from high school the unemployment rate in 2013 for Aboriginals was 19.6 compared to 14.3 for non-Aboriginals. For those who graduated from high school the rates are 11.6 versus 7.7 and for those who completed their post-secondary certificate or diploma it was 9.8 versus 5.5. The one exception is for those with a University degree. In this case their unemployment rates are low, with the Aboriginal rate at 3.5 compared to 4.8 for non-Aboriginals.

Unemployment rates consistently decrease for both Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals as the level of education completed increases. The one exception is for those who have only some post-secondary education, but have not earned a certificate or diploma. They have higher unemployment rates than those who graduated from high school, except in 2010 and 2012 when for Aboriginals their unemployment rates were lower than high school graduates. This result is similar to that for employment rates. For Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals those with only some post-secondary education have lower employment rates than high school graduates.

Completing a higher level of education is associated with increased employment rates and lower unemployment rates. The educational level obtained helps to explain the difference in employment rates between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. However, it does not explain the difference when comparing Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal unemployment rates. Please see Table 5.

Employment by Province and Territory

The greatest increase in the rate of Aboriginal employment in 2013 occurred in Alberta, 65.9 versus 61.8 in 2012. The provinces with the next largest increases were Quebec, 52 versus 48.5 and Saskatchewan 58.7 versus 55.8. Alberta is the province with the highest employment rate, both for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. However, Alberta's non-Aboriginals experienced a marginal decrease in their employment rate in 2013; although, the total number employed increased. Ontario, Canada's largest province experienced the greatest decrease in its Aboriginal employment rate in 2013, dropping to 52.8 from 57.1. This was in marked contrast to 2012 when it had the largest increase, growing from 54.7 in 2011 to the 57.1 rate in 2012.

There were minimal changes in the employment rates for Aboriginals in British Columbia, Manitoba, the Atlantic Provinces when combined and the three Territories when combined. Given the relatively small populations of the Atlantic Provinces and the Territories it is more meaningful statistically to consider them together. However, if we examine each individually, Newfoundland, Yukon and Nunavut had large increases in their First Nations Peoples' employment rate while Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick the Northwest Terri-

TABLE 4
Labour Force Estimates for Canada
Employment and Participation Rates by Educational Level
Population in Thousands

	Non-Aboriginal				
	2009	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**
Total, All Education Levels					
Employment Rate	61.7	61.8	62.0	62.0	62.0
Participation Rate	67.2	67.1	66.9	66.7	66.6
Population	26647	26997.5	27316.6	27635.1	27986
Percent of Total Population	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0–8 Years					
Employment Rate	20.1	19.8	19.7	**20.0**	19.9
Participation Rate	23.8	23.3	23.3	**23.1**	23.1
Population	1845.8	1763.9	1715.2	1641.1	1628.4
Percent of Total Population	6.9	6.5	6.3	5.9	5.8
9 to 10 Years					
Employment Rate	36.7	35.7	35.8	34.8	34.9
Participation Rate	44.0	43.0	42.6	41.1	41.0
Population	2292	2219.6	2161.7	2184.5	2116
Percent of Total Population	8.6	8.2	7.9	7.9	7.6
11 to 13 Years Non-graduate					
Employment Rate	48.6	48.1	47.4	47.2	47.0
Participation Rate	56.9	56.2	55.2	54.7	54.4
Population	1396.5	1379.7	1359.3	1351.1	1304.2
Percent of Total Population	5.2	5.1	5.0	4.9	4.7
High School Graduate					
Employment Rate	61.7	61.7	61.7	61.1	**60.5**
Participation Rate	67.8	67.4	66.9	66.1	65.6
Population	5316.3	5321	5412.3	5505.8	5703.8
Percent of Total Population	20.0	19.7	19.8	19.9	**20.4**
Some Post-secondary					
Employment Rate	61.0	60.8	60.5	60.7	59.9
Participation Rate	67.5	67.5	66.9	66.9	66.0
Population	2200.9	2222.6	2166.3	2042.4	2022.6
Percent of Total Population	8.3	8.2	7.9	7.4	7.2
Post-secondary Certificate					
Employment Rate	71.2	70.9	71.0	70.6	70.7
Participation Rate	76.3	75.5	75.4	74.9	74.9
Population	8160.2	8350.7	8541.3	8684.6	8749.8
Percent of Total Population	30.6	30.9	31.3	31.4	31.3
University Degree Bachelor and Above					
Employment Rate	75.8	75.3	74.8	75.0	**74.7**
Participation Rate	79.8	79.7	78.6	78.9	78.4
Population	5434.9	5739.9	5960.4	6225.2	6461.0
Percent of Total Population	20.4	21.3	21.8	22.5	**23.1**
Less than High School					
Employment Rate	34.2	33.7	33.6	33.3	**33.2**
Participation Rate	40.5	39.9	39.5	38.9	38.7
Population	5534.4	5363.2	5236.3	5177	5048.5
Percent of Total Population	20.8	19.9	19.2	18.7	**18.0**
High School and Above					
Employment Rate	68.9	68.8	68.7	68.6	**68.3**
Participation Rate	74.2	73.8	73.4	73.1	72.8
Population	21112.3	21634.3	22080.3	22458.1	22937.2
Percent of Total Population	79.2	80.1	80.8	81.3	**82.0**

