Journal of
ABORIGINAL
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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Captus Press

Journal of
Aboriginal Economic Development

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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.

Contents

The Artists

Mark Preston and Mark Rutledge

Mark Preston (Tenna-Tsa-Teh) Master of the Copper was born in Dawson City, Yukon Territory. He is of Tlingit and Irish ancestry and presently travels extensively into British Columbia and Yukon to market his work.

About his art, Mark states: 'when I think about what art is, it is more than illustration or objects to be doted over. Art is the magic the glue that binds and brings us together. It is the language that transcends its forms. Art gives us a reason to think, to ponder and speak our minds.

Mark Rutledge is Anishinaabe (Ojibway, Wolf Clan) who was born in Red Lake, Ontario. Mark grew up in Toronto where he received a Design Arts Diploma from Seneca College in 1996 and went on to earn his CGD™ Certification from the Graphic Designers of Canada. Mark founded Mark Rutledge Design most recently and has worked with many First Nations and Fortune 500 companies through out his 20-year career.

Mark believes strongly in sharing knowledge, and he has lectured and volunteered his time and expertise to business associations, students, and to professional designers throughout Canada.

Mark Preston
Two ravens
www.jewelry.freehosting.net
ravenshieldstudio@hotmail.com

Mark Rutledge
mark@markrutledge.ca
www.markrutledge.ca
(867) 335-8610

Artists' Statement
Partnerships for Prosperity

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Mark Preston and Mark Rutledge

Dakhl'awèdí (Eagle Clan) and Kùkhhittàn (Raven Child Clan) are two of many clans that the Yukon First Nations have. The Eagle symbolizes grace, power, and has great intellectual abilities. The Eagle is a sacred, wise and noble creature representing power and prestige to the Yukon First Nations. The gift the Eagle shares is the ability of foresight and an indication of good times to come.

In many stories, the Raven teaches us about life and right from wrong. The Raven symbolizes change in life, creativity, and humour. A key figure in Yukon First Nations' legends, the Raven is involved in many creation stories and is also recognized as the bringer of light as it is said that the Raven released the sun and moon.

The Eagle is represented here by the panel to the left, and the Raven is illustrated as he crosses the Yukon River.

The mighty Yukon River is shown to reflect the history that Yukon First Nations' people have with the land and the water. The Yukon River also represents the relationship that was built with other First Nation's and "outsiders" or non-Indigenous people as they established trade routes with them in partnership.

Throughout the history of the Yukon, its inhabitants have prospered by trading and working together. Only through collaboration and partnership have the people survived and thrived to build a Territory that is culturally rich and diverse.

Welcome to the 19th issue of the Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development (JAED), co-published by the Council for the Advancement of Native Development Offices (Cando), and Captus Press. In this issue we continue to offer new stories and articles by creative and eclectic writers, researchers, and community development practitioners and leaders.

This new issue coincides with an interesting time in our Indigenous history: October 2016 marks the twentieth anniversary of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). What have leaders and communities done to move forward the recommendations RCAP made 20 years ago?

In 1999, JAED published its first issue, featuring the proceedings of a symposium held in the fall of 1997, titled *The Cost of Doing Nothing: A Call to Action*. Sponsored by Cando and the Royal Bank of Canada (under the leadership of then Executive VP of Business Banking, Mr. Charles Coffey), the issue contained Cando's Statement on the Economic Development Recommendations of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. The Statement concluded with a "What Can You Do?" section:

> A keen sense of timing and a strong measure of good judgement on your part as the leaders of corporate Canada have brought you here today. We believe that your interests will be served as well if the Aboriginal population of the country has the opportunity to experience an increased standard of living. The development of Aboriginal peoples' economies provides new markets, new consumers with growing incomes and new business partners.
>
> The research of Aboriginal Business Canada shows that Aboriginal businesses, when started by women, have a higher chance of being here five years down the road than those started by their mainstream male counterparts. No group within Canada offers more potential to develop and maintain the small and medium business sector of the Canadian economy than Aboriginal people. No group within Canada is more dedicated to their development than Aboriginal people. No group within Canada has displayed more determination and spirit in changing their place in Canada than Aboriginal people.
>
> It is this spirit that we want to nurture. We want somehow to create the conditions under which this creativity, this perseverance, this desire to do things for ourselves is supported and encouraged to grow.
>
> We believe that the economic development recommendations of the Royal Commission will encourage and support this new spirit. The nine steps outlined by Professor Fred Wien in his paper are the foundation of this support. The recommendations put control back into the hands of Aboriginal people.
>
> Long term development agreements allow Aboriginal nations and communities to choose their own development path and give them a

