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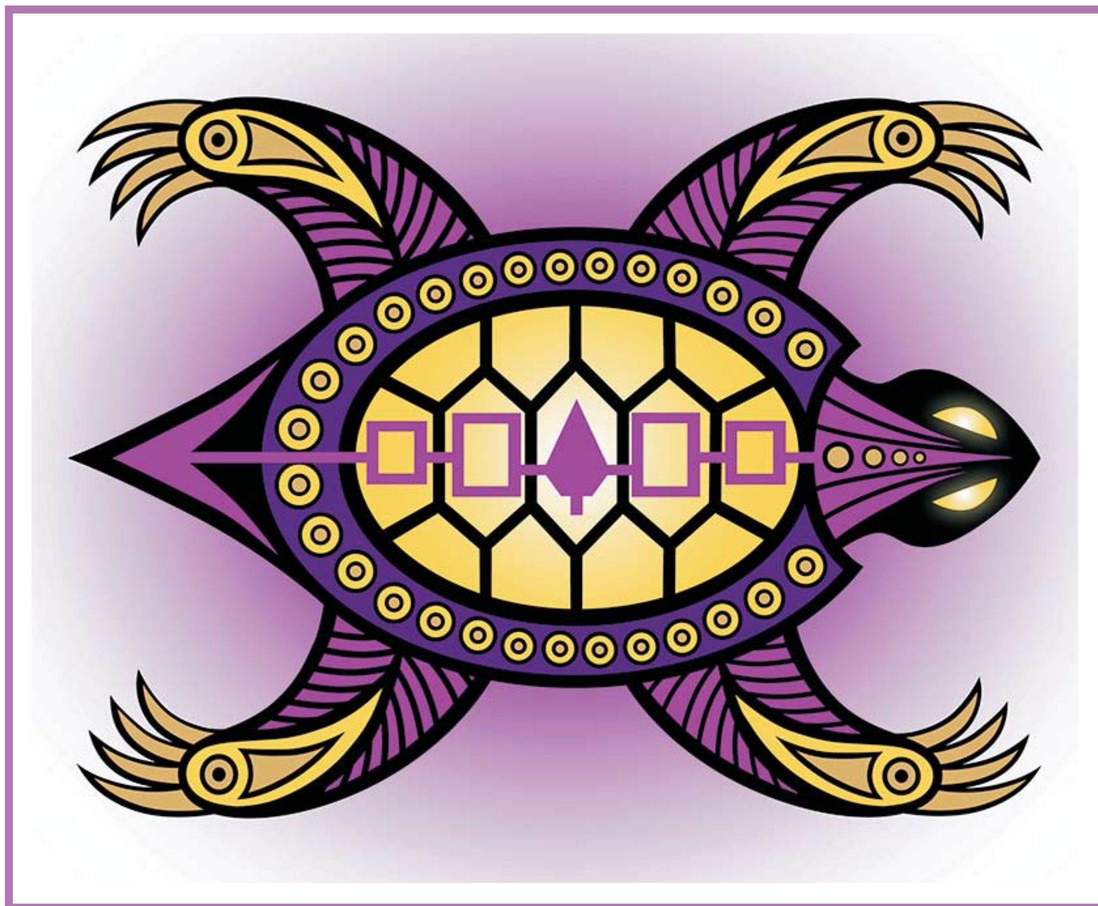

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Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development

VOLUME 9, NUMBER 2

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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

Tracey Anthony

Born in 1971, Tracey studied drawing and painting at The Ontario College of Art and Design in Toronto, Ontario, Canada for four years and animation at Sheridan College in Oakville for a semester. He also explored print-making and other various artistic disciplines like wood and metal design. It is not surprising to find many mixed media in his artworks. A child of a Mississauga (Ojibway) mother from the New Credit of the Mississaugas First Nations reserve and a Delaware (Lenni Lenape) father from the Six Nations reserve in Ontario, Canada, Tracey's artworks also express Ojibway, Delaware, and Iroquoian influences.

Tracey's original works are showcased in the Royal Ontario Museum, The Collection of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, and The Woodland Cultural Centre. His artworks are also featured in Vision Artworks, which is located in the Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation's commercial plaza, near Hagersville, Ontario, Canada on Highway 6, and can be seen on its website, visionartworks.ca. In addition, Tracey also has an artist studio at his home on the Six Nations reserve. To contact the artist: info@visionartworks.ca

Artist's Statement
Turtle & Hiawatha Belt II

Tracey Anthony

For the people of Six Nations, the turtle plays an important role in the Creation Story. It is upon its back that Sky Woman came to rest after falling from the Sky World. Upon its back is where the people call home — Turtle Island. It also plays a role in the clan system of the Haudenosaunee as it is one of the nine clans. The symbol on the back of the turtle represents the Haudenosaunee, or "people of the longhouse," commonly referred to as Iroquois, Six Nations, or Haudenosaunee Confederacy. Originally a confederacy of five nations inhabiting the northern part of New York State, the Haudenosaunee consisted of the Seneca, Cayuga, Oneida, Onondaga and Mohawk. When the Tuscarora joined the confederacy in the early 18th century, it became known as the Six Nations.

Details of artwork: Turtle & Hiawatha Belt II — Giclée on canvas — 20" w × 24" h

On behalf of everyone at the Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers (Cando), including the editorial board of the *Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development* (JAED), welcome to the 18th issue of JAED. In this issue you will connect with current community and economic development activities occurring in Indigenous communities and institutions located across Canada.

These stories touch not only on economic development, but also on healing, Aboriginal women in mining negotiations and project development, and Aboriginal forest enterprises. In this issue, researchers also engage in the discussion of a number of ongoing and important topics critical to the enhancement of the academic and community-based understanding of what it means to develop in ways that honour and utilize Indigenous ways of knowing and being. This includes the critical analysis of community-based enterprises as an economic development strategy, the value of looking at concepts related to "Aboriginal capitalism", and an analysis of why it is important to rethink the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework from an Indigenous perspective.

In addition, the Journal acknowledges and highlights Cando's 2014 Economic Developer of the Year award winners, and continues to review and analyze the state of the Aboriginal economy, with a focus in this issue on Aboriginal Employment: 2007–2014.

In ending we invite you to consider sharing your stories or research in upcoming issues of our journal. The economic development world needs to hear more about Aboriginal community development, entrepreneurship and small business, and community enterprises. Further, readers need to know how these activities relate to Aboriginal community health and well-being. This year we have an opportunity to explore community and economic development connections through The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's *Calls to Action* (2015). The historic 2014 decision by the Supreme Court of Canada that has restored a ruling that granted a broad declaration of land title to the Tsilhqot'in Nation located in British Columbia also signals resource development partnerships requiring more Indigenous involvement and benefit in the future.

We hope to hear from you, and look forward to connecting at Cando's 23rd Annual AGM and Conference in the fall of 2016.

Warren Weir

Introduction

Wanda Wuttunee

This section highlights our success stories and how others can learn to help communities move forward in a respectful manner.

Food security is an important topic for many communities that lack options for healthy living. For Asfia Gulrukh Kamal, a PhD student, coming to research in a northern Manitoba community and the journey to being welcomed as a part of the community is significant. In "The Story of Healing with *O-Pipon-Na-Piwin* Cree Nation (OPCN)", she shares her insights as an outsider and what it took to move past that. Her experience is useful for other students who may be considering such an adventure and for communities, which may be surprised about how they too can be enriched from "outsiders with good intentions."

When communities are approached by mining companies, often the perspectives of Aboriginal women, who have a variety of experiences to share, are useful. In "Aboriginal Women, Mining Negotiations and Project Development", Stephanie LaBelle reports on a number of topics, including joint ventures, community benefits and challenges, as well as what companies ought to think about in working with communities. As women in the minning industry, they see their role as protecting their communities while working as employees.

Outstanding work by our community is recognized, celebrated, and honoured in "2014 Economic Developer of the Year Award Winners". The impact that Individual EDO of the Year Chris Hartman (CEO of the Tsawwassen First Nation Economic Development Corporation) has had in his community is telling in this quote, "TFN is quickly becoming an economic driver in the Greater Vancouver region, and an Economic Impact Study estimates that current projects alone will generate more than $348 million in construction employment income and $235 million in

permanent annual employment income." Find out more about Chris Hartman and his team's economic bullet in this article.

The Community EDO Winner, Nisga'a Lisims Government Economic Development, demonstrates innovation through partnership, a long-term prosperity framework, and business growth can make a positive difference in northwest British Columbia. Finally, Acosys Consulting — Aboriginal Private Sector Business EDO winner — offers community- and government-focused options that result in a win–win situation for Aboriginal people seeking employment. Internship opportunities help young people build skills and find employment, while sensitivity training in corporations open up the doors for recruiting and retaining Aboriginal employees.

Empowering, collaborating, and innovating mark winning attitudes that will make the difference in our communities.

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.

The Story of Healing with *O-Pipon-Na-Piwin* Cree Nation (OPCN)

Asfia Gulrukh Kamal
PHD CANDIDATE, FACULTY OF ENVIRONMENT, EARTH AND RESOURCE
UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

Introduction

I went to OPCN for the first time in 2009 to do a household food security survey as a part of my research work at the University of Manitoba. I was shocked to discover that a community in Canada, only 12 hours away from the very privileged and the very urban cosmopolitan Winnipeg, was deprived of basic needs such as running water, healthy and affordable quality food, proper housing, and health and educational services.

While doing my door-to-door visits, I noticed that community members were doubtful about my "asking the same questions and reproducing the same answers and results never shared with the interviewee" kind of research. They used to ask me, "Are you from the government? What is the purpose of this survey?" Throughout my survey, I became aware that this intelligent, friendly, and resilient group of people was deeply hurt by a one-sided research practice. For me, the questions were clear: in this realm of the colonizer and the colonized, whose side am I taking and what can I do to break this practice of a one-sided research?

Building Relationship with the Community

I felt fortunate that OPCN invited me to participate in their food-related projects. Before my research formally began, I was invited to the community school to participate as a volunteer in a number of gardening workshops with the Frontier School Division's Regional Gardening Coordinator. Working with young minds who were eager to learn, play, and care for plants was a life-altering experience. My personal interaction with school students, teachers, elders, and interested adult gardeners during these workshops proved to be pivotal in winning the trust of the community. The youth started calling me "the garden lady".

The survey and open-ended interviews revealed that OPCN suffered a severe flooding and displacement due to Manitoba Hydro's Churchill River Diversion (CRD), a hydroelectricity production project that resulted social, cultural and economic impoverishment in the

community. The survey results revealed that OPCN had a high food insecurity; children were surviving on junk food because of limited access to a healthy diet. These impacts were underlined as I started to talk to some community members. I heard stories of fetal alcohol syndrome, suicide, depression, untimely death, diabetes, obesity, high blood pressure, unemployment and many more. I learnt that these major issues have been uncared for and neglected for decades in many northern Manitoba communities. I felt that every person in OPCN needed care to transform his or her life into a healthy, positive, and culturally appropriate manner. They said that meant sharing food, listening to Elders, hugging the children, smiling at each and every individual you meet, and expressing that "I am here for you". I learnt through my fieldwork in OPCN that this caring is *pasekonekewin*, meaning "I will take you by the hand and help you stand."

I felt people's thoughts were articulate, rich with meaning, and rooted in cultural principles. During a gardening workshop in 2010, Elder Vivian Moose expressed,

> We do not harm another person so we get a better life. If you want to be in this community, you need to understand this. That is your journey. (Personal communication July 10, 2010)

My personal endeavour for understanding their Indigenous worldview and relationship grew deeper from this point onwards. As an outsider and researcher, I recognized my participation needed to be guided and informed by this Indigenous worldview.

Personal Is Political

I started my official fieldwork in OPCN in 2012. During my stay, the more I interacted with people, the more I learnt about their values. For me, it was a continuous process of dismantling and unlearning myself — am I scared of them, am I being respectful, am I listening the way I should be, am I being patient, am I trusting them enough with money, do I understand their jokes, am I using the right word while communicating, am I controlling and influencing their decisions, am I being helpful, am I being positive and smiling enough, am I sharing enough? These questions during different events and every day became my practice of confronting a researcher's self-supremacy. I do not know if it was because of my cautious behaviour, my brown skin, or my gardening workshops that I received acceptance in the community more easily than a Canadian citizen. When I asked them about it during a focus group, the Elders said, "We are happy to see you because you kept your promises; you came back to the community." Further, "You never asked us to do anything. You came to visit us, stayed with us, and then we started something together." Finally, the most important comment was made, "That is an easy answer. What you said made sense. You came to our gathering; you gardened with us, cooked for us, and ate food with us." I realized I was accepted not because of my skin colour but for becoming part of their most cherished memories by organizing and participating in land-based activities. I understood that research with an Indigenous community should be a constant effort to break the colonial worldview — that is, dismantling control, keeping promises, ignoring contradictions, and fighting violence against nature and human. For me the process started as soon as I started my journey to find myself within the collective in order to commit.

The Elders in OPCN told me many times that if I am telling a story I should share my roots and my personal views. My story starts in my homeland, Bangladesh. It is an overpop-

ulated Third World tropical country, mostly known for poverty, flood, and most recently microcredit programs. When I came to Canada a decade ago for graduate work, I came with a stereotypical "romantic" impression of North America, which was built from popular TV shows — beautiful houses with trimmed lawns, clean neighbourhoods, children making snowmen in winter, no slums, poverty or hunger, and abundant resources, which are distributed evenly to all, or at least better than my country. To my surprise, in northern Manitoba I found hidden slums of the "West".

I am a woman of Bengali Muslim heritage. I grew up in a small residential public university campus known for its lakes full of lotus and winter birds and natural green vegetation. My father was an academician who died of misdiagnosis at the age of 48. My mother said he used to do rural development work. I have a few feeble memories of my father working with the students in adult education and the free cataract surgery programs offered for elders in a village near our house. I always wanted to be like him and do something meaningful. Since my father died because of a doctor's mistake, my mother used to avoid doctors and relied on herbal medicines if we were sick. I grew up seeing my mother doing social work, trying to cope with the loss of my father. She wanted us to be kind, forgiving, and respectful to others. She taught me to love food, gardening, and singing. She prepares the best fish curry in the world.

In 2004 when I came to Canada for higher studies, it was my first experience away from my mother and my family. Initially I did not feel "at home" in Winnipeg. I missed my language, food, warm weather, and familiar faces. My homesickness significantly contributed to my poor social skills, feelings of vulnerability, failure, inadequacy, and unfamiliarity during the first five years of my stay in Winnipeg. This changed when I started to work with OPCN. I was at ease as I saw people were warm and welcoming. They have vibrant language, colourful artistic minds, and great aspirations for relationship-building. I realized humour, funny expressions, and jokes were an integral part of communication — they express trust, safety, fun, love of nature, and intelligence through wit. Once I asked my community friend, "How did you cook the moose nose?" He said, "Oh, we fix it and boil the snort out of it! Try some!"

Before I started my fieldwork in OPCN, some Southerners told me that it was not a "safe" place for me. However, my experience was the opposite. During my stay, the most drunken man, and supposedly the most unreliable as well, in the community was concerned about my safety and walked me home. The children invited me to play with them, the Elders invited me to fix fish and make bannock for them, and the adults invited me to go berry picking and to traditional gatherings. By the end of the second year, I found a family who loved me, fed me delicious fish, took care of me, and wanted me to be a part of their lives. That summer at OPCN reminded me of my childhood in a community surrounded by water and lots of trees, fresh fish, and taking herbal medicines. I felt at home in OPCN — whether I was requested to cook for the community for a funeral or a feast, or I was requested to teach in healthy eating workshops in the school or in the health complex with youth, elders, and single mothers.

The sense of collectivity and gaining strength from relationships in the community helped me to cope with the experience of struggle and grief I had to observe every day as part of living in an Indigenous reserve community. I understood that everything in OPCN is built on the idea of relationship and based on the obligation of sharing — share pain, love, care, responsibility, knowledge, skills, food, home, land, water, plants, medicines, and anything that contribute to people's well-being in OPCN. This idea is described with the word

wichihituwin, which means “something that can be used to help each other”. A community member said, “*Wichihituwin* could be boat, library, book, labour, skills, and most importantly, food.” The expression reflects reciprocity culture in OPCN.

A mother in the community once shared with me in a private meeting the following:

> I live by this lake ... it is flooded. My son drowned in this water in a boat accident. He was so young. Every time I look at this water, I feel lost. I cannot go anywhere else because my job is here and I have to feed the rest of my family. But it is so difficult to learn to live this life ... Something so close to my heart is gone forever.

She became quiet after saying the above statement and avoided me for weeks after this meeting. In OPCN the CRD project controls the water level of the lake by the settlement and causes fluctuation of the water level. The result is constant erosion of land. Since the CRD flooding, many islands in the lake were submerged; the flooding also created massive accumulation of debris in the water. People riding boats often experience accidents and die because they are unable to see debris or the tip of a drowned tree.

The Food Lady

Elders in OPCN told me not to leave a feast or a funeral without eating since sharing and eating food in such events is a form of praying for the well-being of the community and the individuals. Most of my initial community outreach started by feeding people personally, and also by organizing gatherings for single parents, Elders, and school children. Whenever I had a meeting with community food champions, I tried to bring food for them — baked whitefish, multigrain bannock, soups, wholegrain blueberry muffins, yogurt, fruits, etc. I also tried some multicultural cooking: I made curried beaver, fish, and moose meat for some of my friends a few times. One friend made fun of me saying, “You must be the first woman in the world cooking beaver curry!” After my first year, from a “garden lady” I became a “food lady” for OPCN children and youth.

Building the *Wichihituin*: *Ithinto Mechisowin* Program

As part of my community activities, OPCN requested that I work with them while they created their own food program. I began by offering help and participating in community events — providing cooking workshops, helping people to write proposals, gardening and listening to the elders by organizing focus groups and gatherings. The process helped to identify the key community food champions. We convened a group and named it “*Ithinto Mechisowin*” (“Food from the Land”) Steering committee. As a committee, we discussed the needs and wants of OPCN in regard to access to traditional food, and we identified our priorities and shared them with supportive organizations in the community — the band office, the school, the health complex, the Community Association of South Indian Lake, South Indian Lake Environmental Steering Committee, and the fishermen and trappers association. We did a presentation and submitted our proposal to all. To my surprise, despite some visibly challenging relationships between the organizations influenced by small town politics, they all came together in a common platform and offered immediate in-kind support to jump-start the program. My roles ranged from coordinating meetings to finding a carpenter, or ordering materials that were needed for the program office renovation. I wrote proposals, met people, socialized, and tried to learn how to be patient as a researcher. I went fishing

with fishermen; I learnt how to fix moose meat with the hunters; I learnt how to make bannock from elders; and I heard stories about the significance of medicine, visions, and dreams from many of the community members.

The second part of building our program was the renovation of a food program office space with proper food handling facilities. At this phase my tasks ranged from following up with the renovation progress with the housing manager and carpenter to liaison with the health inspector for renovation guidelines and follow-up visits. This was the most lengthy and eye-opening process for me. Nothing happened in a timely manner in a remote Indigenous community. When I contacted people in the South to order materials on behalf of OPCN, a number of times I had to face racist, rude, and derogatory responses and comments. Things were delayed because of late shipments or people being sick, and sometimes delays were caused by weather or lack of money. The good part of this phase was, every morning at 8 a.m. I had to stand by the band office to talk to a designated carpenter who would give me news on the renovation progress. I had coffee with the group of carpenters and listened to stories of experiences of hunting, fishing, trapping, camping, the legend of Big Foot or little people, and many more.

The renovation was complete in June 2013, and we started to distribute food. By that time we already had a few hands-on youth winter fishing and trapping workshops arranged. We distributed the harvested food to single mothers, low-income families, elders, diabetic patients, and disabled individuals with less access to land-based food. From June onwards, we also received fish from many fishermen and some moose meat from hunters in the community as donation to run the food program. I remember working long hours with the volunteers, my sisters and grandmothers in OPCN. Volunteers shared stories from the old days, how life was simple and easy before the flooding, how grandmothers used to keep bowls of water while fixing fish, how berry-picking was fun, how medicines were used and discarded in a safe place away from public places.

Kisthidimitowak: Healing by Respecting Relationship

Every summer I participated in traditional gatherings called *Kiwikapawetan* and *Wassasihk* for youth capacity-building organized in the community's old settlement, which is not yet flooded. During the gatherings, my task was to record and learn different techniques of food preparation and collect food-related stories for educational classes in the school. My participation in these gatherings, however, was also a process of personal reflection as I was trying to learn from the solace found within the wilderness. I was invited in sweat lodges, sharing circles, and feasts. These ceremonies are meant for spiritual reflection on inner strength — by focusing on the self as part of a collective where conversations, stories, and songs are blended with personal experiences, prayers, and cultural values.

During *Wassasihk*, I asked a community member, "What is the significance of the songs you were singing?" He told me, "You need to listen to everyone. Listen to the bird, fish, plants, water, and everyone else in your family, those who are alive and those who are not with us anymore. Listen to them well and make sure you understand and respect them so you can keep them well. That's what our songs are about." During *Kiwikapawetan*, one elder shared, "We bond with each other in terms of respect. *Kisthidimitowak* ("they respect each other") is the word that describes our values; you respectfully acknowledge loss and gain, fear, and courage." I understood the meaning of this concept when I started acknowledging my own fear in OPCN term.

In 2011 my mother had a stroke. She was partially paralyzed but recovered through a long 21-month recovery period. I started my fieldwork before she was fully recovered. I was always scared of losing her and had nightmares that she was in pain or she was falling from the bed when trying to get up. Yet, in my moments of distress, I was gaining insights — how personal experiences and coping mechanisms are shaping the behaviour of the entire community through the practice of *kisthidimitowak*. OPCN people were constantly dealing with fear as well — fear of hunger, cold, death of the loved ones, memories of abuse, and many more. But they challenged and acknowledged fear by maintaining their aspiration for sustainable communitarian life. In OPCN everything is participatory, from raising a child to harvesting and sharing food. My involvement in traditional gatherings and ceremonies took me to a shared space of collective healing where all personal experience is perceived as a communal experience. The bonding helped me ease my personal experiences of loss and fear. I felt relieved as I saw many people were praying for me and I was praying for them.

Conclusion: Repositioning Relationship

In bringing this story to an end, I want to say that I had not realized until my participatory experiences how much one needed to engage in lived experience to personally and politically bind with a community. My involvement helped me redefine research as a process of personal reflection and political responsiveness based on cultural integrity.