continued on next page.

TABLE 4 continued.

	Aboriginal				
	2009	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**
Total, All Education Levels					
Employment Rate	56.6	53.7	55.8	56.9	**57.2**
Participation Rate	65.7	62.6	64.1	65.2	**64.7**
Population	650.6	660.6	670.5	679.4	**687.5**
Percent of Total Population	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	**100.0**
0–8 Years					
Employment Rate	18.5	17.5	15.9	20.2	19.0
Participation Rate	25.0	24.8	21.3	26.7	23.9
Population	49.8	46.1	46.6	46.3	45.9
Percent of Total Population	7.7	7.0	7.0	6.8	6.7
9 to 10 Years					
Employment Rate	35.1	31.5	34.2	34.6	35.8
Participation Rate	46.5	41.9	44.7	45.1	44.8
Population	101.4	103	103.5	100.5	94.5
Percent of Total Population	15.6	15.6	15.4	14.8	13.7
11 to 13 Years Non-graduate					
Employment Rate	46.7	42.8	44.7	46.6	45.7
Participation Rate	59.7	54.7	56.1	58.2	56.2
Population	62.4	70.4	63.1	68.6	65.2
Percent of Total Population	9.6	10.7	9.4	10.1	9.5
High School Graduate					
Employment Rate	62.1	59.9	62.7	61.8	**62.1**
Participation Rate	72.0	70.0	72.2	71.1	70.2
Population	130.8	126.1	132.6	138.5	154.1
Percent of Total Population	20.1	19.1	19.8	20.4	**22.4**
Some Post-secondary					
Employment Rate	57.4	58.4	54.9	56.2	60.2
Participation Rate	66.9	66.9	64.3	65.6	67.9
Population	65.9	69.9	71.0	60.1	57.6
Percent of Total Population	10.1	10.6	10.6	8.8	8.4
Post-secondary Certificate					
Employment Rate	70.5	66.2	69.1	70.3	67.2
Participation Rate	78.7	74.3	76.0	76.8	74.6
Population	188.6	195.2	200.4	205.3	209.0
Percent of Total Population	29.0	29.5	29.9	30.2	30.4
University Degree Bachelor and Above					
Employment Rate	82.3	77.0	80.3	77.8	**81.3**
Participation Rate	85.5	81.3	84.0	82.8	84.3
Population	51.6	49.9	53.3	60	61.3
Percent of Total Population	7.9	7.6	7.9	8.8	**8.9**
Less than High School					
Employment Rate	34.6	32.2	33.3	35.3	**35.2**
Participation Rate	45.3	42.4	42.9	45.3	43.7
Population	213.6	219.5	213.3	215.4	205.6
Percent of Total Population	32.8	33.2	31.8	31.7	**29.9**
High School and Above					
Employment Rate	67.4	64.4	66.4	66.9	**66.6**
Participation Rate	75.7	72.7	74.0	74.4	73.6
Population	437.0	441.1	457.2	464	481.9
Percent of Total Population	67.2	66.8	68.2	68.3	**70.1**