base of resources to start to follow it. The rebuilding of economic institutions in Aboriginal nations and communities provides the mechanisms to support this development and enables governments to guide it. Development requires a concerted and co-ordinated effort of many parts of society.

It is our position that the government of Canada should adopt the economic development recommendations of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. However, that will not be sufficient. It will also take some action by those in this room. As you can see, Aboriginal communities across the country are already working on the development of their economies and their futures.

Your support of this effort is critical. To derive the benefits of increased volumes in your stores and operations, to increase investment levels in your banks, and to make significant improvements in your bottom line results, our people must experience sustained levels of economic activity. Heightened purchasing power for this segment of the Canadian population will create a win/win situation for all of us. You will see the spinoffs from improved Aboriginal economies. Heightened consumer spending resulting from improved economic development will translate into increased margins in all geographic regions and in all industrial sectors.

We have learned that development of our economies is not a task that we can undertake ourselves. Our economies are interwoven with yours in many ways. Your support and involvement are important and necessary....

Then turn to your colleagues and ask: what can you do to help create a place of dignity and respect for Aboriginal peoples in this country? What can you do to help develop Aboriginal peoples' economies? Buy from an Aboriginal supplier. Help a small Aboriginal business get started. Start an internship program to hire Aboriginal people. Support Aboriginal educational efforts.

These suggestions are the first steps you can take when you return to your offices this afternoon. I encourage each of you to extend your support through new and creative ways. The talents and skills that have produced your own success stories are needed throughout Aboriginal communities across this country.

Call your local business school or an Aboriginal organization. It could lead you to Aboriginal students or entrepreneurs who could benefit from the advice and guidance of a mentor. An invitation to a group of Aboriginal young people could lead to a talented pool of summer employees who need exposure to corporate environments. Support colleges and universities where Aboriginal students are pursuing postsecondary professional programs. Help establish programs in high schools to encourage Aboriginal children to stay in school. Encourage your employees to volunteer their time in helping Aboriginal primary school children start junior achievement programs. Encourage excellence and achievement for Aboriginal students through scholarships and bursaries.

The Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers is an organization dedicated to the rebuilding and strengthening of Aboriginal economies. It consists of approximately 350 economic development officers from communities all across Canada. It also has approximately fifty corporate partners who work with us in this daunting task. These partners are involved in some form or other

with Aboriginal businesses. All are making an excellent contribution to the development of Aboriginal economies.

It recently announced the first Aboriginal certification program for economic development officers in North America. This work has been the result of the efforts of CANDO's educational partners: seven colleges and universities across Canada who offer some form of education directed at Aboriginal economic development. We believe that this initiative, over time, will ensure that those who are working with us have a common understanding of the tasks and the skills to perform them.

CANDO's efforts as an organization are directed toward those on the front lines of economic development: the economic development officers. It provides support, advice, training and information to help them do their jobs. We hope that you can become involved in our work. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal People's is the most expensive inquiry ever in the history of Canada. It conducted its work in a spirit of optimism and believed that real and meaningful change is possible. It believed that Canadians are generous and desirous of a new relationship with Aboriginal peoples.

The direction that the Royal Commission laid out is, in our view, the correct path to follow to create economic and social justice for Aboriginal peoples. The work that follows from the Commission's recommendation is important work for Canada and for Aboriginal people. It is the work of a generation and it is the work of all Canadians.

<div align="center">(David Newhouse and Corinne Mount Pleasant-Jetté, pp. 133–135)</div>

Today, we at JAED ask: What have leaders and/or communities done since that time? How has that worked out? What still needs to be accomplished? What could be done differently?