Research experiences vary from person to person. My experience was healing, educational, and meaningful. I felt proud of being part of OPCN's food sovereignty program and the fact that they planned and completed a vision independently, initially with no financial resource from outside. In doing so, OPCN successfully re-invented their strength as an Indigenous community and their revived spirit to heal each other. What I learnt from my experience is: for balanced research intervention at the community level, researchers should reposition themselves as learners and gain insights from an Indigenous worldview.

Acknowledgment

I am thankful to OPCN Elders, the *Ithinto Mechisowin* committee members, and everyone at OPCN who supported me during my stay in the community. I appreciate funding support from (a) Manitoba Agriculture and Food Research Alliance Fund, (b) SSHRC Insight Grant Award and the SSHRC partnership grant called "Sharing the Feast of *Ithinto Mechisowin* (Food from the Land) and Grow North: Food-based Community Development at *O-Pipon-Na-Piwin* Cree Nation and Northern Manitoba communities", and (c) SSHRC through the Manitoba Research Alliance Grant: Partnering for Change — Community-based solutions for Aboriginal and inner-city poverty. Thanks to Micheline, Isabelle, Lydia, Rene, and Joe for listening to my stories.

Aboriginal Women, Mining Negotiations and Project Development

Stephanie LaBelle
GRADUATE STUDENT, NATIVE STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

This article discusses the role and contributions of Aboriginal women to mining negotiations and project development in Canada. Four interviews were conducted in the summer of 2014 as part of my MA thesis in Native Studies at the University of Manitoba. The results of these interviews are shared so that they may shed light for on-going experiences of Aboriginal communities with this significant industry.

Participants are not named, and aliases are used according to their direction. *Mary Jane and Hazel* are the Joint Venture and Impact and Benefit Agreement (IBA) Coordinators for an Aboriginal community actively involved in mining. Together, they have negotiated numerous agreements for mining that were already happening on and near their traditional lands, as well as future anticipated mining projects. *Marion* is the elected Vice-President of an economic development enterprise representing several Aboriginal communities; she is also the Vice-President of a joint venture with a mining contracting company. *Dianne* is the Indigenous Community Relations Manager for a local operation of one of the largest mining companies in the world. Her responsibilities include coordinating relationships with surrounding First Nation communities, engagement initiatives for mine employees and all community members. *Dianne* also leads a team that coordinates cultural reclamation initiatives alongside land restoration of reclaimed mine sites.

Involvement in Mining

While discussing how these women became involved with their current positions and responsibilities, different factors shaped their decisions and careers.

Mary Jane and Hazel were both chosen and asked to come back to the community by the community's leaders. Both women felt they would come back to the community if and when needed. They explained that they had no prior experiences in mining and had to learn from scratch. *Mary Jane and Hazel* enjoyed their work because they felt there was a real need; they were not focused on their own compensation, but on community benefits.

Dianne studied mining ventilation in college. At the beginning of her career, she had worked underground in two different mines in different northern cities. She acquired a con-

tract at one of the mines, which required her to optimize mine ventilation. She was in fact one of the first women to go underground in this town. After her contract ended, the mining company offered her a full-time position in ventilation. To her surprise, on her very first day of work the company extended her a position in human resources. Most recently, she was offered a position at the mining company she currently works for. At the time, she seriously reflected on whether or not it was the right direction for her ethically as she had previously worked in Aboriginal community governance, but she found that the company celebrated the inclusion of traditional activities, as well as engaging surrounding Aboriginal communities.

When I asked all the women about the factors motivating their involvement in mining, *Mary Jane and Hazel* responded that mining had already happened and was happening on their land, and the community wanted to take part in the benefits:

> *Mining was already happening, and had happened, and we wanted to take part in the benefits. [Mining] is not perfect, but we wanted to be a part of it. [...] Mining has to be about relationships and partnerships. Community benefits need to be tangible, we have to see them [...] job-sharing, transferable skills, IBAs [Impact and Benefit Agreements], MOUs [Memorandums of Understanding], partnerships, joint ventures.*

Marion's reply was:

> *For a lot a people, especially in our territory ... our nation, there's really no other alternatives except to get involved, especially if there is development taking place within our land. So we looked at it from the perspective that there will be development taking place, and we wanted to be active participants in the development so that we have a say in the terms of how things get done within our territory. [Involved] by necessity through business opportunity [...] you either participate or you sit on the sidelines and don't get your say.*

Marion's statement underscores that involvement in mining came from the fear of otherwise being excluded from determining the direction and deliverables of projects.

Mary Jane, Hazel, and *Dianne* all agreed that mining would take place with or without community involvement, so they had a responsibility to be part of the development. The women realized that involvement in mining and by having a role in directing projects meant gaining benefits for the community. They also emphasized that community benefits need to be tangible, and these benefits need to be seen and felt in the short and long term

Anticipated Benefits from Mining

Mary Jane and Hazel described benefits from mining as job-sharing work arrangements, transferable skills, IBAs, MOUs, partnerships, and joint ventures. They also linked opportunities to the circle of life by acknowledging that all decisions and actions come around full circle. In addition, they elaborated on the importance of networks between and among Aboriginal communities and stressed that Aboriginal peoples need to help one another with opportunities.

According to *Marion*, anticipated benefits from mining came from creating joint ventures:

> *We have within our nation a holding company, and through the holding company we looked at possible joint ventures with other companies or individuals, with whom we have shared interests and shared goals and shared vision. With regard to the partnering company, we had met several different companies; we finally partnered with [company name] in development and construction of mines. So we don't own the mine, but we help, especially within our territory. The focus within our territory is to get contracts to help the First Nation who are in partnerships with other mines and companies to develop their project and mine. So we submit bids in order to help facilitate the development of their mine.*

For *Marion*, benefits from mining meant not only creating joint ventures that would structure community participation in mining but also improving community capacity.

Challenges with Participating in Mining

During the discussion, *Marion* identified the particular challenges of being a new outfit in the mining industry and the community and indicated that she intends to make connections with other communities looking to become involved in creating joint ventures in mining:

> *For me, the difficulties are to make the good contacts. The majority of the people in the industry know each other, are familiar with each other. When you are new to the industry, [you need to break] through that to make those contacts so people can know you and your company. Right now, our company is so new that we're trying to prove ourselves within our own territory and through that [method to] expand. Our partner is an international company, so they partner with other people in different countries. So if, on my part, I'm able to negotiate or meet up with a First Nation from another part of Canada, and I bring them to our partner and our venture, I'm able to capitalize on that opportunity with our partner. Connections are difficult when you are new to the industry.*

Mining and Community Futures

When negotiating and developing projects, *Mary Jane and Hazel* said they always look to the future and stay focused on the legacy of decisions on youth and future generations. The women specified that they always consider what the community will look like in 15, 20, or 30 years when making decisions. They also added that site reclamation would provide important opportunities for future generations.

Marion also recognized the importance of considering the legacy of decisions on future generations:

> *I can speak as an Aboriginal person, when we look at negotiations or potential projects within our territory, we always have the teaching of the Seven Generations — where anything that we do today, [...] we have to think forward towards the generations to come. So the work I do today will have an impact on the future. That is always, for me, at the back of my mind; when I do my work, my*

> *day-to-day job, it is there; even if it is unspoken, there is a reason for what I am doing. It is to protect our environment and to protect the future of our people. Those are influences that are utilized when speaking of any kind of development within our territory. Those are very high in priority. For example, you go into negotiations for an IBA, for me, it is important that you start thinking about reclamation right away; you don't put it in as an afterthought. Because it is so important, the environment is so important to us, our land is important, and so is the future of our people. You put those things up front when you begin discussing potential projects.*

As reflected in the discussion, the participants all considered how decisions made in the present would shape community futures and indicated that reclamation was a priority in ensuring environmental prosperity and future opportunities for community participation.

Values and Ethics

Mary Jane and Hazel discussed the importance of projects that fit with community benefits and values, versus anticipated financial considerations, at the core of decision-making. They highlighted that communities should decide cooperatively on the ethics that will guide and shape all decisions and relationships and that these ethics are more valuable than any monetary amount. *Mary Jane and Hazel* also explained the importance of respecting Elders and stated that Elders are always invited and welcome to all community meetings.

Concerns on Standardized IBAs

Mary Jane and Hazel showed strong belief that a standardized IBA template could and would never work. They explained that communities are all unique and that they all have different needs and challenges. IBAs need to reflect the realities of the communities involved, and standardized IBAs could never create the flexibility needed to do so. While some communities may need infrastructure, others may need employment or capital, and agreements need to reflect the unique situation of every community.

Advice for Communities

When asked what advice they will give to other communities, *Mary Jane and Hazel* described the importance of always having a goal to work towards, and once that goal is completed, to replace it with another. They stated the importance of always remembering where you come from and where you are going. They also stressed the importance of "equality" when negotiating:

> *You can't always get what you want, but it is important that everyone remains equal. Equality is a guiding principle for all the mining team; everyone has to be working towards the same goal and have to be in sync. Equality is important between community and company. Even if two people leave a meeting unhappy, at least they are still equal [in their unhappiness].*

This statement underscores the importance of synchronicity and equality within teams of Aboriginal negotiators, as well as in relationships with the companies involved.

The participants all indicated that it is important to know who you are as a people and community. In addition to knowing yourself and your community and distinguishing what you want with what you need, *Mary Jane and Hazel* also discussed the importance of staying transparent and accountable to community members, always making sure the community is aware and updated on progress and changing circumstances.

Dianne was very insightful as to what she considered to be the most important aspects to consider when deciding mining on traditional and Treaty lands:

> *Remember who you are, where you came from, what your rights are, why you have Treaty rights and what that means to you. You can hire people to do due diligence, negotiate, etc. You need to remember who you are, and what that means to you. I've seen community trauma because of mining. [...] The environmental and social impacts are serious. Consider mining and what that means in relation to those values, your history and who you are as a people and community. Be guided by those values and worldviews, and be strong. I worry that some communities are not strong enough in their approach to mining and considering its impacts to the land and community. It's hard to start developing projects with companies, and there's usually so much going on. But you really need to put your history and values at the core of what you are doing, and remember who you are doing it for.*

According to *Dianne*, communities must make a commitment to contemplating the cultural compromises that have to be made when considering mining.

The imposition of deadlines on the ability to do full and thorough due diligence was among the main concerns of participants. As *Mary Jane and Hazel* pointed out, while some agreements took merely hours to negotiate, others have taken years. It is important not to allow yourself to be rushed by other parties and to take the time needed to negotiate properly. On the importance of due diligence and research when considering mining, logistics, commodities, and companies involved, *Marion* gave the following advice:

> *I always say [to community members], don't feel rushed or pressured. Maybe the mining companies are putting additional pressure. For example, there were uranium people that were trying to develop on our territory and as people started to understand, you know, they are fearful of uranium, as many other people are fearful of uranium mining. I always tell the people, you know, don't feel pressured. Do your homework, study, prepare, you know, ask other communities what their best practices are, what works for them. Go into any type of development, or mining, well prepared, [...] what is involved in mining, understand the industry, [and] the companies [involved], be very proactive.*

Marion also explained the importance of continuous capacity building to ensure full access to opportunities for participation:

> *[Capacity building] is one area where I think we lag, not only as First Nation communities, but in the general population. We have so many miners that will be*

> *retiring in the near future. Yet, there are still many mining projects coming up. So, who is going to take over those mining jobs, especially in our own territory? We are still building capacity. We are still training people to go into the mining industry, training people in milling and processing, training people in blasting. So, that is the key right there, in terms of preparing for capacity. Build your capacity in advance. Let's say, the Ring of Fire in Northern Ontario ... they know there is a huge mine there and the potential is great. For me, if I were a leader in that area, I would be looking at ensuring the people are trained to take the jobs that are out there. And that people are ready not only for set aside contracts, but that people are employed and that they benefit from the extraction of the resources of their own land.*

Advice for Companies on Engaging with Communities

When asking about advice for companies, *Dianne* was adamant that it is always the companies' responsibility to build relationships with the communities whose land they are anticipating operating on:

> *It should come from the companies. The companies that are engaging with communities need to be open to talking to everyone. Some companies are scared to consult with communities in fear that they'll resist or make things more difficult. They consult and engage as little or as far as they can to get the project to move forward. But, those voices that [the companies] are silencing will always be heard in the end. Companies need to engage them from the start, and need to be open to listening and considering their points of views. If you silence people or groups of people, ignore and don't listen to them, they'll always be heard in the end ... and they'll be angry that they were silenced.*

This statement underscores the importance of looking to community consultation and engagement as a means of building long-standing relationships with Aboriginal communities, which leads to more effective Social Licence to Operate.

Women in Mining

When reflecting on how being a woman shapes their approach to mining negotiations and project development, *Mary Jane and Hazel* believed that women often adopt a more protective approach to their jobs, colleagues, and communities:

> As women, we are mothers to our kids, but also of leadership and to the community ... need to protect and think with heart and head at the same time. We are the front-line protectors of community leadership. So the role of mother extends to all aspects of our work and community. As women, we are protectors of the community, and sometimes we need to step away from our role on the mining team and give guidance to leadership.

On the question of how gender shapes her approach to mining, *Dianne* responded as follows:

> *Women are the traditional protectors of water. A couple times in my career, I was able to feel the significance of water and my role as a woman and how it relates to mining. Once, I was underground, in this very male-dominated industry, which is run with overwhelming male values. And I could see water coming in all around me through the crevices. And the water was clean, pure, and crystal clear. To me, that showed me how much this industry is begging for the female. It's crying for it. More involvement of women, more consideration of the female perspective and the approach of women. Everyone knows it has to happen for the industry to move forward. It's going to be hard, and there will be resistance, as with all kinds of change. But it has to happen. The nature of the extractive industry is male and it needs balance. The intellect is traditionally the domain of men, as is numbers, money, accounting, etc. Women think and feel with their hearts and intuition. That is what is lacking. It's that we have to feel whether or not decisions are ethical, be guided by our intuition, and do right for the community. It's not about money and profits, it's about being responsible for and about the decisions that are being made, and for the communities in which we operate. [...] We can talk about the glass-ceiling, status-quo, etc. But the difficulty is that the values of this industry are male. It's hard to make space for who we are as women, acknowledging and accepting that we are who we are, and that these are good things. Emotions, feelings, intuition, are all qualities that are female and should be embraced. It translates to more CSR [Corporate Social Responsibility]. A lot of time, women to fit in, try and adopt the attitudes, qualities, and approaches of men. That just continues the cycle. We need to accept who we are, the differences between and among us, and the contributions that diversity brings. Being a woman enables me to see through the issues at what the core problems are. Most of the time, problems come down to a lack of balance.*

Dianne's thoughts highlight the many benefits of making space for women in the mining industry. She acknowledged that the industry is shaped and organized by male values and that the way forward is to celebrate diversity of approach. She then pointed out that women have different approaches to decision-making and that making space for balance would solve many of the problems currently plaguing the mining industry. Celebrating balance would solve the dreaded glass ceiling and status quo that frustrate women in the workplace. It would also make corporate social responsibility, community engagement, ethics, and relationships intrinsic in all decisions and projects.

Summary

The women consulted for this project confirmed that Aboriginal women bring a unique approach to resource development. Women carry with them increased emphasis on the intersections between values and ethics, and alluded that the responsibilities brought by motherhood extended to their professional lives. The importance of considering future impacts of their decisions was critical. Keeping youth and future generations in mind shaped the values and ethics directing their work. These women felt that there was no alternative except community participation in mining as projects would move forward with or without their involvement, and impacts would only be compounded without directing and shaping outcomes for the community.

2014 Economic Developer of the Year Award Winners

Crystal Swan
PROGRAM INTERN, FIRST NATIONS — MUNICIPAL CEDI, 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 advance their communities as each pursues a vision of sustainable economic self-sufficiency.

Throughout the years, it became apparent that there were businesses and individuals also deserving of recognition for their contributions to the advancement of Aboriginal economic 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 candidates exemplifying outstanding Aboriginal economic development were awarded at the 2014 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 equal opportunity to present, the conference delegates voted via a secret ballot for the finalists who they believed were the most deserving of the top award in each category. It is an honour to present to you the 2014 Economic Developer of the Year Award winners!

Cando Economic Developer of the Year Award Winner

Individual Category

Chris Hartman

Chris Hartman is the Chief Executive Officer of the Tsawwassen First Nation Economic Development Corporation (TEDC), a position he has held for the past five years since the creation of the TEDC. As the CEO, Chris manages all aspects of TEDC's business, and reports to the corporation's independent Board of Directors. During his time leading the TEDC, Chris has shown great enthusiasm for his work and an exemplary commitment to development of the Tsawwassen community.

The TEDC was initially formed as an initiative by the Tsawwassen First Nation (TFN) following the ratification of the first B.C. First Nations Treaty in 2009. The Treaty provided

the Tsawwassen people with a land base, financial assets, and new authority, but it was up to the community to manage these. In efforts to become a successful, sustainable, self-sufficient community, the TEDC and Chris' role were created. In the five years since, Chris has launched numerous initiatives to further TFN's economic goals.

One of the most significant challenges faced by the TFN after the signing of the Treaty was the need to turn its non-productive real estate assets into much-needed revenues to support the community and its new government. However, most of the land designated for economic development was located on a low-lying flood plain that would require considerable expertise and capital to develop. To accomplish this in a cost effective manner, and to manage risk and leverage expertise of others, Chris and TEDC looked to cultivate new partnerships. Coming from a relatively small base of assets, TEDC entered into several new partnerships in the process of developing this land, and facilitated many new economic opportunities for community members.

TEDC also secured partnerships with two experienced real estate developers to build two complementary shopping centres on 185 acres of TFN land. Chris and the TEDC Board were able to negotiate ongoing participation rent and member benefits packages into the land lease, elevating TFN to more than simply a landlord; this negotiation spawned dynamic benefits in the community in spite of their limited initial resources. In addition to this agreement, the developers also agreed to fund a considerable amount of off-site infrastructure costs, a great benefit to the whole community. TFN is also working to lease the first 70 acres of TFN's 300 acres of industrial lands, which will generate a total of approximately $81 million in prepaid lease revenue to TFN, in addition to future participation rent and other member benefits.

As CEO of TEDC, Chris has also been instrumental in the creation and advancement of various other business ventures for TFN. Since 2009, TEDC has entered into four joint ventures with private sector partners to provide civil construction services, security services, general contracting, and IT and business process outsourcing services.

Chris and the TEDC Board prioritize the betterment and the objectives of the TFN community, and look beyond financial returns for ways to benefit community members. Diverse economic opportunity benefits to TFN community members have been negotiated into all contracts. Some of these include the provision of full-time employment, employment business and training opportunities, preferential hiring processes for local businesses, discounts for local business on rental of retail space, and numerous other benefits. TFN community members are also given the opportunity to provide input on projects.

TFN is quickly becoming an economic driver in the Greater Vancouver region, and an Economic Impact Study estimates that current projects alone will generate more than $348 million in construction employment income and $235 million in permanent annual employment income. This is thanks in no small part to Chris and the TEDC, who overcame limited initial resources after the 2009 Treaty signing to gain lucrative returns from joint ventures. Chris's belief is that the key to success in economic development means looking beyond basic business principles, and focusing on the balanced delivery of social and economic opportunities, so that all TFN members are afforded an opportunity to thrive and achieve their dreams.

Cando Economic Developer of the Year Award Winner

Community Category

Nisga'a Lisims Government Economic Development

As a fully integrated part of northwest British Columbia's economy, the Nisga'a Nation boasts abundant natural resources, water supply, and full road accessibility. The primary industries in the Nass Valley area are fishing and forestry, complemented by employment in the government, education, and health care sectors.

Since becoming effective in 2000, the Nisga'a Final Agreement secured the Nisga'a Nation's 2000 square kilometres of land, and all of the resources within. Ensuring the security of this land has created the confidence and security necessary to develop the Nisga'a Nation to its fullest potential. The agreement has also brought about vast improvements in infrastructure, which have resulted in new jobs to the Nass Valley region. The maturing forest industry in the area is seeing advancement, as well as the thriving fishery which has been developed; both of these industries achieving environmental stewardship under the Nisga'a. In addition to this, burgeoning the telecommunication and tourism industries has created many employment opportunities in an expanding and diversifying economic market. From small, local business initiatives to international partnerships, the Nisga'a Lisims government actively encourages all initiatives that will bolster community employment and economic success.

The Nisga'a Nation owes a lot of its success to its commitment to inclusive nation-building, as all four Nations have collectively worked together in a regional approach to economic development. Though engaging all four Nations through every step of development has been acknowledged as a key challenge, its benefits have been undeniable. Working together has allowed for integration of all ideas. Having a shared vision, aligned interests, and collaborative decision-making has gone a long way for the communities' success. In removing any sense of competitiveness or disparity between the communities, they have succeeded in moving forward together, unified in the pursuit of their economic development goals.

A 10-year strategic economic initiative has recently been launched by the Nisga'a Nation. This initiative identifies individual and collective economic interests between local and federal governments and business entities. The initiative engages all four Nations in joint decision-making, and seeks to build action plans to capitalize on strategic goals which will serve to answer the question, "How do we plan for prosperity?" This emergent path to success for the Nisga'a requires the identification of essential components of prosperity, as well as key steps and an action plan.

The Nisga'a Prosperity Framework has become a key project for economic development in the Nation, outlining 11 key themes for implementation. The framework was created as a way for the Nation to overcome barriers and limitations in economic development. Since completing this prosperity framework, the Nisga'a Lisims Government has developed many new businesses. These include two logging trucking businesses, two restaurants, two retail outlets, a daycare, a consulting business, a tourism outlet, and numerous other ventures. Four additional tourism plans are also in the works for the four Nisga'a Villages.

The Nisga'a Nation has demonstrated innovation and excellence in their dynamic approach to community economic development. Fostering a culture of entrepreneurship has allowed community members to see themselves and their roles within the community as it moves forward. With a proactive and responsible government, and a strong workforce seeking employment and training opportunities, the Nisga'a Nation has a bright future, with insurmountable possibilities for new industries, partnerships, and projects.

Cando Economic Developer of the Year Award Winner

Aboriginal Private Sector Business Category

Acosys Consulting Services

Acosys Consulting is 100% Aboriginal owned and operated and considers itself to be an Aboriginal business above all else. The small, 12-person consulting firm is located in Mon-

treal, only 15 minutes away from the Kahnawake Mohawk Territory. Their mandate is to provide industry and government with professional, timely, and value-based consulting services in IT, Human Resources, and Aboriginal Policy Development, while building the presence and visibility of Aboriginal peoples within professional services.