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

TABLE 5
Labour Force Estimates for Canada
Unemployment and Employment Rates by Educational Level

	Non-Aboriginal				
	2009	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**
Total, All Education Levels					
Unemployment Rate	**8.1**	**7.9**	**7.3**	**7.1**	**6.9**
Employment Rate	61.7	61.8	62.0	62.0	62.0
Less than High School					
Unemployment Rate	**15.6**	**15.5**	**15.1**	**14.4**	**14.3**
Employment Rate	34.2	33.7	33.6	33.3	33.2
High School Graduate					
Employment Rate	**9.0**	**8.5**	**7.7**	**7.6**	**7.7**
Unemployment Rate	61.7	61.7	61.7	61.1	60.5
Some Post-secondary					
Employment Rate	**9.7**	**9.9**	**9.5**	**9.2**	**9.2**
Unemployment Rate	61.0	60.8	60.5	60.7	59.9
Post-secondary Certificate or Diploma					
Unemployment Rate	**6.8**	**6.4**	**5.9**	**5.8**	**5.5**
Employment Rate	71.2	70.9	71.0	70.6	70.7
University Degree Bachelor and Above					
Umployment Rate	**5.0**	**5.2**	**4.9**	**5.0**	**4.8**
Employment Rate	75.8	75.3	74.8	75.0	74.7

	Aboriginal				
	2009	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**
Total, All Education Levels					
Unemployment Rate	**13.8**	**14.3**	**12.9**	**12.8**	**11.6**
Employment Rate	56.6	53.7	55.8	56.9	57.2
Less than High School					
Unemployment Rate	**23.6**	**24.1**	**22.5**	**22.1**	**19.6**
Employment Rate	34.6	32.2	33.3	35.3	35.2
High School Graduate					
Employment Rate	**13.7**	**14.4**	**13.1**	**13.1**	**11.6**
Unemployment Rate	62.1	59.9	62.7	61.8	62.1
Some Post-secondary					
Employment Rate	**14.3**	**12.7**	**14.6**	**11.3**	**14.3**
Unemployment Rate	56.2	58.4	54.9	60.2	57.4
Post-secondary Certificate or Diploma					
Unemployment Rate	**10.4**	**10.8**	**9.1**	**8.5**	**9.8**
Employment Rate	70.5	66.2	69.1	70.3	67.2
University Degree Bachelor and Above					
Umployment Rate	**3.7**	**5.5**	**4.4**	**6.1**	**3.5**
Employment Rate	82.3	77.0	80.3	77.8	81.3

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

tories had decreases. The Inuit in Nunavut has the lowest employment rate in Canada just less than the Aboriginals in New Brunswick in 2013.

Alberta has had the highest rate of employment for Aboriginals as well as non-Aboriginals in all the provinces in each year since 2009. The only minor exceptions were for Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, which had higher rates for Aboriginals in 2009. Given this pattern the prospect for employment would seem to be the greatest in Alberta. Please see Table 6.

TABLE 6
Employment Rate for Canada by Province and Territory
Population and Employed in Thousand