June 2, 2016, also marks the first anniversary of the publication of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*. What are individuals and institutions doing to prepare for the challenges set out in the TRC's recommendations?

There is a great deal to discuss, contemplate, and share at this particular time in history. We hope to hear about how you or your community has addressed the challenges set out in these two important documents.

On behalf of Cando and Captus Press, we hope you enjoy this issue of JAED, and consider becoming a contributor to the next journal. Thank you.

Warren Weir

Introduction

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Wanda Wuttunee

This issue boasts a diverse group of individuals and organizations that are achieving success in their economic initiatives.

The Tahltan Nation in British Columbia is using a nation building model to guide success that takes into account their way of life, the marketplace, and business partnerships. Their unemployment rate at 98%, initially, dropped at an astonishing rate to 0%. Read their story that they are so proud to share.

At the other end of the country, New Brunswick Aboriginal Women's Mentoring Circle is focused on business women's success. Their model focuses on mentoring; but because of the weather and distance, the program is virtual. Aftercare includes an age-appropriate multigenerational mentorship program. The framework offers an approach tailored to a specific portion of the population.

The 2015 Economic Developer of the Year profiles the winners in three categories. The individual economic developer award winner is Cliff Fregin, a member of the Old Masset Village on Haida Gwaii, has been involved in Aboriginal economic development for almost 30 years. Read how he has worked to benefit his community. The community category recognition went to Penticton Indian Band Development Corporation for their work in building diverse business interests. They work at partnerships with a variety of external parties while holding to their community priorities. The private sector award recognizes the work that Spirit Staffing & Consulting has done for 16 years building a reputable employment agency.

Finally, communities that are fine-tuning their approach to board governance or are canvassing the ways that they might organize new boards will find "A Basic Primer on Organizational Governance" of interest. It sets out the Western approach to boards, which may well comple-

ment community priorities. It is also helpful to understand the ways you can improve on what is being done already. Business does not know ethnicity or gender, but business people can bring their perspectives and values to business in order to be successful on their terms while drawing on solid business principles that make sense.

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.

Creating Indigenous Economies

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A Nation Building Model

P. Jerry Asp

CO-FOUNDER & CHAIR OF THE GLOBAL INDIGENOUS DEVELOPMENT TRUST

Sonia Molodecky

CO-FOUNDER & PRESIDENT OF GLOBAL INDIGENOUS DEVELOPMENT TRUST

Samane Hemmat

VP PROGRAMS GLOBAL INDIGENOUS DEVELOPMENT TRUST

In history as well as in mythology, the Tahltan Indian people have always been acknowledged as the original inhabitants of the Stikine River watershed in northern British Columbia. Even though our people have lost the monopoly position of business in our own country, we are still active on many business fronts. Our present tribal objective is to increase our participation in all business that develops within the borders of our tribal territory so that we can again enjoy a self-sustaining, healthy and enterprising economy.

I. THE TAHLTAN NATION AND CREATING ECONOMY FROM A WAY OF LIFE

Made up of the Crow (Tsesk'iya) and the Wolf (Ch'ioyone) clans, The Tahltan Nation is a First Nations people in the interior of British Colombia, Canada. Comprised of 3 communities, 1,150 Tahltan's live on traditional Tahltan Lands in Dease Lake, Telegraph Creek and Iskut, more than 500 kilometers from the nearest city. The Tahltan's history is born from the Crow creation story that inspires determination, generosity and resourcefulness among its members.

Archaeological evidence has determined that the Tahltan people have continuously occupied this area for thousands of years, perhaps as many as 10,000 years. This is what is often referred to in poetic terms as "since time immemorial". The first white person to come into Tahltan country was Samuel Black who arrived in 1821 exploring for the Northwest

Trading Company. The Tahltan people never met Black and so it wasn't until 1838 when the second white person, Robert Campbell of the Hudson Bay Company, entered Tahltan territory that European contact with Tahltan people was first made. Tahltans had an elaborate trading economy already established when the H.B. Co. first encountered the Tahltan tribe. Although the H.B. Co. was very interested in immediately setting up a competing trading operation in Tahltan country, the Tahltan people blocked them for forty years so as to protect their own established trading economy. At that time Tahltans had an active commercial network based on their position as middleman between the coastal trade and the tribes living north and east of the Stikine country. They also traded their own fish and furs and other natural resources such as obsidian to all peoples who came into their country.