Founded in 2006, the idea for Acosys was initially inspired by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People's 1996 report, which stated that "many Aboriginal youth see themselves facing an economic wasteland." This quote struck a chord with labour lawyer Julie Lepage and business analyst and project manager David Acco, inspiring them to co-found Acosys in hopes of creating employment and educational opportunities for Aboriginal youth. They have been successful to this end, as over 70% of Acosys' employees are Aboriginal, and they have committed 33% of hiring to Aboriginal people on all project deliveries.

Collaboration is another major goal of Acosys, as the creative benefits of workplace diversity are emphasized. Putting Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal minds together can create great success, according to Acco, who is also President and CEO of Acosys. In order to work together respectfully and effectively, Acosys acknowledges a need to change negative stereotypes and false perceptions of Aboriginal communities. As such, they offer sensitivity training to all clients as part of their strongly emphasized social mission, with educational workshops seeking to explore the history, breakdown the stereotypes, and highlight the future opportunities for Aboriginal peoples in Canada.

No path is without its challenges, and Acosys has had to constantly face the challenging disadvantages that Aboriginal peoples face in the mainstream labour market, such as lower employment rates and lower-than-average incomes. Since 2009, Acosys has worked to combat these factors with their Aboriginal Intern Program (AIP), part of their commitment to building the Aboriginal professional workforce. The program seeks to increase the amount of Aboriginal peoples working within the Human Resources and Information Technology (IT) fields. As part of this 52-week internship, delegates can earn a competitive salary while engaging with mentors in their field and working alongside the Acosys team on relevant projects. This program benefits not only the interns, as they gain valuable experience and skills, but also benefits their communities and the marketplace as a whole.

It is Acosys Consulting's belief that Aboriginal peoples are ready to take on careers at the professional level, and have the ability to cultivate positive change in the private sector within policies, hiring, or organizations. Acosys seeks to help foster this change, with further hopes of Aboriginal role models in positions of influence, as well as increased capacity-building, with dollars being made off-reserve flowing back into communities.

Introduction

David Newhouse

This section highlights lessons gained from research on the practice of economic development within Aboriginal communities. Beaudoin, Bouthillier, Bulkan, Nelson, and Wyatt examine a model of sustainable economic development using Aboriginal forest enterprises in the Essipit First Nation in Quebec. The lessons indicate that sustainable economic development is more likely to be successful if it provides benefit to communities beyond profits and jobs, is built into the cultural fabric of the community, and acts consistently with local cultures.

The next two articles examine the limitations of theoretical understandings developed outside Indigenous communities when used as the foundation for Aboriginal development. Kamal, Martens, and the *Ithinto Mechisowin* Committee of the *O-Pipon-Na-Piwin* Cree Nation find that the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework can be adapted for use within Aboriginal communities provided that Aboriginal perspectives on sustainable livelihoods are used to define what is meant by "capital". Atleo brings to the table a debate about the concept of "Aboriginal capitalism" as interpreted by three Indigenous scholars (Miller, Champagne, and Newhouse) and concludes that a full engagement with capitalism requires a radical change in core values and principles of Aboriginal peoples. However, he argues, we must make best efforts to develop alternatives that are consistent with Aboriginal understandings of the nature of the social and natural world.

Community-based Enterprise as a Strategy for Development in Aboriginal Communities: Learning from Essipit's Forest Enterprises

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ABSTRACT

There is growing evidence of the socioeconomic importance of Aboriginal forest enterprises. Aboriginal groups that decide to opt-in to the market economy still face significant challenges. One critical challenge is the matter of harmonizing community members' needs with market requirements. Drawing on a case study in the Essipit Innu First Nation in Canada, this paper examines the successes attained by an Aboriginal community-based enterprise (ACBE) strategy in enhancing sustainable local development. Our results indicate that the community had access to, and expanded, human, natural, social and financial capital. Findings also show that Essipit defines success not only in economic terms, but also through a wider array of goals. This research shows a path towards Aboriginal economic success. It emphasizes the importance of developing a model that is integrated into the community and the local culture.

INTRODUCTION

In Canada, Aboriginal Forest Enterprises (AFEs) have been promoted as a promising avenue for improving the socioeconomic circumstances of Aboriginal communities, achieving greater control of activities on their traditional lands, as well as attaining self-determination and economic self-sufficiency (Anderson 1997). However, AFEs face several challenges. One of the most important barriers concerns limited access and control over forest resources, because Aboriginal traditional lands are in many cases overlaid with forest tenures allocated to non-Aboriginal forest companies (Ross and Smith 2002; NAFA 2007). This is important, because several academics found that access and control over forest resources are prerequisites for successful community forest enterprises (Tomaselli et al. 2012; Macqueen 2013) and community forestry more generally (Pagdee et al. 2006). Another challenge, cited in the literature, is a lack of access to financial resources (Wellstead and Stedman 2008; Beaudoin et al. 2009). Additionally, Grant and Taylor (2007) explain that Aboriginal communities are facing the challenge to "manage the boundaries" between business and politics. For example, Trosper et al. (2008) have demonstrated the importance of separating politics from day-to-day business decisions to ensure the profitability of AFEs. This study confirmed a similar conclusion of research with Aboriginal communities in the US (Jorgensen and Taylor 2000). Ineffective government bureaucracy and regulatory frameworks can also hinder the development of AFEs. For example, excessive government restrictions can force AFEs into inefficient operations and prevent them from competing in the market (Booth and Skelton 2011). Finally, Aboriginal communities often face a lack of capacity (Bombay 2010), such as professional, technical, financial, and business skills.

Currently, there are significant knowledge gaps about AFEs, making it difficult to outline indicators of success. Firstly, most forest sciences research on AFEs focused on individual firms or partnerships (Brubacher 1998; NAFA-IOG 2000; Whitting 2001; Wilson and Graham 2005; Trosper et al. 2008; Beaudoin et al. 2009; Boyd and Trosper 2009). Yet evidence from across North America indicates that Aboriginal economic development is predominantly a collective process centered on reciprocity and linked to the ancestral lands of the individual First Nation community (Anderson 1997; Jorgensen 2007). Accordingly, Hindle and Moroz (2010) highlight the importance of the "community" as a theoretical and empirical unit of analysis.

Peredo and Chrisman (2006) introduce the concept of community-based entrepreneurship (CBE) where a community can act corporately in setting up and running enterprises in pursuit of the common good. They explain that socioeconomic stress (e.g. economic crisis, a lack of individual opportunity, social alienation of a community by mainstream society, environmental degradation) can trigger the emergence of CBEs. Furthermore, CBEs are more likely to emerge in communities where previous experience in entrepreneurial and political activities has resulted in incremental learning. Finally, these authors explain that communities where CBEs are present will likely show three characteristics: community skills, multiplicity of goals that are not strictly economic and community participation. In the Aboriginal forestry literature, this concept remains relatively unexplored.

Secondly, several academics indicate that mainstream economic theories do not adequately capture the reality of Aboriginal communities (Trosper 1995; Cornell and Kalt 2000; Hindle and Lansdowne 2005; Dana 2007; Dana and Anderson 2011). For example, Hindle and Moroz (2010, p. 361) specify the additional requirements placed on Aboriginal — as opposed to mainstream entrepreneurship. In the latter:

> the key thing that matters is the achievement [...] of a profitable outcome for the principal protagonists of an entrepreneurial venture. Indigenous contexts are markedly different. Depending on circumstance, culture, norms and other variables, Indigenous entrepreneurship may have to take account of a wider array of stakeholders and a wider variety of issues — particularly social impacts — than just the achievement of economic success by individual or firm protagonists.

This view underpins the idea that opportunities are phenomena that are recognized and evaluated on the basis of cultural perception of opportunities (Dana 1995; Dana and Anderson 2007; Dana and Anderson 2011). For this reason, different populations do not value opportunities in the same way; nor do they identify the same opportunities. Aboriginal peoples tend to have particular objectives, knowledge, cultures, values, and capacity, as well as share a communal ethic. Because of these unique circumstances, the scientific literature suggests that Aboriginal communities are likely to identify, evaluate and pursue opportunities differently. This raises the issue of what matters for Aboriginal communities and for what reasons (Hindle and Moroz 2011).

Thirdly, the literature has emphasized the importance of social capital for small and medium enterprises (Julien 2008). Social, economic, and innovation networks can provide strategic information to identify new opportunities or reduce uncertainty and ambiguity around business opportunities (Singh 2000; Julien 2008). For example, Levin (1993) demonstrates that networking activities between enterprises resulted in the creation of several businesses. Furthermore, Johansson and Nilsson (1989) and Selsky and Smith (1994) reveal that community leaders have the ability to develop and maintain networks for the benefit of local entrepreneurs. Porter (1990; 2003) explains that the existence of interconnected businesses in a concentrated geographic area, also called a cluster, has the potential to increase innovation and entrepreneurial activity. These researchers explain that success not only depends on individual businesses, but also on the level of cooperation and communication within a milieu (Julien 2008).

In this vein, the purpose of this paper is to investigate the conditions that gave rise to a model of Aboriginal Community-Based Enterprises (ACBEs) in the Essipit First Nation. The case was purposively selected to provide a closer-grained understanding of AFEs. The following section outlines the methodological considerations of this research. Then, we show how an Aboriginal community can act corporately in developing community-based enterprises in order to address the socioeconomic needs of their community members. Finally, we present our data, discuss the results and set out our conclusions.

METHODOLOGY

Case Study Selection

Essipit is one of nine Innu communities located in the province of Quebec, Canada. The Indian reserve of Essipit encompasses an area of 0.8 km^2 (see Figure 1). Essipit is located approximately 275 km northeast of Quebec City, along the St. Lawrence River. In total, Essipit counts 673 members of whom 204 live on reserve and 469 live outside the reserve,[1] in adjoining areas and outside the region. The Essipit labour force on reserve totals

[1] Data provided by the Essipit Band Council in November 2013.

FIGURE 1
Location of Essipit Reserve and Nitassinan in Quebec

Source: Essipit Band Council 2013.

101 members. The economy of Essipit is seasonal: 253 full-time jobs out of 485 jobs in total. Thus, the summer season is characterized by full-employment. Essipit community members use the French language on a daily basis.

The Nitassinan, which means "Our Land", is the traditional territory of Essipit and covers an area of 8403 km^2 (Lacasse 2004; Gouvernement du Québec 2004). Innu peoples, including Essipit ancestors, have traditionally used and occupied the Nitassinan intensively (Laforest 1983). However, by the mid-nineteenth century, the development of the forest industry, agricultural colonization, hydroelectric development and outdoor activities practised by non-Aboriginal people on the Nitassinan gradually displaced the traditional way of life of the Innu peoples. Consequently, the territory than could be occupied and used by the Essipit people was severely reduced. Their relationship with the land changed,

because of the constraints imposed by the enforced settlement on a reserve and the dominant model of industrial development by non-Aboriginal people and companies on their traditional lands. This shift away from their traditional way of living led to a dependence on the wage economy and government welfare, as well as Innu language decline (Laforest 1983).

Yet Essipit has been cited in the literature as a community with experience in the creation of AFEs and as a community-based model that succeeded both socially and economically (St-Georges 2009; Proulx and Gauthier 2012). This paper explores Essipit's path toward success in terms of economic development that have advanced the autonomy and resilience of the entire community.

Data Collection

Our method employed a case study approach to examine the Essipit model of ACBEs. In 2011, the Band Council of Essipit and the UBC Research Ethics Board approved this research project.

Twenty semi-structured interviews were conducted in Essipit between May 2012 and July 2013. In addition, a six-month internship based in the community between January and July 2013 increased opportunities for participant observation and in-depth engagement with a cross-section of community members. Semi-structured and open-ended questions were designed to elicit information about the history of the creation of Essipit ACBEs, their impacts and benefits for the community, and the enabling conditions that explained their emergence.

We chose key informants with the experience, knowledge and institutional memory that needed to be explored in detail. In total, we met with 17 key informants before reaching a point of data saturation, as explained by Gauthier (2008). Some informants were interviewed twice for clarification purposes. The interviews include three with non-Aboriginal business partners of Essipit in order to corroborate information provided by Essipit community members. All interviews were conducted in French and were recorded.

To build an in-depth picture of our case study (Creswell 1998; De Sardan 2008; Gauthier 2008), we also used three other sources of information in data collection: (1) participant observation carried out in Essipit during the six-month internship; (2) seven focus groups counting 28 participants in total; and (3) documentation provided by Essipit and analysed by the researcher, including: newspaper articles, reports and studies, as well as internal memos, meeting notes, reports, and official letters. These three techniques provided a useful secondary data set that helped to triangulate and contextualize the interviews.

Data Analysis

All interviews were transcribed. Then, we used NVivo 10 to conduct qualitative data analysis. We used a thematic coding strategy to structure and organize the information into themes (codes) covered by the interview questions (Creswell 1998; Miles and Huberman 2003). Then, we used inductive and open coding in order to refine the themes (Babbie 2010). Finally, we reviewed and analysed our secondary set of data in order to complete and confirm our preliminary results. Finally, participants validated the preliminary research results.

RESULTS

The Story of the Essipit Model of ACBEs

From the creation of the reserve in 1892 until the mid-1970s, Essipit experienced a period of cultural, economic, social and demographic decline. The population declined to 95 members in 1966 before starting to increase thereafter, rising to 114 members in 1971, 129 members in 1976 and 139 members in 1980 (Laforest 1983). The reserve consisted mainly of residences for the band members, with very limited public services. The majority of members were employed off the reserve. Consolidated Bathurst, a large forest company, was the largest employer. Laforest (1983) confirms that this company provided a dozen jobs to community members. In terms of forestry activities on Essipit's traditional territory, all logging concessions were allocated to large forest companies, leaving no access for Essipit.

In 1977, some young and formally educated members were elected to the Band Council and they initiated changes at the political and administrative levels. The Council decided to take an approach of "community development" where the Council would act as both a government and an enterprise in order to address the socioeconomic needs of the community. The Council began by developing services and infrastructure on the Essipit reserve.

The small size of the reserve was limiting the development of Essipit. Thus, the Council started to explore other avenues, with the primary objectives of creating jobs for community members. In 1980, the Council hired a Director of Education, Culture and Economic Development. The Director consulted the community members and drew up a list of their skills, work experiences, interests and aspirations. The results of the consultation first indicated the importance of the practice of traditional activities such as hunting, fishing and trapping by community members. In addition, several members also had work experience as loggers. Therefore, the Council concluded that access to forestlands and resources would be key for the development of Essipit business ventures as the Band members had the requisite skills and interest.

The first economic development initiative off reserve began in 1983. Community members, who regularly hunted and fished in the vicinity of the outfitter[2] Domaine du Lac des Coeurs, discovered that this local business with exclusive commercial rights for managing wildlife resources on 141 km^2 of the traditional territory of Essipit was for sale. The Council took the necessary steps to acquire the license, the business as well as the infrastructures built on their territory by the outfitter.

In 1985, the Council bid for and won the contract to maintain and repair forest roads on this territory. However, the Council quickly became aware of the high financial costs associated with hiring a contractor. Thus, the Council bought machinery and hired workers to carry out the work themselves. In short, they were not content to be rentiers but quickly moved into setting up and managing another community-based enterprise.

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[2] Essipit outfitters are businesses that provide accommodation and services relating to hunting, fishing and trapping activities. By signing a 9 year renewable lease with the Quebec Ministry of Sustainable Development, Environment, Wildlife and Parks, each outfitter has exclusive rights to harvest wildlife on a defined territory. This means that only the clients of Essipit outfitters can practice hunting, fishing or trapping activities on the territory under lease.

In 1988, Hydro-Quebec[3] sent a letter to Essipit announcing that it planned to carry out chemical spraying under power lines on the territory licensed to the outfitter Domaine du Lac des Coeurs. This operation was meant to control the vegetation under the power lines of Hydro-Quebec. Essipit, in common with many Aboriginal Peoples, disapproved of chemical spraying for a complex of reasons rooted in their respect for the land and therefore opposed the project. The Council met with a representative of Hydro-Quebec. It insisted that there be no spraying on the territory, and offered to achieve the same result with chainsaws and brush cutters. After negotiation, Hydro-Quebec accepted the proposition of Essipit and, thus, Essipit obtained its first vegetation control contract.

Keeping alert to potential opportunities for expanding the outfitter holdings, the Council purchased a second outfitter in 1989, called Club Claire (29 km^2). Concomitantly, as part of the referral process, the Council was reviewing forest management plans of forest companies in order to verify whether they intended to carry out any forest operations on the territories of its two outfitters. The Council found that silviculture operations would be carried out on the territories of their outfitters. Essipit met with REXFOR[4] in order to organize and carry out forestry projects internally. Although REXFOR had some doubts about the ability of the Essipit community to successfully carry out silviculture work (i.e. lack of experience and expertise), REXFOR agreed — after negotiations — to issue an initial pre-commercial thinning contract (around 400 ha). To address their lack of expertise, the Council hired a project supervisor with experience in silviculture, and fulfilled the terms of the contract. As a result Essipit received annual silviculture contracts from REXFOR or a forest license holder for more than a decade.[5] However, the community stopped its activities in silviculture in 2004 for three main reasons: a shortage of labour, a limited access to contracts, and territorial conflict with the forest license holder responsible for assigning silviculture contracts.

In the 1990s, Essipit decided to consolidate its position in the tourism sector for economic reasons. The Council added four other outfitters to their holdings: Domaine sportif du Lac Loup (55 km^2), Lacs Jumeaux (16 km^2), 50% of Lac Bernier (32.7 km^2), and Lac à Jimmy (24 km^2). To increase tourist traffic, the Council bought two whales watching cruises, which are very popular in this region of Quebec, and constructed a luxury condominium complex[6] in 2003. Subsequently, the Council bought in 2013 the outfitter Club chasse et pe che Ste-Anne-de-Portneuf (48 km^2), for a total of seven outfitters with exclusive commercial rights for managing wildlife resources over 385 km^2 of Essipit traditional territory.

By the early 2000s, Essipit reached full employment in summer time. This situation led to a lack of local labour. Hence, Essipit's economic development goals changed from job creation to: (1) maintaining and improving employment, that is, up-skilling; (2) diversification of income sources for the community, and (3) increasing access to business opportunities in renewable natural resources. Thereafter, the Council focused on pursuing

[3] The Quebec government owns Hydro-Québec, a company responsible for generating, transmitting and distributes electricity.

[4] Created in 1961 by the government of Quebec, REXFOR had the mandate to restore forest productivity on land affected by inadequate logging practices prior to 1986. Notably, REXFOR had the responsibility to administer silviculture contracts.

[5] To get a better sense of the contracts' importance, Essipit gained a contract for 505 hectares in 1997 and another for 600 hectares in 1998.

[6] Condos Natakam consists of eight buildings of four units located along the St. Lawrence River that can be rented to tourists.

opportunities in partnership with companies that provided the necessary labour. Essipit assumed some of the workload and shared their experience, as well as some of the risks inherent to each project.

As a result of this strategy, Essipit achieved a vertical integration of its fisheries businesses from 2005 to 2010, through the acquisition of companies that carry out harvesting (production), processing and distribution activities. In 2008, the forest company Boisaco[7] and Essipit signed a Land Management and Development Partnership to improve their collaboration in forestry. A jointly owned company, Granulco, was created in 2009. A Boisaco business partner explained that Essipit and Boisaco also explored the possibility of pursuing logging and wood processing opportunities. He stated:

> [Boisaco and Essipit] explored the possibility of a direct participation of Essipit in our company, but it required significant investment. Our forest company has a high value. The down payment was too large for Essipit to buy enough shares to have a significant interest.

Indeed, Essipit Band Council corroborated that the investment costs were too high and they did not pursue this opportunity further. Another business partner explained that the collaboration of Boisaco and Essipit was important: "We want to help Essipit grow and develop economically with us. We are a business of the regional population. We are a cooperative. We have common concerns [...]." Both entities are key economic players in the Haute-Côte-Nord region. They share similar visions and values about the importance of local and sustainable development.

The Band Government

The Band Council of Essipit is the local government as identified under the Indian Act. The Council includes a chief and three advisors. Elections are held every two years: either for the Chief and one advisor or for two advisors. Therefore, an elected official will generally remain in place for four years. On a regular basis, the Council holds a general assembly to report to its members on past and future decisions. The general assembly can dictate a course of action to the Chief and his advisors. In one past instance, the general assembly settled a difficult situation where the Chief and one councillor were opposing the other two councillors. A management panel, composed of elected officials and administrators, reinvests the profits from businesses in other economic sectors in Essipit AFEs.