	Non-Aboriginal				
	2009	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**
Canada (Ten Provinces)					
Employment Rate	61.7	61.8	62.0	62.0	62.0
Population	26646.7	26997.5	27316.6	27635.1	27985.7
Employed	16441.1	16684.5	16931.9	17124.9	17349.8
Newfoundland and Labrador					
Employment Rate	50.1	51.8	52.8	54.4	54.6
Population	407.3	408.9	409.1	407.6	409.0
Employed	204.0	211.8	216.1	221.6	223.1
Prince Edward Island					
Employment Rate	59.3	60.4	60.5	60.4	61.5
Population	114.7	116.1	118.3	119.5	119.7
Employed	68.0	70.1	71.5	72.1	73.6
Nova Scotia					
Employment Rate	58.6	58.3	58.2	58.4	58.2
Population	759.5	762.9	764.7	765.6	766.5
Employed	444.7	444.9	444.9	447.3	445.9
New Brunswick					
Employment Rate	58.6	57.8	56.9	56.7	56.8
Population	605.0	607.8	610.3	611.3	610.8
Employed	354.3	351.5	347.2	346.4	346.7
Four Atlantic Provinces					
Employment Rate	56.8	56.9	56.8	57.1	57.2
Population	1886.5	1895.7	1902.4	1904.0	1906.0
Employed	1071.0	1078.3	1079.7	1087.3	1089.4
Quebec					
Employment Rate	59.8	60.3	60.2	60.1	60.3
Population	6374.1	6449.5	6515.1	6576.5	6630.5
Employed	3813.6	3884.1	3921.7	3952.5	4000.0
Ontario					
Employment Rate	61.2	61.4	61.7	61.4	61.6
Population	10484.1	10627.4	10761.4	10903.4	11036.2
Employed	6413.6	6530.3	6642.0	6692.0	6795.1
Manitoba					
Employment Rate	66.1	66.6	66.2	66.2	66.0
Population	837.9	848.4	858.6	866.5	875.0
Employed	553.6	564.9	568.7	573.8	577.8

continued on next page.

TABLE 6 continued.

	Non-Aboriginal				
	2009	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**
Saskatchewan					
Employment Rate	67.4	67.2	66.5	67.2	68.0
Population	712.3	722.5	730.2	739.8	753.6
Employed	480.1	485.6	485.9	497.0	512.8
Alberta					
Employment Rate	**69.8**	**68.4**	**70.0**	**70.4**	**69.9**
Population	2799.9	2839.9	2882.6	2943.1	3042.8
Employed	1953.2	1942.9	2018.7	2070.7	2125.9
British Columbia					
Employment Rate	60.7	60.8	60.4	60.8	60.1
Population	3551.8	3617.2	3666.3	3701.7	3741.4
Employed	2156.1	2198.5	2215.3	2251.6	2248.8
Yukon					
Employment Rate	76.4	72.9	76.6	**75.0**	73.6
Population	19.1	20.7	21.8	20.8	21.6
Employed	14.6	15.1	16.7	15.6	15.9
Northwest					
Employment Rate	84.2	83.1	84.1	**83.6**	83.6
Population	17.1	16.0	17.6	17.7	17.7
Employed	14.4	13.3	14.8	14.8	14.8
	Non-Inuit				
Nunavut					
Employment Rate	88.5	89.5	89.2	89.7	89.3
Population	4.5	4.6	4.7	4.7	4.8
Employed	4.0	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.3
	Non-First Nations Peoples				
Yukon, Northwest, Nunavut					
Employment Rate	81.1	78.9	81.0	80.1	79.4
Population	40.7	41.31	44.1	43.2	44.1
Employed	33.0	32.6	35.7	34.6	35.0

	Aboriginal				
	2009	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**
Canada (Ten Provinces)					
Employment Rate	56.6	53.7	55.8	56.9	57.2
Population	650.6	660.6	670.5	679.4	687.5
Employed	368.5	354.8	374.5	386.4	393.1
Newfoundland and Labrador					
Employment Rate	49.9	46.6	53.1	**52.4**	**55.1**
Population	18.8	19.2	19.9	20.1	20.4
Employed	9.4	9.0	10.4	10.5	11.3
Prince Edward Island					
Employment Rate	**65.6**	49.7	48.3	**61.7**	**50.0**
Population	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.0
Employed	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5
Nova Scotia					
Employment Rate	51.4	56.5	58.0	58.4	58.7
Population	13.9	14.1	14.4	14.7	14.9
Employed	7.1	8.0	8.4	8.6	8.7

continued on next page.

TABLE 6 continued.