Tahltan people are very proud of their tradition of commercial enterprise and equally proud that they were able to protect their interests against the mighty H.B. Co. empire for those many years. It wasn't until the 1870s Cassiar gold rush, that the H.B. Co. was able to open its first trading post in Tahltan traditional territory.

While the history of the Tahltan People was one of trading and being entrepreneurs in North-Western BC, over time with the changes in traditional living and the cumulative effects of European settlement, families moved from supporting themselves through trapping and fishing to the wage economy. Low levels of education, skill development and economic opportunities resulted in poverty and a host of social problems from drug and alcohol addiction to high rates of suicide. By 1985 the Tahltan community on reserves were experiencing nearly 98% unemployment in the winter, and 65% unemployment in the summer, and almost 80% of Tahltan people were on welfare.

From 98% unemployment to 0%

To address the profound challenges facing the Tahltan Nation in the mid 1980's, the Tahltan Nation Development Corporation (TNDC) was formed in 1985 with the goal of driving widespread social and economic change.

This development corporation flourished into an incredibly successful business that today boasts:

- 8 divisions including aviation, construction and power lines, communication and IT, camp services and exploration, transportation and fuel, drilling and blasting, engineering
- 29 Joint Venture Partnerships
- $35 million worth of equipment
- Office complex worth $2 million
- $15 million worth of securities
- $23.7 million in revenue annually (2014–15 Fiscal Year)
- $13 million in paid wages (2014–2015 Fiscal Year)

What started out as an idea is now a corporation worth more than $50 million.

How did Tahltan's newly formed development corporation create such a strong economy that respects Tahltan culture, heritage, and traditions and does not pose irreparable damage to the environment? Jerry Asp, founder of the Tahltan Nation Development Corporation, outlines four key ingredients required for turning potential projects into sustainable long-term ventures:

(i)   Vision — a long-term vision of where you want to go
(ii)   Strategy — a long-term plan of how you will get there
(iii) Vehicle — an organizational structure to take you there
(iv)   Champion — a strong leader to lead the way

With this in mind and committed to a vision of a prosperous future, the TNDC asked itself two foundational questions:

(i)   How can our community accept natural resource development in a way that respects our priorities around the environment and culture?
(ii)   How can any partnership create long-term economic opportunity that improves the quality of life across the community?

With the Government planning a project on Tahltan lands, the TNDC began to negotiate for a Tahltan workforce for the project. This opportunity to take on work and have contracts was then leveraged to develop training programs, which further led to a skilled workforce. In 1987, the Tahltan Resource Development Policy was formed which was an important strategic document developed to prioritize employment and contracts and equity participation for Tahltans in any agreement. It required that before any resource development project could commence the Tahltan Tribal Council and developer had to into a project participation agreement that encompasses the following elements and basic principles:
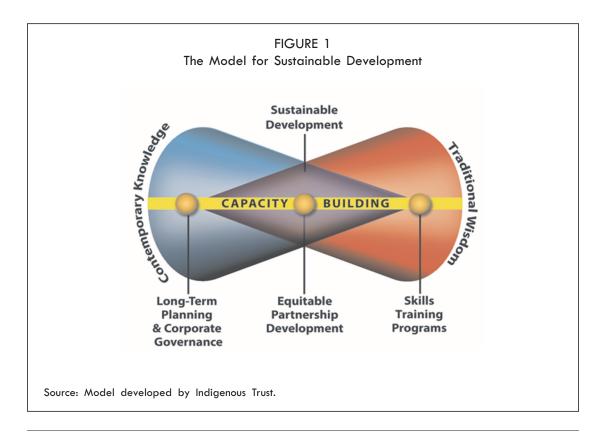
1. Assurance that the development will not pose a threat of irreparable environmental damage;
2. Assurance that the development will not jeopardize, prejudice, or otherwise compromise the outstanding Tahltan aboriginal rights claim;
3. Assurance that the project will provide more positive than negative social impacts on Tahltan people;
4. Provision for the widest possible opportunity for education and direct employment-related training for Tahltan people in connection with the project;
5. Provision for the widest possible employment opportunities for Tahltan people with respect to all phases of the development;
6. Provision for substantial equity participation by Tahltan in the total project;
7. Provision for the widest possible development of Tahltan business opportunities over which the developer may have control or influence; and
8. Provision for the developer to assist the Tahltans to accomplish the objectives stated above by providing financial and managerial assistance and advice where deemed necessary.