The Business Organisation

The Essipit business portfolio is made up of approximately 30 businesses that operate in four main economic sectors: public goods and services (e.g. bar, gas station and convenience store), forest-based development (detailed below), tourism (e.g. whale watching cruises and camping) and fisheries (e.g. fishing boats and UMEK fish factory). These busi-

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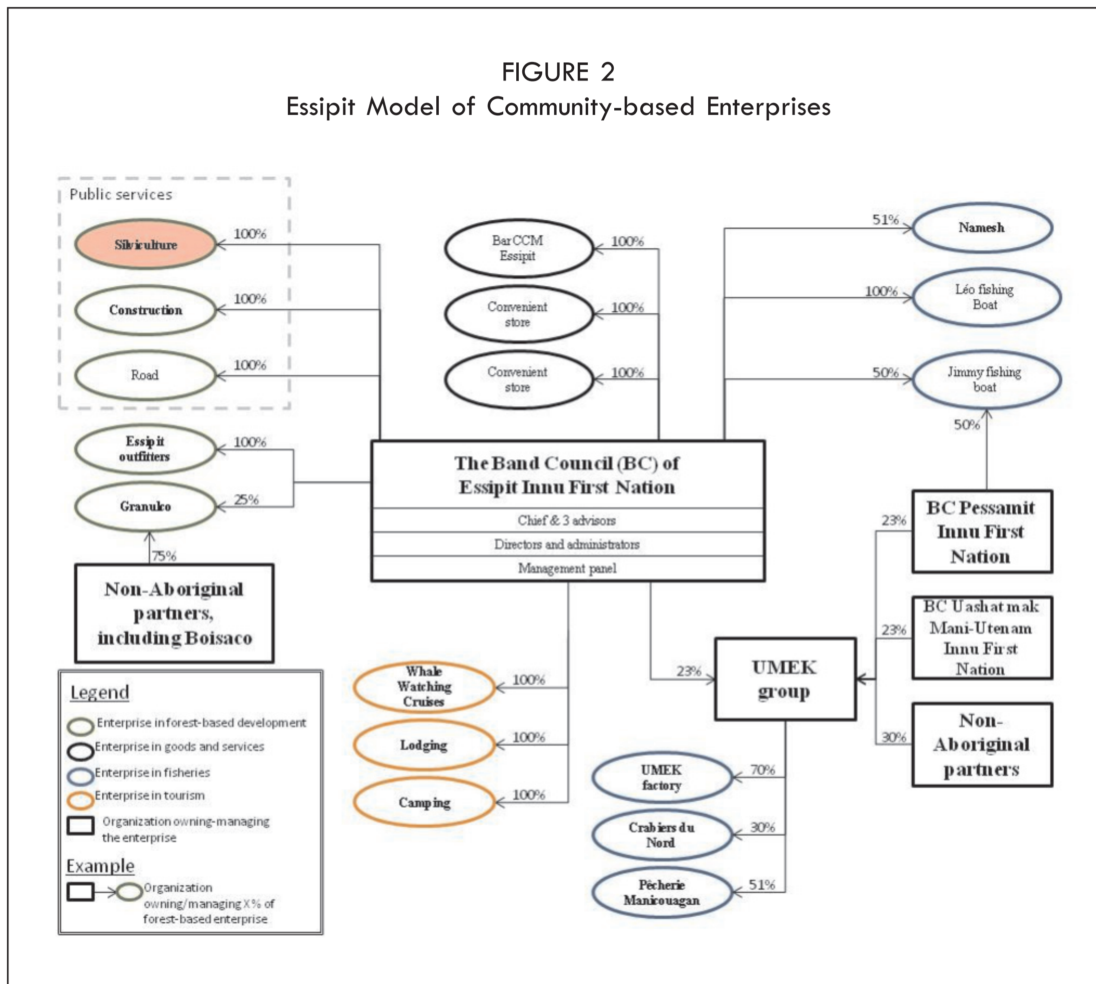
[7] Boisaco is characterized by a cooperative business model and, thus, is itself a community oriented business owned, in part, by its workers. In April 2013, Boisaco had a guaranteed Annual Allowable Cut of 406,850 m^3 of wood . Ministère des ressources naturelles (MRN). 2013 Région d'application des garantie d'approvisionnement (GA) de la Côte-Nord, <https://www.mrn.gouv.qc.ca/forets/amenagement/documents/droits-region09.pdf> (February 26, 2014).

FIGURE 2
Essipit Model of Community-based Enterprises



nesses are community-owned businesses or joint ventures with Quebec non-Aboriginal enterprises or other First Nations. Figure 2 draws a general portrait of the business portfolio of Essipit.

Forest-based development activities are organized under three business organizations:

- *The Essipit Band Council* was involved in silviculture activities in the past, and is currently involved in construction and road building activities, both on the territories of Essipit outfitters and on Essipit's reserve land. Ownership of the Outfitters has justified hiring workers and purchasing of machinery for building and maintaining forest roads as this line of work complements the tourism activities and enables additional surveillance of their traditional lands. The Council hired one full-time inspector, a full-time worker and three seasonal workers from Essipit, as well as one non-Aboriginal seasonal worker to build and renovate cottages and other facilities of the outfitters.

- *Essipit outfitters* are fully owned by the Band Council and have the legal status of a company. The coordinator of the outfitters takes daily decisions, but strategic matters such as

major investments are discussed between the coordinator and the director of Essipit enterprises. The director also sits on the management panel which has oversight of the financial needs of the outfitters. Every year, the six outfitters generate one permanent job for the coordinator of the outfitters, nine seasonal jobs for "guardians" which are filled by Essipit community members and nine non-Aboriginal jobs, as well as two wildlife technician jobs (seasonal) for non-Aboriginals.

- *Granulco* has the legal status of a company. It produces wood pellets for residential and commercial stoves with an annual production capacity of 25,000 tons. The business is composed of Essipit Innu First Nation (25%), the Society for Economic Development of Sacré-Cœur (25%), SPEQ Investra (25%), the forest company Boisaco (12.5%), the Cooperative Cofor (6.25%) and the Cooperative Unisaco (6.25%). The Board of Directors for Granulco is composed of four individuals, one of whom is an administrator of Essipit Band Council. Apart from an administrator of Essipit who sits on the Board of Directors, Granulco has not hired any worker or management personnel from Essipit. New positions have been posted in the community, without success.

What Matters?

While the initial objective of acquiring outfitters was to create jobs for community members, our interviews and the historical development of the network of businesses reveal a more complex range of reasons for, and benefits of, the Essipit AFEs. We present the six principal categories here, without ranking them in order of importance.

Economic development is a natural outgrowth of the initial job creation objective. Revenue from the Essipit Outfitters has been used primarily to provide good conditions for workers and to improve the facilities of the outfitters. These businesses have generally been able to balance spending and revenues, occasionally posting deficits but usually creating sufficient excess for reinvestment in the business. The following quote summarizes the economic contributions of outfitters, while also highlighting the importance of Essipit community-based enterprises in other economic sectors:

> We are successful in managing our outfitters in a way that they don't make deficits. We are even able to reinvest over time. So we have improved the value of our businesses, but they have never [provided dividends]. It has always been the opposite; the management table has always invested in the outfitters. Fisheries bring the money. [...] The outfitters allowed us to participate in forestry, to acquire equipment and make economies of scale elsewhere. For example, we remove the snow on the roads of the reserve. We have loaders, excavators and many other things. Globally, the outfitters buy gas at the convenience store, self-finance, decrease the overall spending of the community and create jobs. It has been a real leverage for development.

In comparison the fishery businesses have not provided employment opportunities for the community, but mainly revenues that have been used for reinvestment and expansion.

> Regarding UMEK, we started with an investment of $77,000 which was repaid after the first year. The value of UMEK was 1.8 million at the beginning; the value is now 4.5 million. [...] We are paid as fishermen. We sell our catches to UMEQ, and then we make gains in added value, transformation and distribution. All the profits of group UMEQ are reinvested. We bought Pêcherie Manicouagan and Crabiers du Nord. This is an interesting development tool.

In fact, the restaurant Namesh and the fishing boats Léo and Jimmy generate every year a minimum of $500,000 in profit. This money is, in part, reinvested in developing forest-based enterprises.

Building partnerships as an element of economic and other strategies is well-illustrated by Granulco — a business that has not been profitable nor hired any community members since its creation in 2009. Yet, as several interviewees pointed out, the project provided an opportunity to learn to work with Boisaco, which is also a cooperative with its roots in a local non-Aboriginal community. Granulco helped improve cooperation between two key players in the Haute-Côte-Nord region, while also promoting mutual understanding of their realities and struggles.

> Originally, yes, we were expecting profits. However, it was a cheap price to pay to test this partnership. What we wanted to test was working with the forest industry.

Because we have worked with the people of [Boisaco], we gained credibility. Now they tend to invite us when they have a project. I don't think they saw us as a natural business partner before [...] Essipit learned how the wood pellet industry was working. We took one step in the forestry sector.

What did work best is that this partnership created a good relation dynamics. Once a year, we meet and exchange. We did not have that before. Yes, we had a certain respect, but these people are now a bigger part of our daily life. It also brings an interesting dynamic where we are more involved, we exchange and we optimize our synergies. There is a difference since the conclusion of an official business partnership.

The **cultural fit** of businesses with Essipit values and traditions, and with the desire of community members to maintain these, is also important. For example, one respondent explained that Aboriginals possess a good knowledge of the territory, as well as hunting, fishing and trapping activities.

> In 1983, it was not common to finance economic development projects through the acquisition of outfitters. Yet, if there was one thing the Indians were good at: they could be guides, they could hunt, fish and trap.

Another respondent stressed that the fact that non-Aboriginal peoples occupied the land made it difficult for Essipit people to go out on the land and practice traditional activities. Gaining ownership of the outfitters allows young peoples and elders to partake in cultural and spiritual activities on their traditional land.

> There is a lot of land occupation [by non-Aboriginal peoples]. It is difficult to have a place on the territory. It is an issue. Essipit bought outfitters as a means of territorial expansion.

Gaining control of the traditional territories and of natural resources has been a vital outcome of the Essipit businesses, especially in a context where no treaties have been signed between Essipit and the Canadian or Quebec governments, and where Aboriginal rights are still a subject for negotiations. For example, respondent E01 explained that the outfitters provide Essipit with greater power in negotiations with the government and forest companies on issues such as economic participation, accommodation and treaty negotiation.

> Since we bought the outfitters, I think that we stop speaking in the abstract about Aboriginal rights. You have more than Aboriginal rights; you have [commercial] hunting and fishing rights. These are exclusive commercial rights owned by the Council. Thus, the idea of discussing, negotiating, finding common ground ... the land is ours.

> We facilitated the negotiation process with the government, because if you go tell a landowner that you will expropriate them and that they have to sell to Indians. Imagine how difficult that can be! Now, Essipit did the work for them. The government could have done this [and say] for example: We will solve the problem. We will buy outfitters for [Essipit] and when the time comes, we will hand over the outfitters to them." However, they couldn't do it. We were proactive in this.

In particular, the success of the outfitters enterprise (i.e. commercial rights) helped to access silviculture contracts with Hydro-Québec, REXFOR and private companies. In addition, Essipit has gained greater control over the activities that occur on the outfitter territories and Essipit Nitassinan. Notably it is able to monitor and to control forest access. Controlling the land economically also facilitated the treaty negotiation process between Essipit and the government.

Developing credibility, experience and skills in managing businesses and forest resources management also followed from the observable success of the Essipit businesses. An Essipit respondent mentioned that managerial capacity brought greater influence in their relations with their business partners — an observation echoed by one of Essipit's non-Aboriginal business partners:

> They really developed, over the years, their own economy, their own jobs, instead of waiting for the government [...] for financial help and other things. [...] They developed interesting projects that boosted the region. They made everything in their outfitters. They developed whale watching cruises, cottages, tourism. They really developed, in past years, projects that sustain the community. [...] We found synergies, because they showed a lot of potential. People like the economic development director with all his experience; it is good to have him on the Board of Directors, to interact with him and to benefit from his strengths.

Finally, **stability in internal governance** was also identified as an important element. A board of directors oversee businesses, separate from the Essipit Government, thereby limiting political interference in daily business decisions. In addition, two key administrators have been working for the Council for more than twenty years, providing stability and institutional memory for Essipit community and confidence for non-Aboriginal partners.

> To make a partnership, it requires good managers. Me, I trust [Essipit]. They have a lot of influence on the other two Aboriginal communities involved in the partnership. [...]The situation has not changed since the beginning, it is the same managers who are there [...] This helps, because we are able to establish business visions. We know each other. There are no surprises. Essipit [political] stability, you don't have it everywhere.

DISCUSSION

We confirm previous research findings that the basic assumptions of mainstream theories are often inadequate for research with Aboriginal communities (Trosper 1995; Cornell and Kalt 2000; Lindsay 2005; Dana 2007; Hindle and Moroz 2010). Our results indicate that economic success is important, but not exclusively so, for Essipit, which adopts a broader view of business success. Even without financial dividends, the research participants perceived Essipit outfitters as successes. Outfitters have generated other benefits over the years, such as quality jobs, negotiation leverage, cultural benefits, as well as experience and skills in business and forest resource management. Similarly, Granulco has not generated any posi-

tive financial returns, yet the respondents qualified this initiative as a success as it promotes cooperation and cultural awareness between Essipit peoples and non-Aboriginal peoples. This suggests a need to consider other measures than profit when evaluating the success of AFEs. That being said, the 2011 Aboriginal Business Survey of the Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business indicates: "perceptions of success are more common among businesses who have clearly achieved financial success" (CCAB 2011). Results from the 2011 Aboriginal Business Survey do not necessarily contradict our results, but rather confirm that financial indicators are well-established measures for individual business analysis. This brings us to our next element of discussion.

Our data accord with the work of Hindle and Moroz (2010) that the "community" is an important unit of analysis when examining Aboriginal businesses. Our data show that Essipit AFEs are more than individual firms, and even that this model goes beyond a single sector of activity, namely forestry. Essipit model of ACBEs are better characterized as a complex business network, which includes community-owned businesses and joint ventures with non-Aboriginal enterprises or other First Nations communities. This business network allows Essipit AFEs to break-even financially or accept financial deficits on the basis of other goals. Participants explained that Essipit finances the deficits, development and growth in the forestry sector by using revenues generated by other community businesses in other economic sectors. This highlights the importance of being cautious with the interpretations and conclusions from individual AFEs. Furthermore, some researchers suggest differentiating the types of networks. For example, Ring et al. (2010) posit that hard networks could have greater long-term economic impact, while soft networks could have a more substantial and durable effect on firms' capacity to cooperate. If this is confirmed, it might provide insights on how to promote successful ACBEs.

Our data also confirm Peredo and Chrisman's (2006) finding that community-based enterprises emerged in a situation of socioeconomic stress. Essipit acquired their first outfitter business in 1983 in order to address conditions of underdevelopment that existed in the community at that time of economic crisis, as well as the lack of opportunity on reserve. Essipit initiated vegetation control contracts to avoid greater environmental degradation that would have been caused by chemical spraying on their traditional territory. In each instance, Essipit may be described as taking a pro-active stance in the face of adverse circumstances. Over time, Essipit community leaders were able to develop and maintain a regional network for the benefit of local enterprises. As reflected in Figure 2, they developed a significant number of community-based enterprises through their network, e.g. outfitters, Granulco and businesses in the fisheries. Thus, with more natural, human, social and financial capital, Essipit gradually became an opportunity seeker, as defined by Dana (1995). Therefore, it is possible that initiatives focusing on community capacity building are likely to be more effective in the long term for increasing the probability of ACBEs creation and survival.

Finally, the Essipit case study shows several attributes of effective Aboriginal governance arrangements (Jorgensen 2007): staggered council terms help avoid that an entire branch of government is elected all at once and provide continuity when a change of government occurs; participatory, informed and transparent approaches allow all community members to participate via the general assembly in higher-level decision-making; increased human resource capacity has enabled competent people to govern the communities; financial resources ensure that the governance system is working. Additionally, our findings accord with Grant and Taylor's (2007) and Trosper et al. (2008) insights: that maintaining and man-

aging the boundary between business and politics increases the chances for success in community-owned enterprises. In the case of Granulco, the business structure ensures that separation: an administrator from Essipit is assigned one of the four seats on the board of directors. Yet a complete separation between politics and business is not always possible, e.g. for Essipit band-owned businesses. In those cases, we found that other mechanisms played a similar role in Essipit. Participants explained that (1) politicians and administrators have a good understanding of their respective roles and functions, (2) the general assembly provides a control mechanism for the community members over management decisions made by the Band Council, and (3) the small size of the community (about 200 members on reserve) where "everyone knows" inhibits some negative behaviours.

CONCLUSION

How can Aboriginal forest enterprises beat the market? This paper examined the Essipit model of AFEs to better understand how the concept of 'community-based enterprise' can serve as an instrument for development in Aboriginal communities. We demonstrated that this concept is useful in at least two respects. First, it throws light on the broader goals motivating Aboriginal economic development activities in neglected context. Forest enterprises can generate significant economic benefits, but our findings elaborated on what really matters to Aboriginal communities and for what reasons. This case study identified six major reasons for, and benefits of, the Essipit AFEs: economic development, building partnerships, cultural fit, gaining control, developing credibility, experience and skills, and stability in interval governance. Secondly, the concept of 'community-based enterprise' holds useful lessons for the literature on how Aboriginal communities may address forestry opportunities. Notably, the Essipit model exemplifies how it is possible to think outside the "wood box" for successful Aboriginal socioeconomic development (Beaudoin 2012); here outfitters became a key in the development strategy of Essipit, rather than wood products that have traditionally sustained the development of the Canadian forest sector. Moreover, the Essipit business portfolio proved to be effective for harmonizing local values with market values.

Furthermore, the structure of the Essipit model is also insightful. Community-owned businesses allow the Council to provide services for community members and to participate in the market on their own terms. For example, Essipit managers are offering better working conditions than business requirements. Joint ventures allow Essipit to pursue opportunities when human, natural and financial resources are lacking. Government policies and frameworks that support Aboriginal business commonly target majority-owned Aboriginal business. Yet Essipit exploited and benefited from various opportunities as a minority business partner. Our data demonstrate that, through partnership, communities can also go a long way a little at the time. The community business portfolio, organized under a Management Panel, allowed Essipit's administrator to take decisions that meet economic profitability, environmental or community well-being objectives. For example, Essipit invested in the fisheries to generate profits. In turn, these profits financed a number of social and environmental initiatives over the years.

There is not only one path towards Aboriginal economic success and, thus, Essipit's path might not be appropriate in the context of another Aboriginal community. Different communities may have different aspirations and goals. For example, the Mashteuiatsh com-

munity has taken a different approach based on private AFEs (Beaudoin et al. 2009). Yet there is a need in Canada for more research on ACBEs and how networks can foster the development of ACBEs.

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Aboriginal Capitalism: Is Resistance Futile or Fertile?

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ABSTRACT

Capitalism is everywhere. Many Indigenous leaders and scholars argue that it is unavoidable and must be engaged, despite capitalism's sordid history as a means of assailing Indigenous lands and waters. I ask: Can capitalism be adapted to Indigenous values and principles? Can Indigeneity survive the encounter with capitalism? In this article, I look at the writings of three Indigenous academics — Robert Miller, Duane Champagne, and David Newhouse — and examine their positions on Aboriginal capitalism. Each author offers their perspective on the key problems facing Indigenous communities and individuals as well as the realities of tribal poverty and ubiquitous capitalist markets. How each author understands the key problems in "Indian Country" greatly determines their positions on potential solutions. I argue that capitalism cannot be Aboriginalized or Indigenized without radical, possibly transformative changes to core capitalist tenets. Similarly, I do not believe that Indigenous people and communities can actively engage with capitalist markets without radically changing their core values and principles. I acknowledge that change is a fact of life and society, but I do not believe that capitalism, as pervasive as it is, has to be the inevitable outcome of Indigenous desires for political, cultural, and economic autonomy. There are alternatives, and maybe some not yet imagined, but true alternatives that do not exploit our relatives and maintain balance and harmony in our homelands are worth our best efforts.

Many would argue that studying economic development — with the purpose of practical and relevant analysis for Indigenous communities — requires a thorough understanding of the dominant economies that we must interact with and/or resist. Without a doubt, capitalism is *the* dominant economic system and possibly the number one threat to Indigenous community health. Capitalism has been one of the primary means by which Settler society has assaulted Indigenous lands and people. For generations, Indigenous people have resisted colonial efforts to exploit and extract, but in recent years, more Indigenous communities have begun to partner with resource extraction companies. Is this a form economic justice or a nuanced form of imperialism that co-opts the resistance of Indigenous people who have been effectively starved into submission? I am interested in how Native people have attempted to navigate capitalist economies and markets. I am also interested in how Indigenous people

contend with or resist capitalism to mitigate or stop its more harmful effects. Specifically, I want to know whether capitalism can be Aboriginalized, that is, adapted or engaged with in a way that is consistent with Indigenous worldviews and values. In this article I look at three forms of Aboriginal capitalism: "Reservation capitalism" by Robert Miller, "Tribal capitalism" by Duane Champagne, and "Capitalism with a red face" by David Newhouse. It is my contention that capitalism cannot be Indigenized without radically altering it into something else, and Indigenous people cannot act as capitalists without radically altering their own worldviews and principles, potentially beyond recognition. Although this article primarily looks at Aboriginal capitalism, I conclude with a few ideas and examples of Indigenous alternatives in a contemporary context.

Understanding Capitalism and the Challenges in Indigenous Communities

"Capitalism is not a monolithic form of economic organization but rather that it takes many forms,"[1] but I do want to begin with my understanding of capitalism, as it exists in our daily lives and communities. Capitalism emphasizes the importance of the individual at the expense of the collective. This often leads to massive inequality as the freedom of individuals to accumulate wealth is not only protected, but also widely celebrated. Competition between individuals and corporations is favoured over cooperation and consensus decision-making. Capitalism prioritizes the protection of private property for profit and the commodification of all things, even life forms.[2] Capitalist economies require incessant growth and profit maximization, which depletes finite resources and destroy ecosystems. Connected to this, is the prioritization of exchange value over use value, which requires a radical re-orientation of Indigenous worldviews. Capitalism has proven to be fluid and adaptive, but I believe that its core tenets remain consistent. It is with these commonly held views in mind that I critique the following attempts to Aboriginalize capitalism.

After years of ongoing colonial domination, many Indigenous peoples are struggling to survive, in many cases simply trying to meet basic human needs, while still fighting to retain their unique cultures and identities. Robert Miller believes that the problem in Indian Country is one of extreme poverty writing, "American Indians are today the poorest of the poor in the United States."[3] Of course, Miller is not alone in focusing on poverty, but he does draw some different conclusions. In *Reservation Capitalism*, he writes, "American Indians and tribal governments have the right to enjoy the same prosperity and security as other Americans."[4] Miller's conception of Native American poverty is relative to the broader American population. He also believes that there are a number of social pathologies that accompany poverty. Miller quotes a tribal chairman from Oregon: "We need to make it acceptable in Indian country to be in business."[5] Miller believes that there is a stigma against Native

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[1] William J. Baumol, Robert E. Litan, and Carl J. Schramm (Eds.), *Good Capitalism, Bad Capitalism, and the Economics of Growth and Prosperity* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2007), vii.

[2] "Research Report: Wild Rice and Genetic Research/Modification, MN (Ojibwe) (2006)". *The Pluralism Project at Harvard University*. Accessed February 2, 2015. <http://www.pluralism.org/reports/view/51>.

[3] Robert J. Miller. *Reservation "Capitalism": Economic Development in Indian Country* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013), 1.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid. 5.

American participation in capitalist enterprises, and that this has led to rampant poverty. He offers "reservation capitalism" as a solution. Miller writes, "Expanding and creating new forms of economic development and activities in Indian Country is probably the most important political, social, community, and financial concern that Indian nations, tribal leaders, and Indian peoples face today.[6] My concern is that when we uncritically accept narrow Settler ideas of wealth and poverty, we also accept conditions that potentially limit our own Indigenous worldviews and solutions.