	Aboriginal				
	2009	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**
New Brunswick					
Employment Rate	**60.3**	49.2	52.6	**54.1**	**49.1**
Population	8.9	9.0	9.1	9.1	9.1
Employed	5.4	4.4	4.8	4.9	4.5
Four Atlantic Provinces					
Employment Rate	52.9	50.7	54.4	**54.9**	**54.9**
Population	42.5	43.2	44.3	44.8	45.5
Employed	22.5	21.9	24.1	24.6	25.0
Quebec					
Employment Rate	55.6	45.0	48.7	**48.5**	**52.0**
Population	60.6	60.8	60.8	61.0	61.0
Employed	33.7	27.4	29.7	29.6	31.7
Ontario					
Employment Rate	55.3	49.9	**54.7**	**57.1**	**52.8**
Population	160.6	162.8	164.7	166.2	167.4
Employed	88.8	81.3	90.1	94.8	88.4
Manitoba					
Employment Rate	61.1	58.5	58.9	**58.0**	**57.9**
Population	90.6	92.6	94.7	96.5	98.5
Employed	55.4	55.4	55.8	56.0	57.1
Saskatchewan					
Employment Rate	54.3	53.6	56.2	**55.8**	**58.7**
Population	67.0	68.4	69.8	71.2	72.5
Employed	36.4	36.6	39.2	39.7	42.5
Alberta					
Employment Rate	**59.3**	**60.9**	**60.2**	**61.8**	**65.9**
Population	118.0	120.9	124.0	126.8	129.5
Employed	70.0	73.6	74.6	78.4	85.3
British Columbia					
Employment Rate	55.5	53.6	54.3	**56.1**	**55.8**
Population	111.2	111.9	112.4	112.9	113.1
Employed	61.8	60.0	61.0	63.6	63.1
Yukon					
Employment Rate	43.5	46.2	51.1	**54.1**	**57.6**
Population	6.2	5.2	4.7	6.1	5.9
Employed	2.7	2.4	2.4	3.3	3.4
Northwest					
Employment Rate	46.7	50.6	54.1	54.5	53.8
Population	15.0	16.2	14.6	14.3	14.3
Employed	7.0	8.2	7.9	7.8	7.7
	Inuit				
Nunavut					
Employment Rate	43.6	46.0	46.2	**46.2**	**48.5**
Population	15.7	16.3	16.4	16.4	16.9
Employed	6.8	7.5	7.6	7.6	8.2
	First Nations Peoples				
Yukon, Northwest, Nunavut					
Employment Rate	44.7	48.0	50.1	**50.8**	**52.0**
Population	36.9	37.7	35.7	36.8	37.1
Employed	16.5	18.1	17.9	18.7	19.3

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

Employment by Sector and Industry

The sectors in which people are employed may be defined as goods-producing and service-producing sectors. Aboriginal employment in the goods-producing sector had been increasing every year since 2009; however, in 2013 this trend reversed and it declined to 24.7% from 25.4% in 2012. These occurred mainly in construction, dropping from 10.8% in 2012 to 10.2% in 2013 and in manufacturing from 7.7% to 7.0%. The decline in employment in manufacturing also occurred for non-Aboriginals in 2013 from 10.3% to 9.8%, but not in construction, which increased from 7.2% to 7.4%. The area in which employment increased the most in the goods-producing sector for Aboriginals in 2013 was in forestry, fishing, mining, oil and gas, which went from 4.8% in 2012 to 5.4% in 2013.

The vast majority of the working population, approximately three-quarters are employed in the service-producing sector. The increases in Aboriginal employment in the service-producing sector were in professional, scientific and technical services, growing from 3.2% in 2012 to 4.0% in 2013 and in other services, rising from 3.5% to 4.4%. The largest declines were in information, culture and recreation, from 4.7% to 3.7%, in public administration from 7.8% to 7.1% and in health care and social assistance from 13.7% to 13.1%, which is the largest area of employment for Aboriginals as well as non-Aboriginals. The next largest source of employment for Aboriginals in 2013 was the retail trade at 11.7% followed by construction at 10.2%.