With a vision to eradicate unemployment in Tahltan territory, the TNDC created a strategy to achieve economic development in line with their expectations for environmental and cultural protection. The strategy was to negotiate agreements with mining companies. The economic development corporation was the vehicle for change. Through thick and thin, Jerry was the champion of a new way of doing business for First Nation's communities and the private sector. These projects were the first of their kind in Canada at the time and paved the way for equitable partnerships with industry in the mining and energy sectors, and long-term sustainable economic development.

II.   A NATION BUILDING MODEL FOR SUSTAINABLE INDIGENOUS LED ECONOMIC GROWTH

What makes modern Aboriginal economies such as the Tahltan Nation successful? Leadership is one key factor. The second is that they did not replace the old with the new, but rather created a third model of development — one that engages in ethically-driven public and private partnerships to support equality in economic development, while still preserving the values, heritage, and traditional governance mechanisms inherent to their communities. This model respects the traditions and heritage of the people and the environment and, at the same time, embraces modern technology and development.

Global Indigenous Development Trust (GIDT) Aboriginal leaders have applied these lessons learned and best practices to the indigenous development context around the world creating a new way of building sustainable indigenous economies outside of Canada, using Canadian best practices and experiences garnered over the past 40 years. Figure 1 represents GIDT's model for sustainable development in which both traditional wisdom and contemporary knowledge represent the two balanced poles that inform and invigorate each stage of the development process as it is implemented. The process begins with long-term planning and governance in the first stage; establishment of equitable partnerships in the second ongoing stage; in the third stage, Indigenous Peoples participate in on-the-job training opportunities and local product procurement possibilities created by the new equitable partnerships of stage two. Indigenous Trust's established capacity-building workshops and seminars underpin all three stages of economic development.
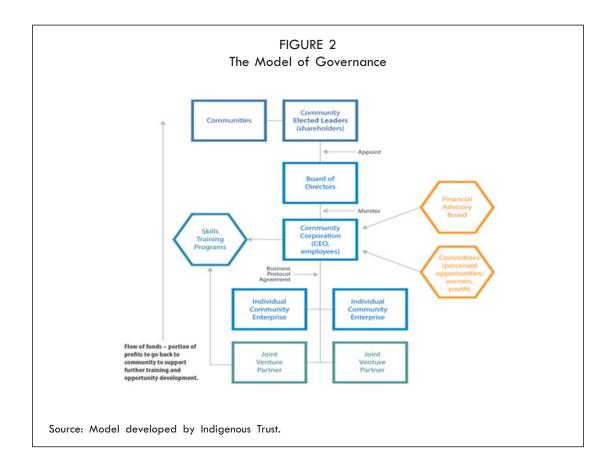

FIGURE 1
The Model for Sustainable Development

Source: Model developed by Indigenous Trust.

What makes this model so successful and what are the key defining factors of a sustainable pro-indigenous model for economic development?

1. Community Economic Governance Structures
2. Equitable Partnerships
3. Respect for Environment & Heritage underlying all projects

1.   Community Economic Governance Structures

Indigenous communities typically have very established and successful traditional governance models that have helped them survive for centuries, work well together and preserve their cultures and traditions. Yet, many communities' traditional governance systems lack an economic arm that can develop business opportunities, enter into contracts and partnerships and create a cash-based economy to supplement their traditional way of life. Indigenous Trust co-Founder P. Jerry Asp studied Aboriginal economic governance structures across Canada and looked at the main reasons why some succeeded and some failed. Conclusive evidence suggested that 97% of Canadian Aboriginal economic entities, which did not succeed, failed because they did not separate the political and economic arms of the community. Corruption and inefficiencies were the most prevalent reasons for downfalls. A separate entity solely responsible for economic activity that remains true to traditional values and norms was found to be the key to success.