From Duane Champagne's perspective the key problem is one of Indigenous autonomy or the lack thereof, and tribal engagement with capitalism is just one aspect of a broader community development approach. He writes, "The indigenous self-determination movement is about maintaining land, culture, institutional relations, government, and self-sufficiency *under terms compatible with indigenous cultures and beliefs*."[7] This is where it get's tricky because he later adds that many traditional Indigenous beliefs and values are incompatible with capitalism. Champagne writes, "Tribal leadership often argues that sovereignty is not possible without freedom from economic dependence on government programs and funding. High rates of poverty and unemployment on reservations, with their attendant problems and issues, are a major stimulus for tribal governments to promote economic development."[8] Like the others, Champagne conflates economic development with capitalism, and this need not be the case. Despite this, he remains optimistic that not "all nations and communities will converge toward a common market-based institutional order".[9] Champagne's solution is "Tribal capitalism," which includes some key distinctions that he believes protect tribal autonomy and culture.

David Newhouse writes that, "One of the most persistent problems facing Aboriginal people throughout Canada has been low incomes and low participation in the labour force."[10] Although he seems to take participation in the mainstream economy for granted, Newhouse also warns of the "Borg of capitalism," an irresistible, consuming force. Instead of shunning it altogether however, he calls for, "Capitalism with a red face." He acknowledges that engagement with capitalism is transformative, but feels that Indigenous people have no other choice, hence the Borg analogy. Like Miller, Newhouse believes that one of the biggest obstacles standing in the way of successful Aboriginal economic development is Aboriginal people, writing, "It is important to develop within the community a sense of legitimacy for economic development and its related activities."[11] Newhouse also at times conflates economic development and capitalism, which potentially inhibits the possibility of Indigenous alternatives.

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[6] Ibid. 3.

[7] Duane Champagne. *Social Change and Cultural Continuity Among Native Nations* (Lanham: Altamira Press, 2007), 2. *Emphasis* added.

[8] Ibid. 57.

[9] Ibid. 46.

[10] David R. Newhouse, "Resistance is Futile: Aboriginal Peoples Meet the Borg of Capitalism", in *Ethics and Capitalism*, edited by John Douglas Bishop (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 145.

[11] David Newhouse, "The Development of the Aboriginal Economy over the Next 20 Years" in *The Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development*, 1(1): 75.

Reservation Capitalism

Despite the title of his book, Miller does not offer a succinct definition of "Reservation capitalism." He does not suggest how capitalism might be adjusted or tweaked to better suit Native communities. Miller is an unapologetic capitalist who lacks the ambivalence of many of his peers and simply advocates for increased mainstream capitalism on Native American reservations. And while he acknowledges that some are concerned over the negative impacts of capitalism on Native cultures, he counters these concerns with the argument that cultural integrity is in greater danger when Native communities are in poverty. Going further, Miller makes the case that Native Americans are not culturally opposed to capitalist principles in the first place, writing, "Native peoples understood, appreciated, and lived by principles that today we call private property rights, entrepreneurship, and free market economics in which individuals voluntarily participate in the manufacture of excess crops and goods and engage in trade mostly without governmental direction or control."[12] He does not believe that Native Americans lived in "socialistic societies where everything was jointly owned and shared by the community."[13] Just as I agree that it is incorrect to impose socialism on our understanding of historical Indigenous communities, it is equally incorrect to make assumptions that lean in the liberal capitalist direction. Miller suggests that the Pacific Northwest potlatch as an example of wealth accumulation and redistribution, writing it is similar to, "how U.S. society today chooses to spend money on activities we desire, which includes giving extra wealth to social and charitable organizations for tax deductions and because our society values that kind of generosity."[14] This is a horribly simplistic view of the potlatch and his equivocation of it with contemporary American capitalism and charitable activity is utterly wrong. Many potlatch hosts gave until they had nothing left to give. Like many coastal Indigenous understandings of the interconnected and cyclical nature of life, potlatch economies depended on communal reciprocity, which is not how Settler society currently governs itself.

According to Miller, tribal governments need to create "business-friendly environments where, other tribes, Indian and non-Indian companies, and individuals will invest money and human capital in economic endeavors."[15] This falls in line with the findings of the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, which also includes the creation of stable governing institutions and bureaucracies, fair dispute-resolution processes, attractive tax regimes, and clear distinctions between tribal politics and economics. A major concern I have with this approach is when tribal communities have supposedly freed themselves from poverty and government dependency, they then burden themselves with a new dependency: the capitalist market. In an age where efficiency is paramount and neo-liberal "comparative advantage" is dictated by the market, Indigenous nations are likely to find themselves vulnerable to the uncaring whims of those markets. This dynamic has already played itself out around the world in countries that have officially "decolonized" but have also retained asymmetrical neo-colonial relations.

Miller also calls for increased entrepreneurship, pointing out that Native American private businesses ownership is at the lowest per capita rate for any group in the United

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[12] Miller, 11.
[13] Ibid. 11–12.
[14] Ibid. 17–18.
[15] Ibid. 93.

States.[16] He writes, "Increasing entrepreneurship and economic development on reservations in a careful and respectful manner will support tribal cultures, not injure them."[17] I have to ask whether entrepreneurship *must* be practised within a capitalist framework, and what is meant by, "careful and respectful manner?" Miller does not approach capitalism with any degree of criticism, especially with respect to profit maximization or resource depletion and he does not consider the broader implications of increased Native American participation in capitalist economies. Instead, he writes, "You do not have to be poor to be Indian or to be a cultural person, you do not stop being an Indian or a cultural person if you become materially well off."[18] Again, economic development may be acted out as a form of capitalism, but does it have to? There are alternatives, as well as Indigenous challenges to the presumed universalism of what it means to be materially well off. I agree that the poverty that Indigenous people endure today is something that must be addressed, but I do not believe that Reservation capitalism is the only, nor appropriate, solution.

Tribal Capitalism

For Champagne the term, Tribal capitalism reflects its "predominantly collective" nature.[19] He believes the primary goal of tribal communities is the preservation and perpetuation of Native American political and cultural autonomy. Champagne writes, "Despite five hundred years of colonialism, Native people are loath to give up the primary aspects of Native life and community."[20] Paramount among these is a unique understanding of people's place in creation. He writes, "Cosmic harmony and order were preserved by maintaining respectful relations with all spirit beings, including human groups and individuals."[21] This is a different orientation than one that places humanity at the top of earthly creation with the God-given right to dominate all other life on earth. For Champagne, there are many key differences between Indigenous and Settler worldviews and for Native people to engage with capitalism is an endeavour fraught with complications.

The first of these complications is what Max Weber called an Iron Cage. Once the forces of capitalism, "are unleashed, other economic actors must follow suit or be forced out of business."[22] This is a fairly straightforward argument. Market competitiveness demands decision-making that often goes against other community interests. One example of this would be a decline in hunting, trapping, gathering, and fishing in favour of wage labour or entrepreneurship. Indigenous people risk losing a vital connection with the lands and waters that sustained their communities for millennia. Additionally, when business ventures run their course, as in the case with intensive resource extraction, communities are often left with generations who no longer know how to live with the land. My people, the Nuu-chah-nulth-aht, along with many other coastal peoples, have experienced this with respect to fishing. I am not saying that choosing one economic activity over another can

[16] Ibid. 113.
[17] Ibid. 133.
[18] Ibid. 161.
[19] Champagne, 6.
[20] Ibid. 10.
[21] Ibid. 15.
[22] Ibid. 46.

only have these outcomes or even that it is always a choice in the first place. Many Indigenous peoples have been forced to abandon their traditional ways of living. Consequently, the Iron Cage argument is at least partially true, but Champagne is not thoroughly convinced, writing, "Communities can take on capitalist elements and participate in capitalist markets and still retain core aspects of identity, tradition, institutional relations — the close interconnectedness of polity, culture, economy, and community — and cultural values."[23] To be clear, Champagne is saying something quite different from Miller. Champagne acknowledges the potentially toxic effects of capitalism, where as Miller sees nothing inherently wrong with capitalism.

Champagne believes that Native nations, as collectivities, are resilient enough to survive the engagement intact, hence the term, "Tribal capitalism." While I recognize the significance of the tribal collectivity as a repository and protector of Indigenous ways, I am not as optimistic. Champagne explains, "For most Native communities, economic development is a means to an end. Even the most strongly market-oriented tribal economic planners see economic development as a way to support the reservation community, retain tribal members on reservations, and promote self-supporting Native communities."[24] Unlike Miller, Champagne believes that traditional Native values are not compatible with modern capitalist values. He writes, "Most Native nations believe in maintaining respectful relations among humans and other entities of the universe such as places, water, air, fire, earth, animals, birds, heavenly bodies, and the rest of the cosmos."[25] In contrast, Champagne states that, "Capitalist philosophies see the earth as a natural resource, where exploitation of raw materials through labour transforms raw materials into useful objects for further economic production or consumption and the creation of additional wealth."[26] How then do we explain the slide of Native communities towards capitalism?

Native American entrepreneurship has increased dramatically since the 1970s. Despite this growth, Champagne writes, "Business ownership has not obliterated Native identity, (which) reflects the continuity of Native cultural values (and) political relations."[27] He believes that Native American communities discourage individual capitalist values and instead favour "generosity, redistribution, and egalitarianism."[28] And differing from Miller and the Harvard Project, Champagne writes, "Most reservation communities prefer relatively holistic institutional relations among economy, community, polity, and culture.[29] He writes, "Natives are opting for a collective capitalism rather than individual capitalism."[30] Champagne believes that Tribal capitalism is different than American capitalism. Regarding the Iron Cage, he concedes that the outcomes are mixed, writing, "Market competition forces the Indian communities to consider and engage in market enterprise, but they wish to do so under their own terms, which means subordinating capitalist accumulation to collective

[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid. 47.
[25] Ibid. 48.
[26] Ibid. 49.
[27] Ibid. 56.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid. 57.
[30] Ibid. 58.

goals of community and cultural and political enhancement and preservation."[31] He acknowledges the power of capitalism to consume and discipline, but Champagne is optimistic that Native American communities will continue to survive. He considers the changes in Native communities and culture evidence of "social change" rather than outright assimilation.[32] I too am confident about the resiliency of Indigenous communities, but not because of our ability to navigate capitalism, but rather, our ability to innovate alternatives to it.

Capitalism with a Red Face

David Newhouse begins by citing the final report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), which "reflected the conventional and accepted wisdom that a major part of the solution to the problems facing Aboriginal peoples is economic development."[33] He also points out that Aboriginal economic development, regardless of form, must exist within the broader national and global economies. Newhouse writes, "In the search for a better life within the context of contemporary North America, we encounter capitalism. We simply have no choice."[34] And thus, Newhouse offers us his Borg of capitalism analogy.[35] He writes, "I think of our encounter as Aboriginal peoples meeting the Borg of capitalism ... They absorb peoples at will ... they broadcast the following message: 'Your existence as you know it has come to an end. Resistance is futile.'"[36] Like Champagne and unlike Miller, Newhouse believes that traditional Indigenous worldviews are quite distinct from the values of capitalism. He writes rather gravely, "We have participated at the edges of capitalism, as labourers, as small business people, as debtors. Now we seek to enter its heart. We will be transformed by it ... capitalism will absorb Aboriginal cultures. And the moral order of Aboriginal societies will be changed."[37] Newhouse's rather blunt assessment of Indigenous encounters with capitalism seems to differ from Champagne's optimism, but as we shall see, they may be closer than first appearances indicate. According to Newhouse, "The idea that we can somehow participate in capitalism without being changed by it is in my view wrong-headed."[38] This does not incline Newhouse to shy away from capitalism, however. Again, he begins with the assertion that we have no choice. Of his own role he writes, "I can describe much of my own work as making capitalism work better for Aboriginal communities, developing, as it were, capitalism with a red face."[39]

Newhouse asks, "What unique perspectives do aboriginal people bring to the ongoing debate about the practice of capitalism? Can aboriginal peoples find a way to adapt capital-

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[31] Ibid. 62.

[32] Ibid. 144–166.

[33] Newhouse, "Resistance is Futile", 145.

[34] Ibid. 147.

[35] For those unfamiliar with Star Trek, "The Borg is a collection of species that have been turned into cybernetic organisms functioning as drones of the collective, or the hive." "Borg (Star Trek)." *Wikipedia*. Accessed February 1, 2015. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Borg_(Star_Trek)>

[36] Newhouse, "Resistance is Futile", 152.

[37] Ibid. 153–154.

[38] Ibid. 152.

[39] Ibid. 149.

ism to their own particular world views?"[40] He recognizes that these questions are complicated and suggests that the challenge is to develop, "contemporary interpretations of traditional ideas."[41] Newhouse draws on his experience with RCAP and the testimony of James Dumont, who offered seven primary Native values: kindness, honesty, sharing, strength, bravery, wisdom, and humility.[42] Newhouse adds that Aboriginal societies are collectivist in orientation, and that efforts to "re-traditionalize" or "reinterpret traditional values within a contemporary (and communal context) ... offer some hope for the development of aboriginal economies."[43] In this respect, he is in agreement with Champagne.

Newhouse recognizes that capitalism has a difficult problem to overcome, especially if it is to be adapted by Aboriginal societies, and that is the problem of inequity. Despite this, he believes that, "There is no fear that capitalism cannot be adapted to aboriginal realities."[44] Newhouse offers ten points that distinguish capitalism with a red face:[45]

1. Development will take a holistic approach including four dimensions similar to the Cree Medicine Wheel: physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual.
2. Development will be a process or a journey and not a product, with an emphasis on long-term over short-term results.
3. Development will be collaborative rather than competitive and a joint effort between individuals and the collective.
4. Individual actions will respect the interconnectivity of the world and affirm that humanity is but one small part.
5. Development will prioritize "human capital investment rather than individual capital accumulation" and respect quality of life, including the environment.
6. Traditional knowledge, with elder guidance, will inform planning and decision-making.
7. Aboriginal values of kindness and sharing will guide how communities deal with wealth distribution and individuals with a lot of wealth accumulated will be expected to share.[46]
8. Native economic institutions will be "primarily western in nature with adaptations to ensure that they operate in a manner which is appropriate to the local aboriginal community."
9. Decisions will be made by consensus and in particular, large development projects will require broad community consensus.
10. "The notions of honesty and respect will result in a heightened sense of accountability for economic institutions and decision makers."

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[40] David Newhouse, "Modern Aboriginal Economies: Capitalism with a Red Face", in *The Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development*, 1(2): 56.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid. 58.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid. 57.

[45] Ibid. 59–60.

[46] Newhouse adds that over time, social hierarchies may change as material wealth gains in prominence over other factors like the knowledge of the elders.

This list is consistent with the tone of the RCAP recommendations and interesting in so far as it all seems highly improbable given Newhouse's Borg of capitalism analogy. Despite the relative strength of these ten points, Newhouse concludes with an ominous warning: "The process of modernization and the adoption of capitalism as a dominant political-economic system within aboriginal society is well underway. It would be sheer folly to attempt to reverse the process or to attempt dramatic shifts in direction. I would argue that the forces of modernization are much too great to resist."[47]

Newhouse wrote two more articles on the Borg of capitalism, shifting his tone slightly. In 2002, he wrote, "Canadians, and I would dare say Aboriginal people, have come to see market society and capitalism as offering the best option for improving human welfare."[48] But Newhouse also notes growing resistance in Native communities and commenting on the nature of that resistance, he writes, "I believe that we resist through stating and restating our own objectives as Aboriginal peoples for cultural distinctiveness, for societies based upon traditional ideas, values and customs, for sustainable development, for equitable distribution of wealth, for the idea of progress that is broad and multi-faceted, for communities that are more than markets, among other things."[49] In 2004, Newhouse shifts even further, challenging people to think critically, and ask the right questions, "so that we begin to be able to engage the Borg in a way that will allow us to come out of it with our own selves intact."[50] Ultimately, he does not think capitalism can be replaced, but he does think there is a possibility of developing a "compassionate capitalism ... that begins to operate under a set of values that balances market and community."[51] A tall order to be sure, and I am not convinced that it is possible, but I am encouraged to see Newhouse at least acknowledge the possibility of resisting the more destructive parts of capitalism.

Conclusion

> "For Indigenous nations to live, capitalism must die. And for capitalism to die, we must actively participate in the construction of Indigenous alternatives to it"
>
> — Glen Coulthard[52]

Can capitalism be Aboriginalized? Can it be apprehended and adapted in ways that are consistent with Indigenous worldviews and principles? As I have initially indicated, not with out radical changes to either capitalism or Indigenous worldviews, that might render either unrecognizable. First, it is important to remember that capitalism happened to Indigenous peoples, manifested initially as European imperial ambitions for riches, the transformation of Indigenous lands into private property, and all life into commodities. Capitalism was the means by which the early colonists assaulted North America. Throughout the centuries of

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47 Newhouse, "Modern Aboriginal Economies", 60.

48 David Newhouse, "Aboriginal Economic Development in the Shadow of the Borg" in *The Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development*, 3(2): 110.

49 Ibid. 112.

50 David Newhouse, "The Challenges of Aboriginal Economic Development in the Shadow of the Borg" in *The Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development*, 4(1): 40.

51 Ibid. 41.

52 Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis: Minnesota Press, 2014), 173.

Settler colonial expansion, Indigenous peoples and worldviews stood in the way of development. As Indigenous populations decreased they were herded onto reserves and the Settler governments of Canada and the United States awkwardly and shamefully struggled with what to do about the persistent “Indian Problem.” These legacies continue today. Governments still try to manage their political, legal, and economic relations with Indigenous peoples, but what are Indigenous people doing? Sixty to seventy percent of Indigenous people live away from home in Settler towns and cities. Our lands and waters are under constant threat and poverty remains rampant in Indigenous communities, however, I suggest we expand beyond the typical Human Development Index indicators and re-embrace Indigenous conceptions of health and wellbeing. The Anishinaabe concept of mno-bimaadziwin, meaning the “good life” or “continuous rebirth,” is a great example of this.[53] I am not saying that we discard socio-economic indicators altogether, but there is a danger in uncritically accepting the narrow focus of these measurement tools without appropriate regard for Indigenous conceptions of health, wealth, and wellbeing. We cannot ignore the acute needs of the present, but we must not act in ways that disregard the neo-colonial context within which we find ourselves or in ways that threaten the viability of long-term solutions that respect Indigenous worldviews and values. Mitigation and harm-reduction cannot completely displace fundamental change rooted in Indigenous worldviews and principles of respect and reciprocity.

We need to re-centre Indigenous values and principles in our analysis and planning. In doing so, we must ask critical questions, as Newhouse suggests, about the basic tenets of capitalism. In a revival and assertion of Indigenous principles, we might begin to see where the dominant economic system should be vigorously resisted. We must also explore and create alternatives. People are already attempting to live alternatively, both amongst Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. We must acknowledge the efforts of previous generations who fought to survive under difficult circumstances, often making difficult decisions so that our communities would endure. Indigenous populations are rebounding and many of our stories and ways of living have survived. Many of us can still access time-tested traditional teachings, critically interpret them, and apply them to our contemporary challenges without creating new dependencies on Settler-centric institutions and economies.

When I make these criticisms of capitalism, I am often pressed to offer viable alternatives or find examples of Indigenous people doing capitalism right. The more I research it, the more I realize the frightening accuracy of Newhouse’s Borg analogy. Capitalism may be adaptable, but its core tenets are so dominant that they suffocate true alternatives. As for Indigenous people making capitalism work for them, I think Newhouse and Champagne will agree that it cannot happen without compromise and consequences. How Indigenous people and peoples will endure is not something that I can predict, but there are some encouraging signs of resilience and resurgence. In my father’s community of Ahousaht, the hereditary chiefs have worked hard to re-take control of the economic activities in their territories. This has not happened without compromise or controversy, but they continually try to re-assert their jurisdiction in economic matters. After more than a decade of legal wrangling, Ahousaht and four other Nuu-chah-nulth communities won the right to re-establish themselves in the coastal commercial fisheries. It is early, and negotiations continue, but many of

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[53] Leanne Simpson (Ed.), *Lighting the Eighth Fire: The Liberation, Resurgence, and Protection of Indigenous Nations* (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Press, 2008), 73–74.

our people have hope of a making a living on the water again. Another small but important example is a community garden that began several years ago with some modest financial assistance from the First Nations Agricultural Association. I am told that the garden is still being tended by community volunteers and thrives as a promising alternative, which might become increasingly necessary as warming ocean and river waters threaten our traditional food security. Of course, I would prefer it if we were able to always eat fresh fish *and* vegetables, nourishing our families and re-creating a strong foundation for protecting our homelands and waters. Indigenous resistance and resurgence are fertile.

Rethinking the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework: An Indigenous Perspective

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ABSTRACT

Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF), a widely used analytical tool originating from development studies, aims to identify livelihoods dynamics and suggest solutions for marginalized populations. In this article we argue that a fixed asset model defined within the sustainable livelihoods framework limits adequate understanding of Indigenous culture and livelihoods and therefore fails to acknowledge the historical power imbalances. By making a critical analysis of the term "capital" used in the sustainable livelihoods framework, we argue that for an ethical understanding of development politics, the sustainable livelihoods framework should be supple and accord with a culturally appropriate analysis, definition and terms. This paper presented its argument based on O-*Pipon-Na-Piwin* Cree Nation's perspective on sustainable livelihoods and relationships.

Introduction

The association of resource-led development with topics such as capitalism, strategies of the colonial state, the rise of transnational market economies, neo-liberal policies of ecological, cultural genocide and corporate control over local resources is not a new phenomenon (Shiva, 2002; Escobar, 1995; Harvey, 2003). From Marxism to contemporary Indigenous studies literature, the exploitation of natural resources and its disastrous impact over the culture and livelihoods of marginalized population has been documented (Marx, 1976 [1867]; Churchill, 1983; Waldram, 1988; Escobar, 1995; Shiva, 2002; Harvey, 2005; Kulchyski, 2005; Kulchyski, 2013; Coulthard, 2014; Kamal et al., 2015).

Emerging studies in social and environmental science show that Indigenous communities, living in resourceful countries such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, America are experiencing socioeconomic and cultural challenges within the newly reformed resource-led world order, often more than the third world countries and non-Indigenous population, due

to state surveillance and unsupportive colonial regulations (Escobar, 1995; Hall & Patrinos, 2010; Gilberthorpe & Hilson, 2014).

Livelihood discourse connected with resource-led development not only expresses concerns over the damaging environmental and socioeconomic consequences but also finds its major analytical tool, the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) insufficient to study structural discrimination (Davies, White, Wright, Maru & LaFlamme, 2008; Daskon, 2008; Scoon, 2009; Sakdapolrak, 2014; Wilshusen, 2014). SLF is linked with top down western development agenda, often promoting a narrow analysis of the term "capital" (ibid). Within this context our concern is to examine how successfully livelihoods studies can be used in a development-led framework while analyzing Indigenous livelihood challenges.