The percentages of employment in each area has increased and decreased over the years since 2009. One exception is the decline in employment for Aboriginals in public administration, which has occurred in 2011, 2012 and 2013. Please see Tables 7 and 8.

Conclusion

The employment and unemployment rates for Aboriginals in Canada have continued to improve in 2013 as they have since 2010. These rates have been significantly better for non-Aboriginals than for Aboriginals; however the gap between them has declined each year since 2010.

The increase in the rate of employment for Aboriginals in 2013 is attributable to the growth in employment by those in the 15 to 24 age group and by women, while it declined for men. However the unemployment rate declined for both Aboriginal men and women in 2013.

The gap in employment rates between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals may be mainly explained by the higher educational levels achieved by non-Aboriginals. The higher the completed level of education, the higher is the employment level and the lower is the unemployment rate. This applies for both Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. However, educational level does not explain the differences in their unemployment rates.

The province with the highest employment rates for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals is Alberta. This has been the case each year since 2009, with only two exceptions in 2009.

The goods producing sector, which employs approximately one quarter of the Aboriginal population experienced its first decline in employment since 2009, while the percent of employment in the service producing sector increased for the first time since 2009 for Aboriginals. The areas that had the greatest increases in the percent of Aboriginals employed in 2013 were forestry, fishing, mining, oil and gas, professional, scientific and technical services and other services. The areas Aboriginals experienced the greatest percent decreases in employment were construction, manufacturing, information, culture and recreation, health

TABLE 7
Employment for Canada by Industry
In Thousands

	Non-Aboriginal				
	2009	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**
TOTAL EMPLOYED	16441.1	16684.5	16931.9	17124.9	17349.8
Goods-producing Sector	3642.9	3657.2	3713.7	3774.4	3788.4
• Agriculture	312.3	296.9	300.8	305.2	311.2
• Forestry, fishing, mining, oil and gas	303.4	312.0	319.0	350.8	346.4
• Utilities	144.9	144.8	135.6	137.1	138.9
• Construction	1125.6	1183.1	1225.6	1225.3	1283.9
• Manufacturing	1756.8	1720.5	1732.7	1756.0	1708.0
Services-producing Sector	12798.3	13027.4	13218.2	13350.5	13561.4
• Educational services	1164.8	1196.8	1197.5	1264.2	1265.3
• Health care and social assistance	1900.9	1983.4	2043.6	2075.7	2126.6
• Public administration	901.7	925.9	942.3	925.8	917.1
• Wholesale trade	621.1	618.7	623.8	601.3	603.0
• Retail trade	1973.6	2007.3	1988.8	1988.2	2047.5
• Transportation and warehousing	796.1	786.6	823.9	830.3	843.3
• Finance, insurance, real estate and leasing	1074.8	1080.2	1070.2	1078.7	1107.4
• Professional, scientific and technical services	1179.4	1255.3	1297.0	1287.2	1333.9
• Management of companies and other support services	639.1	655.8	660.5	672.5	695.7
• Information, culture and recreation	751.8	752.2	769.2	773.1	768.6
• Accommodation and food services	1025.6	1028.1	1060.7	1071.7	1099.9
• Other services	769.3	737.3	740.7	781.8	753.1

	Aboriginal				
	2009	**2010**	**2011**	**2011**	**2012**
TOTAL EMPLOYED	368.5	354.8	374.5	386.4	393.1
Goods-producing Sector	79.7	82.6	90.3	98.0	97.1
• Agriculture	3.1	3.4	4.4	4.1	3.8
• Forestry, fishing, mining, oil and gas	14.4	17.6	18.5	18.5	21.2
• Utilities	2.6	3.6	4.2	3.6	4.5
• Construction	35.9	34.7	36.4	41.8	40.0
• Manufacturing	23.8	23.2	26.8	29.9	27.5
Services-producing Sector	288.8	272.1	284.1	288.5	295.9
• Educational services	23.6	21.7	22.0	23.8	25.4
• Health care and social assistance	48.6	46.6	48.1	53.0	51.4
• Public administration	29.0	31.1	29.5	30.3	28.0
• Wholesale trade	10.5	9.8	8.7	10.9	10.8
• Retail trade	46.9	41.0	48.6	43.9	45.8
• Transportation and warehousing	19.9	18.9	19.3	19.0	20.5
• Finance, insurance, real estate and leasing	17.2	15.3	13.4	14.9	16.5
• Professional, scientific and technical services	11.4	11.2	12.3	12.5	15.6
• Management of companies and other support services	15.6	16.5	16.8	17.9	17.8
• Information, culture and recreation	17.9	13.6	15.6	18.0	14.7
• Accommodation and food services	31.0	30.4	32.2	30.7	32.2
• Other services	17.3	16.1	17.6	13.6	17.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