FIGURE 2
The Model of Governance

Source: Model developed by Indigenous Trust.

These Economic Development Corporation structures that are run for and by the community, have been widely seen as successful in Canada and are beginning to be applied across the world.

2.   Equitable Partnerships: Joint Ventures and Other Strategic Alliances

Partnerships between corporations and community economic development corporations or other community enterprises are intended to assist communities develop capacity, skills and generate revenue for long-term socio-economic independence. A typical alliance may include the following aspects set out in the graph below.

While all partnerships may include some or all of these components, our experience has shown that there are two similar yet distinct streams of partnerships that communities can look to negotiate.

Business Partnerships (Revenue Sharing)

The main purpose of these strategic alliances is to assist the community enterprise in developing its expertise in a particular area in order to grow its Economic base. Alliances must be structured to bring value to both parties and strategically align interests and support corresponding weaknesses. Training is a major component of this partnership, to ensure that the community enterprise can build its own capacity in the given sector. As any other business arrangement, both parties earn a profit and take on risks and responsibilities of the busi-

FIGURE 3
The Model of Equitable Partnership

Source: Model developed by Tahltan Nation Development Corporation

ness and/or supply contract. Many times, the community enterprise will reinvest some of its profits into developing further training programs with its private sector partner for job advancement and management experience.

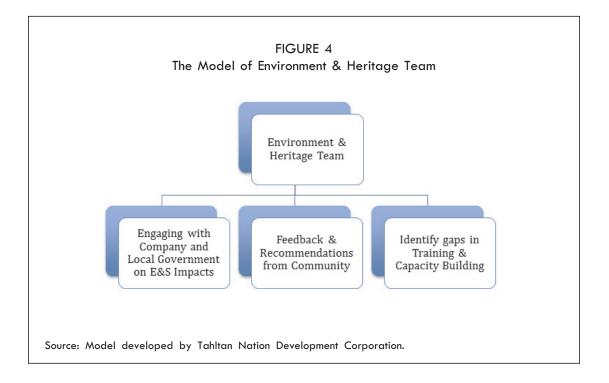### *Partnerships for Skills-Training*

The main purposes of these partnerships are for hands-on skills training and capacity-building experience. The best training is gained through real work experience. These partnerships are typically with corporations, cooperatives or associations, governments, and can range from on-the-job training and work experience to mentorship to internships. We work with local and international corporations to deliver the most beneficial and equitable opportunities for communities we work with, that often times can lead to employment after the training period is completed. We also work with academic institutions such as Canadian Colleges to develop training programs with our private sector partners that can best leverage existing and future opportunities in the marketplace.

3.   Respect for Environment and Heritage underlying All Projects

In order to ensure that new projects respect and engage with traditional knowledge, heritage, culture and the environment, an environment and heritage team will help community decision makers ensure that the physical environment and cultural heritage of the community remain uncompromised throughout all stages of a project. Depending on the kind of development the community would like to see on their land, the team should consist of individuals that have knowledge and experience in some or all of the following fields:

- Metal Leaching/Acid Rock Drainage
- Wildlife and Ecosystem Mapping
- Fish and Navigable Waters
- Water Quality and Management
- Access Road
- Mining Planning, Operations and Closure, Power Transmission Corridor
- Social and Culture
- Legal
- Heritage
- Economic
- Cumulative Impacts
- Administrative
- Training
- Writer

Where a particular expertise is required, but deficient in the community, consultants are contracted. However, the team also contributes to training and capacity building programs, in order to develop the skill sets of community members as well as ensure that future projects and employment opportunities can benefit from local expertise.

FIGURE 4
The Model of Environment & Heritage Team

Source: Model developed by Tahltan Nation Development Corporation.