By sharing the story of *O-Pipon-Na-Piwin* Cree Nation (OPCN), an Indigenous community situated in remote northern Manitoba, Canada and its local food program *Ithinto Mechisowin* Program (IMP) we explore the ways in which Indigenous perspectives can contribute to livelihoods analysis. Indigenous culture in Canada embeds livelihoods and well-being with peoples' deep relationship with the land (Adelson, 2000; Kovach, 2005; Wilson, 2008; Hart, 2010; Simpson, 2011; Kamal et al., 2015). This relationship is being disrupted Canada-wide by resource-led industrial projects such as mining and hydroelectric dams within areas specified by the government for traditional land use, without proper consultation or adequate and meaningful compensation or mitigation plan (Waldram, 1988; Hoffman, 2008; Kulchyski, 2013; Kamal, Thompson, Linklater & Ithinto Mechisowin Program, 2014; Kamal et al., 2015). We argue that for an ethical understanding of development politics, livelihood studies related to Indigenous communities should take a bottom up approach, be supple and variable in its analysis, not use a fixed framework and provide culturally appropriate meaning of "asset"/"capitals."

To make these claims the first section of the article will discuss the concept of capital used in livelihood studies. Following this, the article will share the significance of Indigenous worldviews. Next, it will describe methodology and community history. Later, elaboration on how OPCN's collective cultural practices can contribute to livelihood studies will be presented. The concluding section will summarize our argument.

Capital in the Context of SLF

From its origin the term capital is linked with "a material holding or monetary fund" (Williams, 1976, p. 51). German sociologist Karl Marx defined capital in relation to "capitalism", an economic system that magnify natural resource exploitation by using capital to monopolize, control production price and manipulate wage-labour relation (Marx, 1976 [1867]). Marxist understanding of capital paved ways for in-depth analysis on capital and its relationship with capitalism in resource-led economy in different disciplines. However, in livelihood studies, the understanding and functionality of the term "capital" has remained inadequate (Scoon, 2009; Wilshusen, 2014; Sakdapolrak, 2014). The concept is contested and being reviewed by contemporary scholars, particularly in the application of the SLF analysis (ibid).

The notion of capital was introduced in livelihood and development studies through World Bank's (WB) report "*Expanding the Measure of Wealth*" (World Bank, 1997; Wilshusen, 2014, p. 133). The report suggested that people's sustainable development could be assessed "based on relative endowment of four capitals: produced, human, natural and social" (World Bank, 1997, p. v; Wilshusen, 2014, p. 133). The interpretation emphasized on

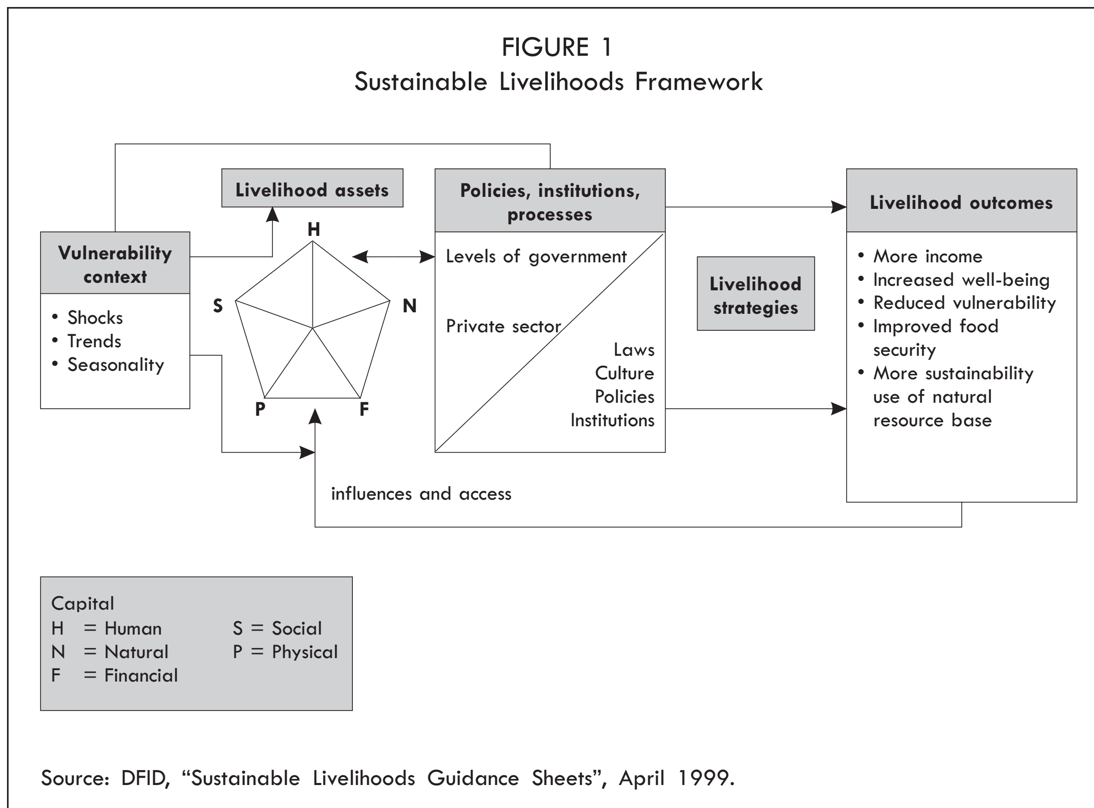

FIGURE 1
Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

Source: DFID, "Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets", April 1999.

capitalist accumulation on resources rather than meaningful sustainability (Bebbington, 1999; Wilshusen, 2014). Reasonably it is argued that the WB played a role of manufacturing information/knowledge to benefit development-led capitalism (Esteva, 1992; Goldman, 2005; Wilshusen, 2014). The plan was to bring in a major shift in the language and mode of capitalist growth to maintain a continuously homogenous and liner reality of the world in which the developed West was authorized to plan, exploit and decide for the "underdeveloped" (Sachs, 1992, p. 2; Esteva, 1992, p. 16). As Trinh (1989) said, "the concept that is currently named 'development' has gone through six stages of metamorphosis since late antiquity. The perception of the outsider as the one who needs help has taken on the successive forms of the barbarian, the pagan, the infidel, the wild man, the 'native', and the underdeveloped" (p. 54).

This argument attests how the camouflaging and manipulative nature of capital feeds on the "other" and the fact that WB's problematic involvement in development was actually, an investment of capitalist endeavour.

The WB's Department of International Development and Institute of Development Studies (DFID) in Sussex designed the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) as a key analytical tool of livelihood studies (Brockiesby & Fisher, 2003; Scoon, 2009; Sakdapolrak, 2014). SLF was introduced to measure assets/capitals (social, physical, natural, human and financial), adaptive strategies and technologies to mend asset insecurity in the livelihood of marginalized population (Chambers & Conway, 1992). In some studies, culture is also considered as one of the capitals (Davies et al., 2008; Daskon & Mcgregor, 2012; Wilshusen,

TABLE 1
Capitals in Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

Capitals/Assets	Definition of Resources	Some Examples
Natural	Supplies of natural resources	Fisheries, land, gas, minerals.
Physical	Man-made resources	School, office space, library, etc.
Human	Knowledge, skills gained by training, education	Gardening, farming, hunting, fishing, reading, writing, etc.
Economic/financial	Monetary supplies	Money, saving bonds, credits, etc.
Social	Network of trust and reciprocity in a social group	Community safe walk group, women's rights groups, community coops, community kitchen, etc.
Cultural	Everyday practices and communitarian interactions that shapes identity	Rituals, celebrations based on class, race, gender, ethnicity and religion.

Source: Inspired by Davies et al., 2008; Sakdapolrak, 2014; Wilshusen, 2014.

2014). Table 1 summarizes definitions of capitals according to SLF and provides few examples of their use in livelihood activities.

In SLF, livelihood is perceived as "the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living" (Chambers & Conway, 1992, p. 7). SLF suggests that a livelihood is sustainable "when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resources base" (ibid). The assets or capitals, which refer to stock of resources, is explained as "input", through a pentagon shape model and used to measure availability of assets and enhance livelihood strategies of people as outcomes (DFID, 1997; DFID, 1999; DFID, 2000a; DFID, 2000b; DFID, 2000c; DFID, 2000d; Chamber & Conway, 1992; Brockiesby & Fisher, 2003; Davis et al. 2008; Scoon, 2009; Wilshusen, 2014). Analysis of cross-sectoral policies to improve livelihoods of the affected population is also a part of SLF analysis (Chamber, 2005).

Despite its wide application in development studies, SLF has been criticized for its limitations in mainstream research (Davis et al., 2008; Daskon, 2008; Scoon, 2009; Wilshusen, 2014, Sakdapolrak, 2014, Kamal, et al., 2014). An elaborate discussion on the topic is beyond the scope of this paper. However, we will discuss some key points from the asset model.

At the early stage of SLF, peoples' livelihoods were analyzed through diagrams, charts or graphs, or guidance sheets (International Fund for Agricultural Development, 2011). In a technical analysis "measurable" (for example, physical, financial) and "non-measurable" (for example, social or cultural) capitals are kept on the same list (ibid). This gave an "illusionary equivalency" to all kinds of capitals and hence reduces the potential of an in depth analysis of historical and structural power relationships (Wilshusen, 2014, p. 138).

The asset model is marked for being narrowly focused and unelaborated (Daskon, 2008; Scoon, 2009; Sakdapolrak, 2014, p. 21). It is argued that the simplified and static

analysis of asset pentagon by DFID shifts focus from people and sidelines disputes around the contested role of capital in the society (Sakdapolrak, 2014; Wilshusen, 2014). It limits livelihoods discussions in the "territory of economic analysis" (Scoon, 2009, p. 177), defines capital as a monetary object rather than an exploitative course of development (Harvey, 2010).

Additionally, livelihood comprises of both material and non-material characteristics of well-being (Bebbington, 1999; Daskon, 2008; Sakdapolrak, 2014). As Bebbington (1999) said, assets can mean "hermeneutic" and "emancipatory" action through which people can define their unique way of living and resist against socially embedded power structures (p. 2022). Daskon (2008) argues that for a deep understanding of sustainable livelihoods, "social, economic, cultural and spiritual needs of all members of a community, human, non-human, present and future" and safeguarding their "cultural and biological diversity" are essential (p. 172). A holistic perception of livelihood can be acquired by local understanding/nuance of the livelihood and asset requirement, without which a community is gravely misunderstood.

Indigenous Worldview and Indigenous Livelihoods

From an Indigenous worldview, sustainable livelihoods are viewed in terms of relationships emphasizing "the resource base, ecosystem services, people and other species" and "not just an efficient allocation of resources over time, but also a fair distribution of resources and opportunities between the current generation and between present and future generations" (Milne, Tregidga & Walton, 2004, p. 6).

Indigenous perception of livelihoods tend to rest on a sense of egalitarianism where all factors (physical, natural, economic, social, and human) in the sustainability wheel are perceived in the form of one bond or relationship (Manitoba Education and Training, 2000). This relationship exists between the physical environment and Indigenous knowledge where sustainability and a balanced ecosystem are shared responsibilities of all living beings (individual, community, animal, land, water, air, fire) (Manitoba Education and Training, 2000). People acting in accordance with cultural worldviews and values is key to maintaining a healthy livelihood and community.

Livelihood, for Indigenous people is more than subsistence economy; it involves the explicit cultural integration between nature and people, a respectful bond based on interdependency (Adelson, 2000; Hart, 2010; Simpson, 2011). For example, the Cree notion of sustainable well-being is defined by the term *mino-pimatisiwin* which means good life (Hart, 2002). It is an understanding based on sharing and tied with reciprocity with nature, balance, growth, and spirituality — some asset components that guide Cree community and individuals towards sustainable, healthy and healing lifecycle (ibid, 105). Any injustice related to this system, thus, is injustice to the people, their community and "upon Creation itself" (Mcgregor, 2009, p. 28 quoted in Connelly, Markey & Roseland, 2011, p. 43). This takes the Indigenous perception of sustainable livelihoods beyond the classical notion of asset and capital defined in SLF.

With the growing acknowledgement of Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous worldviews, the need for incorporating cultural viewpoints of livelihoods is more important than ever. Studies concerning Indigenous well-being, sovereignty, culture and livelihoods in Canada are unfolding alarming sustenance crises which need immediate attention (Frasera et al., 2006; Capistrano & Charles, 2012; Thompson et al., 2011; Thompson, Kamal, Wiebe &

Alam, 2012; Thompson & Ballard, 2013; Kamal et al., 2014; Parlee, 2015). However, it is important to realize that the gap in SLF will not be fulfilled until cultural integration in Indigenous livelihoods is meaningfully infused in such studies. Moreover, as Wilshusen (2014) said, any form of capital associated with human livelihoods must challenge the dual nature of the term, essentially because of its ties with capitalist resource-led economy (p. 140).

Methodology

The study with OPCN is guided by Indigenous research methodology. Indigenous research methodology is founded on "relational accountability" and collective, collaborative way of acquiring knowledge (Kovach, 2005; Wilson, 2008; Hart, 2010, p. 9). Through relational accountability, there is an acknowledgment that relationships exist between researchers and participants, but also to the land, water and beyond. Simpson provides five stages of Indigenous research: collaboration, consensual decision-making, apprenticeship with Elders and seeking out community experts and learning by doing (Simpson, 2000, pp. 173–177). While conducting this study we have followed these steps.

Historically, Indigenous ways of knowing have been affronted and side lined by western scientific research (Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008; Hart, 2010). In contemporary academia, ethical and scholarly rights to Indigenous research are most often established through OCAP (Ownership, Control, Access and Possession) principles (Schnarch, 2004). Participatory research is an integral part of livelihood studies (Scoon, 2009, p. 172). However, the idea of ethical participatory research is debated and has been labelled as "tyrannical" (Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Brock, 2002; Scoon, 2009). Indigenous research frameworks can enrich the integration of participatory research in livelihood studies.

The study with OPCN was conducted using an Indigenous research methodology and led by OCAP. One of the objectives of the project was to collaborate with OPCN and to learn from their program and community while creating a local food harvesting and food sharing program to support their *mino-pimatisiwin*, or "good life." The fieldwork was conducted from 2012–2014. During the entire fieldwork period, the project was supervised, led and operated by community Elders and food champions, and a steering committee that was formed for consensual decision-making.

The program provides training on traditional food harvesting and preparation skills. The Elders share stories while teaching youth, thus promoting intergenerational knowledge. Harvested food is shared with low-income families, Elders and diabetes patients once a week. The study was a collaborative initiative between University of Manitoba and OPCN and was part of Asfia Kamal's doctoral research. Knowledge gathered for this paper came out of five years of relationship building with OPCN Elders, adults and youth and participation in traditional food harvesting activities.

Community History

OPCN, a remote northern Manitoba Indigenous reserve community, suffered severe flooding caused by the construction of a hydroelectric dam in the region (Waldram, 1988; Hoffman, 2008; Kamal et al., 2014; Kamal et al., 2015) The flooding resulted in relocation of the community, disassociation from land-based culture, reduced access to wild food, unemployment, inadequate housing and health services (Thompson et al., 2011; Kamal et

FIGURE 2
Study Location, OPCN

Source: Kamal et al., 2014, p. 144.

al., 2014; Kamal et al. 2015). Poverty, health crisis, food insecurity are major issues in the community (ibid). Despite these challenges, OPCN continues to practice their land-based culture by passing on knowledge to the youth (Kamal et al., 2014; Kamal et al., 2015). In order to do so, they have been participating in land-based activities through seasonal traditional gatherings. In 2013, a community-based food-harvesting program called *Ithinto Mechisowin* Program (IMP), which means food from the land, was created. The program was envisioned and planned solely by OPCN. It started with the in-kind support from community members and community based organizations and later received some funding from non-governmental organizations (ibid).

OPCN's Livelihoods Perspective

It has been argued, specifically for food studies, that using traditional languages helps present a more complete story of the experiences of a community (Power, 2008). OPCN's way of living revolves around four major concepts, presented in this paper in their Cree language. They are; *Kistihdiminowok*, which means the foundation of relationship is respect. The concept describes a practice in the community that all living and natural beings are related to each other based on how they respect each other. *Okanatawewoh* is the second concept that indicates the major principle of understanding that a respectful relationship includes taking care of Mother Nature. The word refers to someone who responsibly cares for nature. The third concept is *wichihituwin* which explains the idea of resources in the community. The meaning of the word is something that is used to help another being in the community. This explains what people should do to maintain a respectful relationship, and demonstrates the value of caring for and helping others. *Wichihituwin* could be used to describe a number of things, from food to labour to a library or a book. This connotes the culture of being well collectively by the practice of sharing. *Pasekonekewin* is the word that refers to the outcome of the relationship. The word means taking someone by the hand and supporting him/her to stand. The outcome brings strength that helps people to sustain their challenges. Together, these four concepts define *Kakiesipimatisihk* which means "the way we live," or culture. In an ideal situation OPCN would like to have governance that is based on these understandings. Table 2 shows how IMP activities are enhancing livelihood relationship in OPCN.

Rethinking the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

The sustainable livelihoods practised through IMP is a process of well-being through relationships — personal, interpersonal, and collective. The only factor or "capital" that matters in the livelihood process is relationship — how the relationship with the world is viewed and how people are taking care of this relationship. Importantly, despite being regarded as having a livelihood disorder and acute poverty, OPCN has dared to start a community initiative with no mention of material capital. As IMP advisor Elder Vivian Moose said, "we need a promise to come together for our future and a name in Cree" (personal communication, 2012).

Certainly, this brings the question of whether Indigenous people are denying the idea of using money for progress. The answer is no. However, they do not place excessive growth and economic advancement as the most essential part of their lives. OPCN people do not care that people are empowered by having enough of the material capitals, but rather what their relationship with the capitals is. Elder Vivian's statement attests to the fact that OPCN's notion of well-being is effective and meaningful only when the economic empowerment contributes to the cultural integrity, peoplehood and self-determination (Corntassel, 2012). Hence, even the metaphorical association of the term capital to assess their livelihoods can be foreign and disempowering for them.

If we replace the term capital with the term relationship we bring about all possible answers to the livelihood wheel — relationships with society (community, land, water, animals), relationships with humans (how people use their labour for collective being), relationships with money (what role money is playing to keep the cultural practices) and relationships with nature (how relationships with nature is tied with food, friendship, families and health of nature). Indeed, as Anderson (2000) notes: "We exist because of and for

TABLE 2
Enhancing Livelihood Relationship with IMP

OPCN worldview	**Concepts in Cree**	**Relationship**	**Elaboration**	**IMP's contribution to livelihoods relationship**
Kakiesipimatisihk The way we live, culture of sharing	Kistihdiminowok *Respecting each other*	Relationship defined for individual	Individuals use of land and water and food and act towards community need	Bringing in community individuals in the program activities as trainer, volunteer and participants.
	Okanatawewoh *Taking care of Mother nature*	Relationship between a community and nature	Sustainable concept of conservation which means land, water, animals are part of the community	IMP has created a policy that is based on OPCN worldview — for example, harvest what you need and responsibly
	Wichihituwin Something that helps another person	Relationship between community, individuals and non-human	Purpose of money, food, labour, office space, book, social support, water, tree, medicine is validated when it is shared to help the other	IMP is contributing to the common culture of sharing. The hunting, fishing, berry picking activities strengthening bond between youth, elders and adults. As a community the IMP office has become a space of social gathering over food and traditional activities.
	Pasekonekewin Taking someone by the hand and supporting him or her to stand	Relationship between community, youth and knowledge	Purpose of relationship is to achieve good life and share knowledge with youth by teaching them why the *wichihituwin* concept is needed in a community	Low income families, Elders, single parents, diabetes patients are having access to healthy traditional food, which paves way for physical and mental healing.

the relationships we hold with everything around us" (p.46). The creation of IMP is the outcome of these relationships, reproduced knowledge that is helping them to heal from existing crises and shock.

OPCN's language in everyday life works as a metaphor that influences people's thoughts and actions. It helps to shape their worldview. For example, during a traditional food preparation workshop in IMP, OPCN food champion Hilda Dysart shared that the Cree word for medicinal Labrador tea is *Mawkopatikwa* which means something to keep forever. If this information were analysed by mainstream livelihoods research considering *Mawkopatikwa* as "natural capital", it would not explain the significance of the name of the medicine, nor why it has thrived for centuries as a medicine or the severity of loss that occurs when these medicines and other traditional food are flooded by hydroelectric dam

construction. Establishment of IMP program is reproducing traditional knowledge providing opportunities for relationship.

Contextually, Indigenous livelihood factors should be identified based on their wellbeing perspective: which part of relationship is keeping them well, which relationships are creating barriers to their well-being and most importantly, those relationships that are nourishing their self-determination in the midst of what OPCN people consider to be such social, cultural, political, economic and environmental challenges. The emphasis should be in the process of gaining strength for livelihoods instead of the deficit and crisis aspect. Process is critical to the understanding of Indigenous knowledge and is necessary in understanding Indigenous research. This means SLF should be remodelled and used for assessing livelihoods and changing policies to benefit sustainable, thriving and culturally rich people instead of "maximizing the benefit of the poor, hungry and vulnerable" (Simmons, 2007, p. 29).

For a methodology to be essential to Indigenous communities it must be relevant and meaningful rather than a definition composed of technical terms unrelated and unexplained to the people whose life is being analyzed. Hart (2010) has argued that Indigenous research values must include, in part, "Indigenous control over research, which can be demonstrated by having Indigenous people developing, approving, and implementing the research" (p.9). For example, while discussing sustainable livelihoods through IMP, OPCN people have used the tree as a metaphor to explain their roots, livelihoods and collective wellbeing, with the insight of IMP woven into this paper as a relation and an author.

Conclusion

Although SLF analysis is gradually getting its much-needed tone from contemporary scholars (Scoon, 2009; Wilshusen, 2014; Sakdapolrak, 2014), in many studies the analysis continues to fixate with the asset pentagon, a "formula/checklist" that fails to address the impact of capitalism in the social order (Wilshusen, 2014). OPCN's case study attests to the loose extension of the term capital with any livelihoods factors (social, cultural, physical, human, financial or natural) an illusionary projection of empowerment.