TABLE 8
Percent of Employment for Canada by Industry

	Non-Aboriginal				
	2009	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**
TOTAL EMPLOYED	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Goods-producing Sector	22.2	21.9	21.9	22.0	21.8
• Agriculture	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8
• Forestry, fishing, mining, oil and gas	1.8	1.9	1.9	2.0	2.0
• Utilities	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.8
• Construction	6.8	7.1	7.2	7.2	7.4
• Manufacturing	10.7	10.3	10.2	10.3	9.8
Services-producing Sector	77.8	78.1	78.1	78.0	78.2
• Educational services	7.1	7.2	7.1	7.4	7.3
• Health care and social assistance	11.6	11.9	12.1	12.1	12.3
• Public administration	5.5	5.5	5.6	5.4	5.3
• Wholesale trade	3.8	3.7	3.7	3.5	3.5
• Retail trade	12.0	12.0	11.7	11.6	11.8
• Transportation and warehousing	4.8	4.7	4.9	4.8	4.9
• Finance, insurance, real estate and leasing	6.5	6.5	6.3	6.3	6.4
• Professional, scientific and technical services	7.2	7.5	7.7	7.5	7.7
• Management of companies and other support services	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9	4.0
• Information, culture and recreation	4.6	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.4
• Accommodation and food services	6.2	6.2	6.3	6.3	6.3
• Other services	4.7	4.4	4.4	4.6	4.3

	Aboriginal				
	2009	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**
TOTAL EMPLOYED	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Goods-producing Sector	21.6	22.4	24.1	25.4	24.7
• Agriculture	0.8	1.0	1.2	1.1	1.0
• Forestry, fishing, mining, oil and gas	3.9	5.0	4.9	4.8	5.4
• Utilities	0.7	1.0	1.1	0.9	1.1
• Construction	9.7	9.8	9.7	10.8	10.2
• Manufacturing	6.5	6.5	7.2	7.7	7.0
Services-producing Sector	78.4	76.7	75.9	74.6	75.3
• Educational services	6.4	6.1	5.9	6.2	6.5
• Health care and social assistance	13.2	13.1	12.8	13.7	13.1
• Public administration	7.9	8.8	7.9	7.8	7.1
• Wholesale trade	2.8	2.8	2.3	2.8	2.7
• Retail trade	12.7	11.6	13.0	11.4	11.7
• Transportation and warehousing	5.4	5.3	5.2	4.9	5.2
• Finance, insurance, real estate and leasing	4.7	4.3	3.6	3.9	4.2
• Professional, scientific and technical services	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.2	4.0
• Management of companies and other support services	4.2	4.7	4.5	4.6	4.5
• Information, culture and recreation	4.9	3.8	4.2	4.7	3.7
• Accommodation and food services	8.4	8.6	8.6	7.9	8.2
• Other services	4.7	4.5	4.7	3.5	4.4

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

care and social assistance, other services and public administration. The only area to decline each year since 2010 was public administration.

Based upon the data reported here it is reasonable to concludes that if one wants to increase one's probability of being employed then one should obtain as a high a level of education as possible and should consider living where there is the highest rate of employment, which in Canada is in Alberta. From a societal perspective more should be done to ensure our youth complete high school and to enable as many as possible to obtain higher levels of education.