The environment and heritage team can organize itself into working groups in order to effectively manage the various aspects of any project. The three basic responsibilities of the team are (i) to interact with the company and government (federal and provincial) representatives on various resource or other projects through an assessment process in to understand and mitigate social and environmental impacts; (ii) to keep the community informed of its findings and gather feedback and recommendations through public participation meetings, workshops, and newsletters; and (iii) to contribute to identifying gaps in training and expertise and in this way contribute to the development of training and capacity opportunities. In this way, a team focused on protection of the environment and heritage will carefully consider all environmental and social effects so that the region and its traditions can be maintained for all future generations.

III.   THE WAY FORWARD

Indigenous Peoples across the globe are unable to realize their full potential: They are the poorest and most marginalized group on the planet, and the gap is widening. They are losing their way of life at rapid rates. This problem is so widespread that each of the 17 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals affects Indigenous peoples profoundly, from poverty to climate change to inequality. Extreme inequality has detrimental effects on local economies, costing in the billions of dollars. The global collective, too, suffers from lost Indigenous knowledge and innovation. Marginalization also creates potential for massive conflict, particularly around the natural resource sector. There are currently more than 400 reported conflicts across Latin America between mining companies and communities, and over USD$25 billion in stalled mining projects around the world. Indigenous Peoples are not

necessarily against development, but they must have a seat at the decision-making table and be active participants in the development of their own lands.

Over 40 years of experience in Canada has demonstrated that two major barriers to sustainable socio-economic development exist and they are unique to the Indigenous context due to 500 years of marginalization, racism, and inequality: Indigenous peoples do not see what is possible and others do not believe what Indigenous peoples are capable of. The stereotype that casts the Indigenous as people who can only carve totem poles and create elaborate beadwork is still very much in existence. This is why empowerment and equality are the necessary ingredients to create deep-rooted transformational change.

GIDT's approach is thus based on the now widely accepted premise that communities are the experts on their own development. This methodology has been adopted from Aboriginal communities across Canada in which economic growth is holistic in character and is based on process-driven governance structures. The model thus represents a community-led process that is based on a common vision — a vision that encompasses the interconnectedness of the community and allows members to incorporate their own traditions and values. Through this process, communities are empowered to complete each phase of development themselves and Canadian Aboriginal mentors and advisors who have created transformational economic change based on their own communities' way of life and that of other communities around the world support them throughout. Culture and traditions are difficult to maintain and strengthen when communities are in abject poverty. However, as Aboriginal economies are growing, we are seeing more and more examples of cultures and traditions being strengthened and integrated into Aboriginal community economic models, and are in this way beginning to influence how external stakeholders view these issues, for instance in environmental or social impact assessments. A healthy and economically sustainable community will be able to better take care of its members, create opportunities for its youth as well as better preserve its heritage, cultural traditions and beliefs. This model provides the way forward for struggling Indigenous communities around the world who are caught between wanting to raise their standard of living but not lose their unique cultural heritage and way of life.

New Brunswick Aboriginal Business Women's Mentoring Circle

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Leslie Reid
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OFFICER
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SERVICES OF NBAPC AND NCPEI

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SERVICES OF
NBAPC AND NCPEI

Economic Development Services (EDS) of New Brunswick Aboriginal Peoples Council (NBAPC) and Native Council of Prince Edward Island (NCPEI) was a not-for-profit organization incorporated in 1997, formally known as the *NBAPC Equity Fund Inc.* It is a wholly owned subsidiary of the New Brunswick Aboriginal Peoples Council and is in partnership with the Native Council Prince Edward Island.

1. Mission

To inspire, encourage and promote economic development with off reserve Aboriginal people and their businesses in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.

2. Goals

- Encourage off reserve Aboriginal people to work for their own betterment and for the wellbeing of their children;
- Build a foundation of continuous economic growth, self-sufficiency, self-reliance and opportunity for future generations;
- Establish a framework for economic progress in the context of a modern and complex society while respecting the traditions and culture rooted in the past.

3. Values

- **Integrity**
  Employment Development Services acts with integrity when contributing to the economic self-sufficiency and self-reliance of Off Reserve Aboriginal People.