Throughout the article we have tried to emphasize that Indigenous livelihood is engraved in cultural practices, sovereignty and self- determination (Corntassel, 2008; Kamal et. al. 2015). For Indigenous peoples, livelihood is sustainable when cultural practices are performed in a sovereign land and the livelihood methods are self-determined. OPCN started IMP without little outside "capital" and started to work towards their self-determined needs using existing and new relationships in the community. IMP has paved ways for livelihoods capability beyond capitalist aspirations, even within modern state regimes. This highlights the strength of culturally relevant participatory studies based on Indigenous relationships and sense of community.

Finally, our discussion reasserts the importance of enriching the body of literature that can invest in the methods of applying SLF for cultural integration of thoughts and making room for ethical, participatory and nonlinear approach. This process is crucial particularly in the era of contemporary colonialism as Indigenous views of sustainability and Indigenous knowledges are continually denied at the international level, with Indigenous sovereignty and cultural rights overshadowed by the state regulations (Corntassel, 2014; Kamal et al. 2015). The lacunae in the Millennium Development Goals and discriminatory modern treaties for Indigenous peoples at the state level are some examples in this context (Corntassel,

2014, p. 69). There is a need, and moreover, a great opportunity for Indigenous research and worldviews to contribute to livelihood analysis as presented by community, and in particular through traditional languages. It is here, that research on livelihood studies should shift and be part of the "decolonization" process (Settee, 2013; Absolon, 2010; Kovach, 2005; Smith, 1999).

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Examining Aboriginal Employment: 2007–2014

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ABSTRACT

The employment, unemployment and participation rates are examined for Aboriginals living off-reserve in Canada from 2007 to 2014 as well as for non-Aboriginals for those 15 years and older. Employment is analyzed by educational level, gender and age, province and by industrial sector. The rates of employment and unemployment for Aboriginals have continued to improve in 2014, lessening the differences with non-Aboriginals. These improvements occurred in each age category for both men and women, except for the unemployment rate of Aboriginal women in the 25 to 54 year old group. The Metis employment, participation and unemployment rates have been more favourable than the First Nations for each year from 2007 to 2014.

The level of education obtained continued to show a strong positive relationship with the rate of employment for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. When employment rates are examined by educational level, there is very little difference between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. However educational level does not explain the differences in unemployment rates. The highest rate of employment for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals in 2014 continued to be in Alberta. Employment continued to increase in the services-producing sector, but decreased in the goods-producing sector for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals in 2014.

Introduction

The state of an economy is often measured by its gross domestic product or GDP. An alternative way of assessing an economy, particularly from the perspective of the population, is by examining the rates of employment, unemployment and participation. In this article these are examined for Aboriginals living off-reserve and who are 15 years and older. All references are to this population. Comparison data is provided for non-Aboriginals in Canada. The article contains eight years of data, from 2007 to 2014, to provide a clearer understanding of the changes that have been occurring.

Employment and Unemployment Rates: Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals

The Aboriginal employment and unemployment rates have improved each year since 2010. The Aboriginal employment rate has increased since 2010 from 53.5 to 57.0 in 2014, while for non-Aboriginals the rate had been slowly increasing from 61.6 in 2009 to 61.9 in 2013, but decreased to 61.5 in 2014. Historically, the employment rate for Aboriginals has been considerably lower than for non-Aboriginals; however, the gap which was 8.2 in 2010 (61.7 vs. 53.5) has narrowed each year until 2014, when it was 4.5 (61.5 vs. 57). However, the rates of employment and the gap in employment rates have not recovered from their 2008 pre-recession levels for Aboriginals of 59.6 and 63.5 for non-Aboriginals, with a gap of 3.9.

The unemployment rates for Aboriginals have declined each year since 2010, from a rate of 14.1 to 11.2 in 2014. Non-Aboriginals unemployment rates started dropping a year earlier in 2009, and have declined every year since then. Their unemployment rates in 2009 were 8.2 and 6.8 in 2014. The difference in the unemployment rates narrowed from 6.2 in 2009 (14.1 versus 7.9) to 4.2 in 2014 (11.2 versus 6.8).

Participation Rates: Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals

The participation rate is the labour force (which consists of those employed and those unemployed) divided by the population. The higher the participation 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 has fluctuated since 2007, when it was 65.0, increasing in some years and decreasing in others, with it being 64.2 in 2014. In contrast the non-Aboriginal participation rate has mainly decreased since 2007 when it was 67.5 to 66.0 in 2014. (See Table 1.)

Employment, Participation and Unemployment Rates: First Nations, Metis, Inuits and Others

The employment, participation and unemployment rates have been more favourable for the Metis than for First Nations, for each year since 2007. The employment rate for First Nations has been improving since 2010, when it was at 48.3 to 53.8 in 2014. However, this compares poorly to the employment rates for Metis, which was 58.7 in 2010 and 60.6 in

TABLE 1
Employment, Participation and Unemployment Rates:
Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals
Living off Reserves in Canada, 15 years and older
(In thousands, except for rates)

	Aboriginal							
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**
Population	638.3	672.5	706.5	740.5	772.8	798.2	824.3	850.3
Labour Force	415.1	446.0	464.3	460.8	489.8	516.7	528.7	545.8
Employment	370.7	400.6	400.7	395.9	425.7	449.9	466.8	484.8
Full-time Employment	299.6	325.2	324.7	314.3	337.2	359.8	374.0	384.1
Part-time Employment	71.1	75.4	76.1	81.6	88.6	90.1	92.8	100.7
Unemployment	44.4	45.4	63.6	64.8	64.1	66.9	61.9	60.9
Not in Labour Force	223.2	226.5	242.2	279.7	283.0	281.5	295.6	304.5
Unemployment Rate	**10.7**	**10.2**	**13.7**	**14.1**	**13.1**	**12.9**	**11.7**	**11.2**
Participation Rate	65.0	66.3	65.7	62.2	63.4	64.7	64.1	**64.2**
Employment Rate	**58.1**	**59.6**	**56.7**	**53.5**	**55.1**	**56.4**	**56.6**	**57.0**

	Non-Aboriginal							
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**
Unemployment Rate	**5.9**	**6.0**	**56.6**	**7.9**	**7.4**	**7.2**	**6.9**	**6.8**
Participation Rate	**67.5**	67.6	13.8	67.0	66.8	66.5	66.5	**66.0**
Employment Rate	**63.5**	**63.5**	**65.7**	**61.7**	**61.8**	**61.8**	**61.9**	**61.5**

Population	is Labour Force and Not in the Labour Force
Labour force (age 15 plus)	is Employment + Unemloyment
Not in the Labour Force	is Population less those Employed and Unemployment
Unemployment	is Not employed and seeking empoyment
Unemployment rate	is Unemployment/Labour force
Participation rate	is Labour Force/Population
Employment rate	is Employment/Population

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

2014. Despite these improvements, the employment rates have not recovered from their highest levels in 2008, when they were 55.5 for First Nations and 63.5 for both Metis and non-Aboriginals. The differences in the employment rates between the First Nations and Metis have decreased from 10.4 in 2010 (58.7 versus 48.3) to 6.8 in 2014 (60.6 versus 53.8). The gap in the employment rates also decreased between the Metis and non-Aboriginals from 3.0 in 2010 (61.7 versus 58.7) to 0.9 in 2014 (61.5 versus 60.6). The employment rates for Inuits and for Others, which are those who are part First Nations, Metis and/or Inuit, decreased from 2008 to 2010 and increased each year from 2010 to 2013, but dramatically decreased in 2014. The size of the decreases from 2013 to 2014, including the decreases in

the reported populations, raises the question as to whether there may be an error with regard to the figures reported for 2014.

The unemployment rates for First Nations are significantly higher than they are for Metis. However, the difference decreased from a high of 5.7 in 2010 (11.4 versus 17.1) to 1.9 in 2014 (12.1 versus 10.2). However, the 2014 unemployment rates of 12.1 for First Nations and 10.2 for Metis should be unacceptable when compared with the rate of unemployment of 6.8 for non-Aboriginals. The unemployment rates for Inuits and Others are not reported because of the small numbers in that category.

The Metis participation rates have been higher than non-Aboriginals for each year since 2009. The participation rates for the Metis have also been higher than for the Inuits since 2011. The Inuits participation rates have been higher than Others from 2007 to 2014. The participation rate for Others had been higher than the First Nations from 2007 to 2013. (See Table 2.)

Employment Rates by Age and Gender

Employment rates for Aboriginal men and women increased for all age categories in 2014 and have increased each year since 2010, with two exceptions for both men and women. In 2013 employment rates declined for men in the 25–54 year old and 55 years and older categories and declined for women in 2011 for those 55 years and older and in 2012 for 15 to 24 years old.

The employment rate for Aboriginal men in 2014 increased to 59.7 from 59.2 in 2013. This compares to rates for non-Aboriginal men in 2014 of 65.5 and 65.7 in 2013. The rate of 59.7 for Aboriginal men in 2014 is considerably below its highest rate of 65.4. The difference between the employment rate for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginal men in the important 25 to 54 age category is significant. In 2014 the gap was 12.5 (85.4 for non-Aboriginals versus 72.9 for Aboriginals).

The employment rate of 54.6 for women in 2014 is the highest it has been from 2007 to 2014, somewhat higher than its previous highest rate of 54.3. This 2014 employment of 54.6 compares to a rate of 57.7 in 2014 for non-Aboriginal women. The gap between the employment rates for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women in 2014 was 3.1 (57.7 versus 54.6). This is smaller than the gap of 5.8 for men (65.5 versus 59.7). The employment rates have been consistently higher for men than for women for both Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. (See Table 3.)

Unemployment Rates by Age and Gender

The unemployment rate for Aboriginal men has declined each year since its high in 2010 of 15.7 to 11.9 in 2014. Each of the three age categories of Aboriginal men experienced lower unemployment rates in 2014 than in 2013. Although there has been significant improvement, the unemployment rates for Aboriginal men are still higher than its low of 10.3 in 2008 and far worse than the non-Aboriginal unemployment rate of 7.3 in 2014. The unemployment rate for Aboriginal men is 4.6 higher than for non-Aboriginal men (11.9 verses 7.3).

For Aboriginal women the 2014 unemployment rate of 10.4 decreased from its high in 2012 of 12.6. The 10.4 rate of 2014 is close to its lowest level of 10.0 in 2008. The decrease in their unemployment rate in 2014 is attributable to Aboriginal women in the 15–24 year

TABLE 2
Employment, Participation and Unemployment Rates:
First Nations, Métis, Inuits and Others

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Non-Aboriginal								
Population	25823	26152	26498	26834	27141	27486	27823	28131
Unemployment rate	5.9	6.0	8.2	7.9	7.4	7.2	6.9	**6.8**
Participation rate	67.5	67.6	67.1	67.0	66.8	66.5	66.5	66.0
Employment rate	**63.5**	**63.5**	61.6	**61.7**	61.8	61.8	61.9	**61.5**
Aboriginal								
Population	638.3	672.5	706.5	740.5	772.8	798.2	824.3	850.3
Unemployment rate	10.7	10.2	13.7	14.1	13.1	12.9	11.7	11.2
Participation rate	65.0	66.3	65.7	62.2	63.4	64.7	64.1	64.2
Employment rate	58.1	59.6	56.7	53.5	55.1	56.4	56.6	57.0
First Nations								
Population	303.8	324.2	344.5	364.8	383.2	394.3	405.5	417.3
Unemployment rate	12.5	12.5	15.9	**17.1**	16.8	15.7	13.5	**12.1**
Participation rate	62.4	63.5	62.5	58.3	59.7	62.5	60.9	61.2
Employment rate	**54.6**	**55.5**	52.5	**48.3**	49.6	52.7	52.6	**53.8**
Métis								
Population	320.7	334.7	349.8	361.6	373.2	387.3	402.3	417.5
Unemployment rate	9.2	8.0	11.6	**11.4**	9.8	10.5	10.1	**10.2**
Participation rate	67.3	69.0	68.9	66.2	67.4	67.1	67.3	67.5
Employment rate	**61.2**	**63.5**	60.9	**58.7**	60.8	60.0	60.5	**60.6**
Other								
Population	13.8	13.6	12.2	14.1	16.4	16.6	16.6	15.5
Unemployment rate	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Participation rate	69.8	67.6	66.3	61.4	59.2	64.0	68.0	54.6
Employment rate	63.5	59.4	55.8	52.8	53.1	58.8	60.8	47.5
Inuits								
Population	12.0	10.5	10.4	12.1	14.0	13.7	13.9	11.7
Unemployment rate	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Participation rate	71.0	69.5	67.6	64.6	61.0	64.5	69.6	56.7
Employment rate	65.1	62.3	56.7	54.9	55.6	59.3	64.0	48.6

NOTE: Table cells showing 0.0 refer to estimates that are suppressed (cannot be published) because they are below the confidentiality threshold.The LFS estimates are based on a sample and are therefore subject to sampling variability. As a result, monthly estimates will show more variability than trends observed over longer time periods. Estimates for smaller geographic areas or industries also have more variability. For an explanation of sampling variability of estimates and how to use standard errors to assess this variability, consult the 'Estimates quality' section of the publication Labour Force Information

The confidentiality threshold is 200 for Canada.

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

TABLE 3
Employment Rates by Age and Gender
Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals

	Aboriginal							
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**
Both Sexes								
15 Years and Over	58.1	**59.6**	56.7	53.5	55.1	56.4	**56.6**	**57.0**
15–24 Years	49.8	52.8	46.4	45.2	47.1	45.7	**49.2**	**50.4**
25–54 Years	69.9	70.8	68.8	65.8	67.3	69.3	**69.2**	**69.3**
55 Years and Over	32.5	33.4	34.3	29.8	32.4	**34.5**	**33.2**	**34.8**
Men								
15 Years And Over	62.9	**65.4**	59.7	55.4	58.0	**60.5**	**59.2**	**59.7**
15–-24 Years	50.9	55.3	47.8	44.6	47.1	47.5	**49.5**	**51.8**
25–54 Years	75.5	77.0	72.8	69.5	70.9	**73.8**	**72.8**	**72.9**
55 Years and Over	38.7	38.5	36.9	29.7	37.0	**41.2**	**34.8**	**37.0**
Women								
15 Years and Over	53.7	**54.3**	54.0	51.7	52.4	52.6	**54.3**	**54.6**
15–24 Years	48.7	50.8	45.1	45.8	**47.1**	**43.9**	**49.0**	**49.1**
25–54 Years	64.6	64.7	65.2	62.4	64.1	65.2	**65.8**	**66.1**
55 Years and Over	27.3	29.4	31.8	**29.9**	**28.3**	28.6	**31.7**	**32.8**

	Non-Aboriginal							
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**
Both Sexes								
15 Years and Over	63.5	63.5	61.6	61.7	61.8	61.8	61.9	61.5
15–24 Years	59.8	59.8	55.6	55.2	55.6	54.7	55.3	55.8
25–54 Years	82.5	82.6	80.6	80.9	81.3	81.7	82.0	81.6
55 Years and Over	31.7	32.4	32.7	33.6	33.9	34.4	35.0	35.1
Men								
15 Years And Over	68.0	68.0	65.1	65.5	65.9	65.6	65.7	**65.5**
15–-24 Years	59.4	59.1	53.6	53.4	54.4	53.4	54.3	54.3
25–54 Years	86.5	86.8	83.7	84.2	85.1	85.4	85.5	**85.4**
55 Years and Over	38.1	38.5	38.3	39.4	39.6	39.9	40.4	40.6
Women								
15 Years and Over	59.1	59.1	58.1	58.0	57.9	58.0	58.2	**57.7**
15–24 Years	60.2	60.4	57.7	57.1	56.9	56.1	56.4	57.3
25–54 Years	78.5	78.3	77.4	77.5	77.6	78.1	78.5	77.8
55 Years and Over	26.0	27.1	27.7	28.4	28.8	29.5	30.1	30.1

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

age group and those 55 years and older who had lower unemployment rates in 2014 compared to 2013. Women in the 25–54 age group had a higher unemployment rate. Non-Aboriginal women had an unemployment rate of 6.3 in 2014. The difference in the unemployment rate for Aboriginal women and non-Aboriginal women was 4.1 (10.4 versus 6.3) in 2014. (See Table 4.)

Employment Rates by Educational Level

A strong positive relationship exists between the level of education completed and higher rates of employment for both Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. However, those who had some post-secondary education, but did not complete their certificate or diploma program, had a lower employment rate than those who graduated high school.

Employment rates for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals are very similar when comparing the educational level each obtained. This is highly significant. In 2014 the employment rate for non-Aboriginals was 61.5 and it was 57 for Aboriginals, a difference of 4.5. However, when the same level of education is compared, the employment rate for non-Aboriginals is slightly higher for some levels of education, and somewhat lower for other levels of education. Specifically, in 2014 for High School and University graduates, employment rates were higher for Aboriginals than for non-Aboriginals by 2.7 (62.6 versus 59.9) and 4.3 (78.2 versus 73.9), respectively. For those with less than a High School graduation, those with some post-secondary education and those with a post-secondary certificate or diploma, the non-Aboriginal employment rate was higher by 0.4 (32.8 versus 32.4) and by 1.6 (58.9 versus 57.3) and by 1.2 (70.2 versus 69), respectively. Thus in 2014 employment rates were higher for Aboriginals by 2.7 and 4.3 for certain levels of education and lower by 0.4, 1.2 and 1.6 for other levels of education.

An explanation as to why the overall employment rates are lower for Aboriginals (61.5 versus 57) is that a much larger proportion of Aboriginals have not completed high school. In 2014, 17.6 percent of the non-Aboriginal population had less than a high school education, while 28.5 percent of Aboriginals had less than a high school graduation. Fortunately, the percent of those without having graduated from high school for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals has been decreasing every year since 2007, with the exception of 2010 for Aboriginals.

Full-time Employment by Educational Level

The percent of employees working full time declined in 2014 for all educational levels, with one exception. It remained the same for non-Aboriginals with a post-secondary certificate or diploma. The largest drop in 2014 in the percent employed full-time occurred for Aboriginals with less than a high school education. This was a decline of 3.1 (68.7 versus 65.6). Those who did not complete high school and those who had only some post-secondary education had the lowest percentages of full-time employment.

Unemployment rates by Education Level

The unemployment rates for Aboriginals are significantly higher than they are for non-Aboriginals (11.2 versus 6.8 in 2014). This holds true even when comparing unemployment levels by educational level, with the exception of those who obtained a University degree.

TABLE 4
Unemployment Rates by Age and Gender
Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals

	Aboriginal							
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**
Both Sexes								
15 Years and Over	10.7	10.2	13.7	14.1	13.1	12.9	**11.7**	**11.2**
15–24 Years	16.9	15.1	22.5	21.1	19.7	21.3	**17.8**	**16.7**
25–54 Years	8.9	9.1	11.5	12.1	11.1	10.8	**10.1**	**9.8**
55 Years and Over	8.4	6.3	10.4	11.7	11.3	9.3	**9.3**	**8.3**
Men								
15 Years And Over	11.2	**10.3**	15.2	**15.7**	**14.9**	**13.2**	**12.8**	**11.9**
15–-24 Years	18.5	16.5	24.3	24.5	23.1	21.0	**19.3**	**17.6**
25–54 Years	9.1	9.1	12.6	13.0	12.5	11.1	**11.1**	**10.3**
55 Years and Over	9.6	0.0	13.3	14.5	12.5	10.5	**11.0**	**9.6**
Women								
15 Years and Over	10.1	**10.0**	12.1	12.4	11.1	**12.6**	**10.6**	**10.4**
15–24 Years	15.3	13.9	20.6	17.8	16.1	21.7	**16.4**	**15.7**
25–54 Years	8.7	9.2	10.3	11.1	9.6	10.5	**9.1**	**9.4**
55 Years and Over	0.0	0.0	7.0	9.2	9.8	7.7	**7.6**	**6.8**

	Non-Aboriginal							
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**
Both Sexes								
15 Years and Over	5.9	6.0	8.2	7.9	7.4	7.2	6.9	6.8
15–24 Years	11.0	11.5	15.1	14.7	14.1	14.2	13.6	13.4
25–54 Years	5.0	5.0	7.0	6.8	6.2	5.9	5.8	5.7
55 Years and Over	4.8	5.0	6.5	6.2	6.2	5.9	5.9	5.7
Men								
15 Years And Over	6.3	6.5	9.4	8.7	7.8	7.6	7.4	**7.3**
15–-24 Years	12.1	12.9	18.2	17.1	15.8	15.9	15.0	14.9
25–54 Years	5.3	5.3	8.0	7.3	6.3	6.2	6.0	5.9
55 Years and Over	4.9	5.2	7.4	6.9	6.7	6.2	6.3	6.3
Women								
15 Years and Over	5.6	5.6	6.9	7.1	6.9	6.7	6.5	**6.3**
15–24 Years	9.9	10.0	12.0	12.4	12.2	12.4	12.0	11.8
25–54 Years	4.7	4.7	6.0	6.3	5.9	5.6	5.5	5.4
55 Years and Over	4.7	4.6	5.4	5.4	5.7	5.5	5.4	5.0

NOTE: Table cells showing 0.0 refer to estimates that are suppressed (cannot be published) because they are below the confidentiality threshold.The LFS estimates are based on a sample and are therefore subject to sampling variability. As a result, monthly estimates will show more variability than trends observed over longer time periods. Estimates for smaller geographic areas or industries also have more variability. For an explanation of sampling variability of estimates and how to use standard errors to assess this variability, consult the 'Estimates quality' section of the publication Labour Force Information (Catalogue number 71-001-X).

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

That is, unlike employment rates, which are similar for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals when controlling for education, unemployment rates are consistently higher for Aboriginals, even when comparing similar levels of education. For example, Aboriginals who graduated high school had an unemployment rate of 11.2 in 2014, compared with non-Aboriginal high school graduates who had a 7.5 unemployment rate. For those who did not complete high school the unemployment rates were 20.7 for Aboriginals and 13.6 for non-Aboriginals.

Unemployment rates decreased as the level of education completed increased for both Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. Overall, the unemployment rate has decreased since 2010; however, there has not been a consistent pattern of decreases when examined by educational level. Further, the unemployment levels were higher in 2014 than they were at their low points since 2007, regardless of the educational level achieved. (See Table 5.)