REFERENCE

Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, 2014, personal correspondence

Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development

Call for Papers
Volume 9, Issue 2

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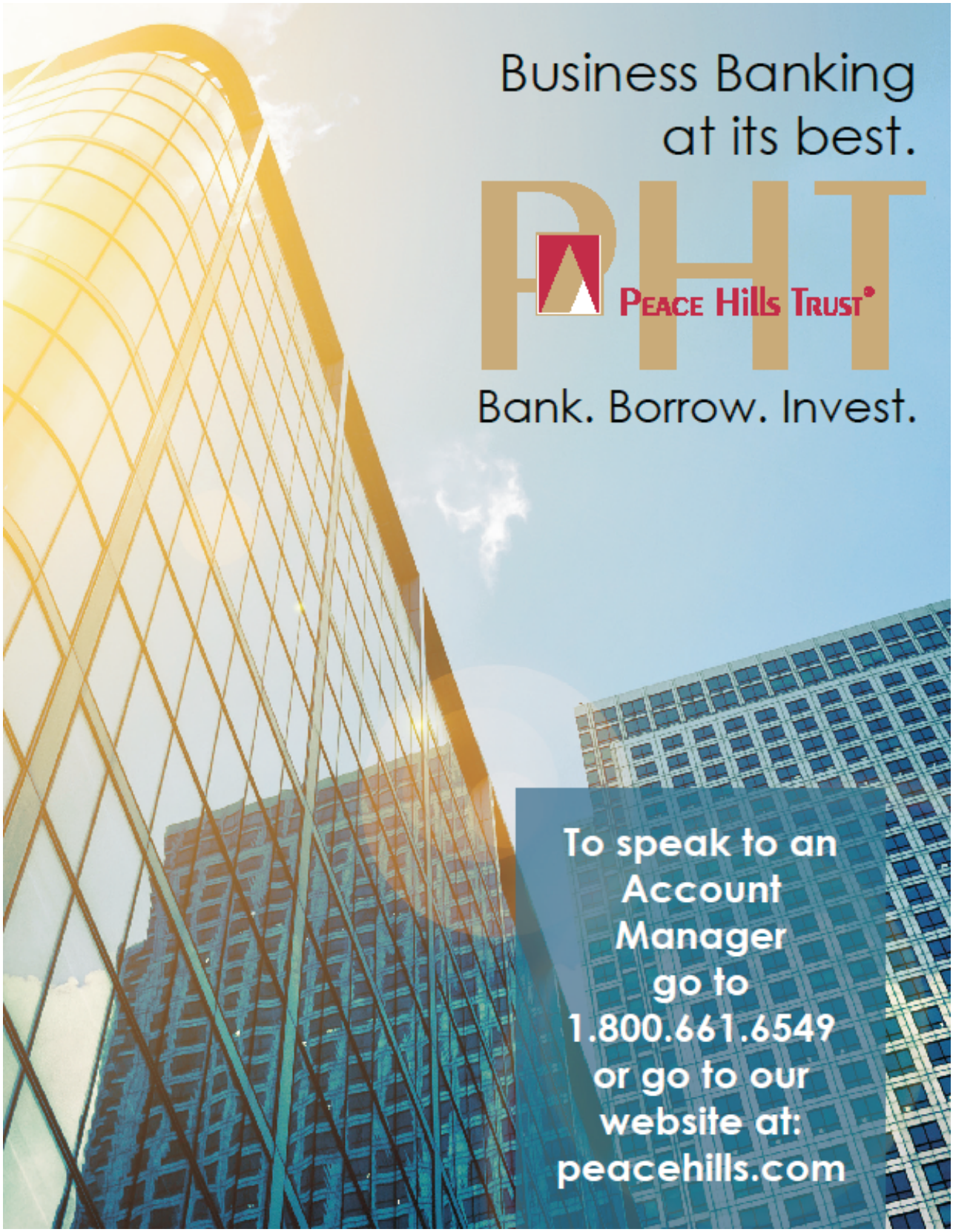
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