TABLE 5
Employment and Unemployment by Eduatuonal Level
Aboriginals and Non-Aboriginals

	Aboriginal							
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Total, All Education Levels								
Percent of population	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Percent Employed Full-time	80.8	81.2	81.0	79.4	79.2	80.0	**80.1**	**79.2**
Unemployment rate	10.7	**10.2**	13.7	**14.1**	13.1	12.9	11.7	**11.2**
Employment rate	58.1	**59.6**	56.7	**53.5**	55.1	56.4	56.6	**57.0**
Less than high school								
Employment Rate	**36.5**	**35.2**	**33.0**	**33.5**	**32.4**	**32.1**	**30.1**	**28.5**
Participation Rate	70.5	71.8	68.4	68.3	67.8	68.7	**68.7**	**65.6**
Population	**17.0**	16.2	23.2	**24.0**	22.7	21.7	19.6	**20.7**
Percent of Total Population	37.5	**39.8**	34.7	**31.8**	32.6	35.4	34.6	**32.4**
High School Graduate								
Percent of population	18.8	18.8	19.9	19.0	19.5	20.3	22.2	22.8
Percent Employed Full-time	83.2	83.4	81.7	81.3	78.5	80.7	80.0	78.9
Unemployment rate	9.0	**8.8**	13.3	**14.1**	13.0	13.3	**11.4**	**11.2**
Employment rate	**69.1**	67.2	62.5	**59.9**	62.3	61.1	62.2	**62.6**
Some Post-secondary								
Percent of population	10.2	10.6	10.1	10.6	10.5	9.0	8.5	8.4
Percent Employed Full-time	75.9	75.5	76.3	72.0	70.9	73.6	71.0	**68.7**
Unemployment rate	**10.6**	10.8	14.2	12.7	**14.7**	14.1	**12.2**	**12.1**
Employment rate	58.7	**62.3**	58.0	58.3	**54.3**	55.9	59.3	**57.3**
Post-secondary Certificate or Diploma								
Percent of population	28.3	28.1	29.2	29.5	29.8	30.0	30.4	30.9
Percent Employed Full-time	86.2	86.9	87.3	84.9	85.3	85.2	**86.4**	**85.8**
Unemployment rate	8.5	7.5	10.5	**10.6**	9.2	9.0	9.8	**8.1**
Employment rate	72.4	**72.9**	70.3	**66.1**	68.7	69.8	66.7	**69.0**
University Degree Bachelor and Above								
Percent of population	6.2	7.3	7.8	7.4	7.7	8.6	8.8	9.5
Percent Employed Full-time	86.4	85.4	86.5	85.7	87.4	86.3	**85.9**	**84.6**
Unemployment rate	5.0	5.9	**3.6**	5.3	4.7	**6.2**	3.9	**5.2**
Employment rate	79.6	79.7	**82.6**	77.6	80.0	**77.3**	80.6	**78.2**

continued on next page.

TABLE 5 continued.

	Non-Aboriginal							
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Total, All Education Levels								
Percent of population	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Percent Employed Full-time	81.7	81.5	80.7	80.5	80.8	81.1	**80.9**	**80.8**
Unemployment rate	5.9	6.0	8.2	7.9	7.4	7.2	6.9	**6.8**
Employment rate	63.5	63.5	61.6	61.7	61.8	61.8	61.9	**61.5**
Less than high school								
Employment Rate	**22.1**	**21.5**	**20.9**	**20.1**	**19.4**	**19.0**	**18.2**	**17.6**
Participation Rate	68.0	67.9	66.6	66.8	67.3	68.3	**68.0**	**67.5**
Population	11.9	11.8	15.6	15.6	15.0	14.5	14.3	**13.6**
Percent of Total Population	36.9	37.1	34.2	33.7	33.6	33.3	33.2	**32.8**
High School Graduate								
Percent of population	19.7	19.6	20.0	19.7	19.8	20.0	20.4	20.8
Percent Employed Full-time	82.5	82.6	81.1	80.4	80.4	80.7	**80.0**	**79.7**
Unemployment rate	6.0	6.3	9.1	8.6	7.8	7.7	7.7	**7.5**
Employment rate	65.3	64.6	61.7	61.7	61.6	61.0	60.6	**59.9**
Some Post-secondary								
Percent of population	8.1	8.4	8.2	8.2	7.9	7.4	7.2	7.0
Percent Employed Full-time	71.2	70.3	68.0	66.9	67.7	66.6	**66.0**	**65.1**
Unemployment rate	7.0	6.9	9.8	9.9	9.6	9.2	9.2	**9.5**
Employment rate	64.3	64.5	60.9	60.9	60.6	60.6	59.9	**58.9**
Post-secondary Certificate or Diploma								
Percent of population	30.5	30.5	30.7	31.0	31.3	31.4	31.3	31.4
Percent Employed Full-time	85.5	85.2	84.8	84.3	84.5	84.3	**84.4**	**84.4**
Unemployment rate	4.8	4.8	6.8	6.4	5.9	5.7.0	5.5	**5.4**
Employment rate	72.8	72.7	71.1	70.9	70.9	70.5	70.7	**70.2**
University Degree Bachelor and Above								
Percent of population	19.6	20.1	20.2	21.0	21.6	22.3	22.8	23.3
Percent Employed Full-time	86.7	86.1	85.4	85.3	85.2	85.8	**85.6**	**85.1**
Unemployment rate	3.7	4.1	5.1	5.3	4.9	5.0	4.7	**4.9**
Employment rate	76.7	76.2	75.6	75.2	74.6	74.7	74.5	**73.9**

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

Employment Rates and Population by Province/Region

Employment rates declined in 2014 in each province and the Atlantic region for non-Aboriginals. In contrast the overall employment rate increased for Aboriginals because of the increases that occurred in Ontario and Alberta; however, employment rates declined everywhere else. The employment rate was the highest in 2014 for Aboriginals in Alberta at 66.4 and elsewhere it ranged from 51.9 in Quebec to 56.9 in Saskatchewan. Employment rates were higher for non-Aboriginals than Aboriginals in every province and region for each year from 2007 to 2014.

The four Atlantic Provinces have been combined because of their small populations, which combined is smaller than any province. Manitoba's Aboriginal employment rate of 56.5 was the third highest in Canada in 2014, but it was also the lowest for Manitoba for the 2007 to 2014 period. Employment rates were at their lowest levels in 2014 for non-Aboriginals in Canada, the Atlantic Region, Quebec, Manitoba and British Columbia for the 2007 to 2014 period.

The Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations have increased each year since 2007 in each province and region, with the exception in 2014 of the Atlantic Region for non-Aboriginals. The combination of the increasing populations and decreasing employment rates may be an issue of concern in the future. (See Table 6.)

TABLE 6
Emplyment Rates and Population by Province/Region
Aboriginals and Non-Aboriginals

	Aboriginal							
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**
Canada								
Population	638	673	707	741	773	798	824	850
Employment rate	58.1	59.6	56.7	53.5	55.1	56.4	**56.6**	**57.0**
Atlantic Region								
Population	40.0	44.5	49.0	53.5	57.5	59.8	61.8	63.6
Employment rate	51.5	54.1	53.1	50.1	54.1	54.7	54.8	52.8
Quebec								
Population	62.8	67.6	72.5	77.3	81.7	84.3	87.0	89.8
Employment rate	46.3	54.2	55.7	45.2	47.8	48.4	**52.1**	**51.9**
Ontario								
Population	159.8	169.3	178.7	188.2	197.1	204.0	211.0	217.8
Employment rate	57.8	57.7	55.0	49.7	54.1	56.0	**52.4**	**55.9**
Manitoba								
Population	87.0	89.7	92.4	95.1	98.0	100.8	103.8	106.9
Employment rate	59.6	61.5	61.5	58.6	58.8	57.9	**57.8**	**56.5**
Saskatchewan								
Population	64.7	66.6	68.6	70.6	72.4	73.4	74.7	76.0
Employment rate	56.3	56.6	54.8	53.9	55.9	55.9	**59.0**	**56.9**
Alberta								
Population	111.8	116.3	120.8	125.3	129.9	134.9	140.4	145.9
Employment rate	66.9	65.5	59.9	61.0	59.9	62.9	**65.6**	**66.4**
British Columbia								
Population	112.2	118.4	124.4	130.5	136.3	140.9	145.6	150.3
Employment rate	58.4	61.7	55.6	54.0	53.7	55.2	**55.5**	**54.8**

continued on next page.

TABLE 6 continued.

	Non-Aboriginal							
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**
Canada								
Population	25823	26152	26498	26834	27141	27486	27823	28131
Employment rate	63.5	63.5	61.6	61.7	61.8	61.8	**61.9**	**61.5**
Atlantic Region								
Population	1871	1875	1883	1894	1902	1907	**1908**	**1906**
Employment rate	57.2	57.6	56.7	56.8	56.9	57.3	**57.2**	**56.7**
Quebec								
Population	6240	6315	6395	6477	6550	6615	6668	6712
Employment rate	61.0	60.9	59.6	60.2	60.0	59.8	**60.2**	**59.7**
Ontario								
Population	10161	10277	10394	10525	10653	10795	10932	11052
Employment rate	63.5	63.4	60.9	61.2	61.5	61.0	**61.4**	**61.1**
Manitoba								
Population	812	817	825	833	842	852	861	870
Employment rate	66.4	66.7	66.0	66.3	65.8	66.0	**65.9**	**65.2**
Saskatchewan								
Population	694	705	68.6	729	740	753	765	776
Employment rate	67.3	67.7	54.8	67.3	66.9	67.3	**68.2**	**68.0**
Alberta								
Population	2666	2734	2800	2843	2888	2960	3050	3136
Employment rate	71.8	72.3	69.8	68.5	69.9	70.5	**70.0**	**69.4**
British Columbia								
Population	3380	3430	3484	3533	3567	3604	3641	3679
Employment rate	63.3	63.2	60.9	60.9	60.4	60.6	**60.0**	**59.6**

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

Employment by Industrial Sector

Employment may also be analyzed by industrial sectors. The two broad categories that are generally used are the goods-producing sector and the services-producing sector. In 2014, the goods-producing sector accounted for 23.6 percent of the Aboriginal employment, while the services-producing sector accounted for 76.4 percent. For non-Aboriginals these were 21.8 percent and 78.2 percent respectively.

Aboriginal employment increased by 5.5 percent in the services-producing sector and declined by 1.0 percent in the goods-producing sector. In comparison non-Aboriginal employment increased 0.8 percent in the services-producing sector and declined by 0.3 percent in the goods-producing sector. The smaller percent changes for non-Aboriginals is influenced by their larger populations. The 5.5 percent increase in Aboriginal employment in the services-producing sector in 2014 over 2013 was 19,200 (370,400 versus 351,200) while the 0.8 percent increase for non-Aboriginals was 104,000 (13,530,000 versus 13,426,000).

Each of these sectors has sub-sectors. The largest percentage increases in employment for Aboriginals in 2014 occurred in the sub sectors of Other services 22.3%; Trade 12.2%; Finance, insurance, real estate and leasing 11.2%; Education, health and social services 8.3% and Accommodation and food services 6.9%. In the goods-producing sector the largest increase was in Construction 7.5%. Most other sub-sectors within the goods-producing sector experienced declines in employment. (See Table 7.)

Conclusion

The employment, participation and unemployment rates have improved each year for Aboriginals since 2010, with the exception of the participation rate, which declined in 2013. Although they have improved, they have not reached their pre-recession levels of 2008. These rates historically have been more favourable for non-Aboriginals than for Aboriginals; however, the gap in these rates has continued to narrow. The difference between the employment and unemployment rates is smaller for Metis and non-Aboriginals, but larger between First Nations and non-Aboriginals. In 2014 these rates improved for both Aboriginal men and women in each of the three age categories, except for women in the 25 to 54 age group. As completed levels of education increased, each of these three rates improved for both Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. Employment rates for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals are similar for those with the same level of education; however, unemployment rates are higher for Aboriginals with the same level of education as non-Aboriginals. Employment rates were the highest in Alberta as they have been since 2007. They increased in 2014 for Aboriginals in Alberta and in Ontario, but they decreased in every other province. For non-Aboriginals employment rates decreased in every province. Employment increased in the services-producing sector and decreased in the goods-producing sector for both Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals in 2014. Retail and wholesale trade and other services were the sub-sectors that had the highest percentage increases in employment for Aboriginals in 2014.

The employment picture has continued to improve for Aboriginals. However, much still needs to be done before Aboriginals are on an equal level with non-Aboriginals. One of the things that could be done, based upon the data in this study, is to take the actions needed to ensure that the youth complete high school and that they obtain as much education as would be beneficial to them.

REFERENCE

Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, 2014, personal correspondence.

TABLE 7

Employment by Industrial Sector

	Aboriginal								
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2014/13**
Total employed — **Figures are in thousand**	370.7	400.6	400.7	395.9	425.7	449.9	466.8	484.8	103.9%
Goods-producing sector	97.1	101.4	87.3	92.2	102.1	112.8	**115.6**	**114.4**	**99.0%**
• Natural Resources and Utilities	25.0	24.1	20.4	26.3	30.2	28.6	33.5	28.6	85.4%
Resource sectors	21.6	21.0	18.1	22.9	26.1	24.8	28.8	24.6	85.4%
Agriculture	4.8	4.1	3.4	4.5	5.7	5.4	5.0	5.1	102.0%
Forestry, fishing, mining, oil and gas	16.8	17.0	14.7	18.4	20.5	19.4	23.8	19.5	81.9%
Forestry & fishing	4.8	3.3	3.0	4.3	5.1	4.2	5.6	3.3	58.9%
Mining and oil and gas extraction	12.0	13.6	11.7	14.2	15.3	15.2	18.2	16.2	89.0%
Utilities	3.4	3.1	2.3	3.4	4.1	3.8	4.7	4.0	85.1%
Other goods producing	72.1	77.3	66.9	65.9	71.9	84.2	82.1	85.9	104.6%
Construction	35.7	41.4	41.7	40.2	41.6	49.1	**49.3**	**53.0**	**107.5%**
Manufacturing	36.4	35.8	25.2	25.7	30.3	35.1	32.9	32.9	100.0%
• Special grouping of Forestry and logging, wood, paper and allied	11.6	9.2	6.6	9.7	9.7	9.2	9.8	8.1	82.7%
Services-producing sector	273.6	299.2	313.4	303.7	323.6	337.1	**351.2**	**370.4**	**105.5%**
• Education & Health and Social Services	66.4	68.9	77.6	75.7	79.8	88.0	89.6	97.0	**108.3%**
Educational services	20.1	23.3	24.6	23.1	23.8	26.1	28.4	30.9	108.8%
Health care and social assistance	46.3	45.6	53.0	52.7	56.1	61.9	61.2	66.1	108.0%
• Public administration	25.3	29.5	30.8	34.0	32.5	36.4	32.1	31.7	98.8%
• Services industries except Education, Health and Social and Public admin.	182.0	200.8	205.1	194.0	211.3	212.7	229.5	241.7	105.3%
Trade	55.6	60.4	63.3	56.9	64.5	63.6	**66.3**	**74.4**	**112.2%**
Wholesale trade	9.6	11.4	12.4	10.3	9.7	11.6	12.6	14.7	116.7%
Retail trade	46.0	49.0	50.9	46.5	54.8	52.0	53.7	59.8	111.4%
Transportation and warehousing	19.5	21.9	22.1	20.6	22.6	21.3	25.2	23.3	92.5%
Finance, insurance, real estate and leasing	12.3	12.6	17.4	16.8	14.6	16.3	**18.7**	**20.8**	**111.2%**
Professional, scientific and technical services	12.0	11.4	11.8	11.7	13.1	15.6	18.1	15.8	87.3%
Management of companies, administrative and other support services	18.3	23.2	18.3	19.3	19.8	22.1	23.2	21.0	90.5%
Information, culture and recreation	14.6	19.4	19.1	15.2	17.4	19.6	16.5	17.4	105.5%
Accommodation and food services	33.1	33.0	34.3	35.2	38.9	38.8	**40.3**	**43.1**	**106.9%**
Other services	16.4	18.9	18.7	18.3	20.5	15.4	**21.1**	**25.8**	**122.3%**

continued on next page.

TABLE 7 continued.

	Non-Aboriginal								
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2014/13**
Total employed — **Figures are in thousan**d	16391	16602	16319	16555	16782	16977	17220	17310	100.5%
Goods-producing sector	3871	3877	3630	3631	3696	3759	**3794**	**3781**	**99.7%**
• Natural Resources and Utilities	790	792	763	745	754	776	784	785	100.2%
Resource sectors	656	649	622	608	621	646	654	653	99.9%
Agriculture	330	325	322	301	301	300	308	299	97.0%
Forestry, fishing, mining, oil and gas	326	324	300	306	320	347	345	353	102.4%
Forestry & fishing	79	72	65	68	63	65	63	62	98.4%
Mining and oil and gas extraction	247	252	234	238	257	282	283	292	103.3%
Utilities	134	143	142	138	133	129	130	133	102.0%
Other goods producing	3082	3085	2867	2885	2942	2984	3010	2995	99.5%
Construction	1092	1195	1150	1203	1253	1274	1320	1318	99.8%
Manufacturing	1990	1890	1718	1683	1689	1710	1690	1677	99.3%
• Special grouping of Forestry and logging, wood, paper and allied	280	260	230	224	222	220	207	225	108.8%
Services-producing sector	12519	12725	12689	12924	13086	13218	**13426**	**13530**	**100.8%**
• Education & Health and Social Services	2943	2983	3034	3129	3171	3260	3326	3357	100.9%
Educational services	1152	1140	1125	1143	1144	1182	1197	1205	100.6%
Health care and social assistance	1791	1843	1908	1987	2026	2079	2128	2152	101.1%
• Public administration	840	881	888	888	890	889	887	880	99.2%
• Services industries except Education, Health and Social and Public admin.	8736	8861	8767	8908	9026	9068	9214	9294	100.9%
Trade	2608	2617	2581	2622	2611	2594	2642	2654	100.5%
Wholesale trade	610	615	614	614	618	597	592	608	102.6%
Retail trade	1997	2002	1968	2008	1993	1997	2050	2046	99.8%
Transportation and warehousing	801	828	802	793	827	835	858	873	101.8%
Finance, insurance, real estate and leasing	1033	1047	1049	1056	1060	1045	1061	1063	100.2%
Professional, scientific and technical services	1111	1160	1136	1202	1249	1253	1292	1316	101.9%
Management of companies, administrative and other support services	678	682	666	672	675	683	718	714	99.5%
Information, culture and recreation	759	730	728	747	754	740	740	740	100.0%
Accommodation and food services	1039	1055	1042	1063	1101	1131	1129	1165	103.1%
Other services	708	742	763	753	749	788	775	770	99.4%

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

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Published jointly by the Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers (Cando) and Captus Press, the Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development (JAED) is a peer-reviewed journal for practitioners and scholars working and researching in areas relevant to Aboriginal economic development. Published yearly, the Journal is a unique resource for anyone interested in Aboriginal community economic development. Its intent is to explore ideas and build knowledge in the field of Aboriginal economic development theory and practice. The journal prefers a broad interpretation of research and knowledge and encourages a wide variety of contributions in this area.

Volume 10, Issue 1 of JAED will be published in fall 2015 in preparation for the Cando 23nd Annual National Conference & AGM. Papers should relate to one of the following areas:

- Aboriginal Community Economic and Enterprise Development
- Aboriginal Small Business and Entrepreneurship
- The Analysis of the Aboriginal Economy
- Sharing and/or Evaluating Current Aboriginal Economic Activity
- Aboriginal Corporate Responsibility, Social Auditing, and the Triple Bottom Line
- Economic Partnerships and Government Relationships
- The Relationship between Indigenous Knowledge and Economic Development
- Indigenous Land Management and Economic Development
- Aboriginal Organizations and Management
- International Aboriginal Trade and the Global Economy
- Aboriginal Community Development: The Role of Elders, Women and Youth
- Change: Traditional and Modern Aboriginal Economies
- An Historical Analysis of Aboriginal Economic Development in Canada
- The Role of Research in Aboriginal Community, Economic, and Business Development
- Community Wellness and Making Poverty History

Please send three copies of your manuscript. Contributions may vary in length, depending on the section they are written for. We are looking for submissions in the range of 15–20 pages, or about 4,000 words for research papers, about 1,000 words for book reviews, about 1,000 to 4,000 words for the state of the Aboriginal economy section, and about 2,000 to 3,000 words for the experience section. Manuscripts submitted should be single spaced with 1.5 inch margins all around and page numbers at the bottom middle. The title page should indicate the section for which you are submitting. All identifying information should be restricted to this one page. Review for publication will take approximately 8–12 weeks from time of receipt. Academic papers will be subject to the usual double-blind peer-review process.

Submissions may be forwarded to

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Submissions by e-mail are welcomed, in fact preferred. Please send the paper as an attachment to the e-mail address above. **The deadline for receipt of submissions for Volume 10, Issue 1, is March 31, 2016**. If your paper is not included in this issue due to space or deadlines, or needs extra work, it will be considered for publication in Volume 10, Issue 1. Should you require further information please contact Svitlana Konoval, Cando Executive & Administrative Services Coordinator at 1-800-463-9300 or skonoval@edo.ca. Research submissions should conform, where practical, to the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (APA, 6th edition); however, the Journal is flexible in its format and encourages creativity and innovation.

Submission of a manuscript implies commitment to publish in the Journal. Submission to JAED also implies that the manuscript has not been published elsewhere, nor is it under consideration by another journal. Authors who are in doubt about what constitutes prior publication should consult the editor.

The Journal features academic articles, examples from economic practitioners, book reviews and the state of the Aboriginal economy.

Learning from Experience from practitioners, academics, consultants and executives include interpreted case studies, evaluation and commentary on popular and current approaches and tools of Aboriginal economic development, advocacy of particular approaches and solutions, successful or failed efforts, and the identification of important economic development problems that are in need of solutions.

Lessons from Research from academics features scholarly inquiry, debate and commentary on how we frame, perceive, interpret, research and contribute to the field of Aboriginal economic development.

The State of the Aboriginal Economy will feature current views on the evolving state of the Aboriginal economy and responses to changes in the global economy, corporate activity, government policy — for example the Federal Framework on Aboriginal Economic Development, or the social economy.

Reviews of Current Books and Literature features recent literature exploring aspects of economic development relevant to Aboriginal peoples and community development.

We believe such submissions will be particularly valuable, and it is our objective to publish as many as possible, if not in this issue then in subsequent issues of the JAED and/or in Cando N-Side News. We want to know what people are doing, what is working, what is not working, and why.

We're committed to creating lasting partnerships in Aboriginal communities.

Enbridge delivers the energy that helps fuel people's quality of life. But we also deliver another kind of energy by partnering with Aboriginal communities across Canada. Whether it's creating employment opportunities through skills development and training programs, funding extracurricular activities at First Nations schools or engaging the community in environmental field studies—we are committed to maintaining and growing these important partnerships with our Aboriginal neighbours.

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