- **Mutual Respect and Equity**
  Employment Development Services values and respects all members of its community and strives to create, strengthen and enrich Off Reserve Aboriginal People for the wellbeing of our children.

- **Community Interest**
  Employment Development Services embodies the highest standards of service and stewardship of resources and works within the wider community to enhance societal good.

ABORIGINAL BUSINESS WOMEN'S MENTORING
CIRCLE

Economic Development Services (EDS) of NBAPC and NCPEI was contracted by the Native Women's Association of Canada to serve as a mentor for Metis, status and non-status

women interested in starting their own business. EDS received interest from Aboriginal women across the province who wanted to participate in the circle.

Problem:
How to allow any Aboriginal women interested in starting and/or developing their own business to participate from across the province during a New Brunswick winter?

Solution:
A virtual Aboriginal Women's Mentoring Circle that would:
• Allow open participation of Aboriginal business women across New Brunswick;
• Reduced unsafe travel in the winter; and
• Develop sustainable local women's mentoring groups.

Requirements:
• Access to a 'video communication' system;
• Reasonably priced facilities;
• Accessible to all participants;
• Set up in 2 weeks, give or take.

Answer: New Brunswick Community Colleges

Enter the New Brunswick Community Colleges team of Erin Sweet, Business Development Manager, Dale Morehouse, Regional Operations Manager and Jamie Coughlan, Systems Analyst. Staff who are passionate about providing opportunities and coming up with 'Out of the Box' solutions. They saw the potential of a virtual mentoring circle and worked quickly and efficiently to complete all-the-behind the scenes activities.

On January 18, 2016, the first virtual New Brunswick, Aboriginal Business Women's Mentoring Circle link was opened from the Fredericton Community College to the Moncton Community College and the Eel River Bar First Nation Health Centre. Eleven women from across New Brunswick participated in the 10-week circle.

Mentoring Circle: Goals & Outline

The 10-week program was designed with the following goals:

1. Facilitate a virtual mentoring circle for Aboriginal women wanting to start or expand a business.
2. Promote business basics.
3. Identify and reduce barriers to success.
4. Experience lots of viewpoints and guidance.
5. Share problems and develop solutions.
6. Laugh, help and support in a trusting environment.

The outline of the 10-week program is reproduced in Appendix A.

Scheduled Guest Speakers

The following speakers were invited to speak to the participants in the program:

- Kim Landry — Canadian Business Development Canada on Aboriginal Women Funding and Services
- Bryan Harn — JEDI New Brunswick on Funding and Services
- Michael Melvin — Lawyer McGinnis Cooper on Patents and Trademarks
- Jim Arsenault — Director on Occupational Health and Safety in Home Based Businesses

Participation

Below are some participation statistics of the program:

- Ten women started on January 18, 2016:
  - One joined the circle three weeks later
  - Nine completed the scheduled sessions
    - One completed but did not attend the physical meeting as unable to get time off work

- Two left the circle before completion:
  - One left due to a family illness
  - One left as her business was more developed than the circle topics offered

- Average participation was 85%
  - One session was cancelled due to a storm

The Physical Meeting

Part of the NWAC Mentoring Contract was the obligation of the Mentor to "Identify 1 (potentially 2) mentees to be considered as a participant in a three-day Aboriginal Women's Business Entrepreneurs Network (AWBEN) Boot Camp and a one day AWBEN conference at the end of February 2016." As the New Brunswick Virtual Mentoring Circle progressed, it became clear that selecting which entrepreneurs should go to a three-day conference was extremely difficult and would not meet the requirements of the group.

The Mentor provided NWAC with an alternative option: to identify the money earmarked for the New Brunswick participants and use it to co-ordinate a physical meeting for the eleven participants of the Virtual Mentoring circle. Jane Luhtasaari, our NWAC contact, championed the New Brunswick proposal and approval was given to modify the contract terms.

On March 30 and 31, 2016, eight Aboriginal entrepreneurs came in person to the last session of the Aboriginal Business Women's Mentoring Circle. Everyone delivered their business plan and funding request to the group, receiving excellent positive feedback and ideas from all. It was a warm, safe environment for the women to practice their presentation; and for some, it was the first time they had spoken about their business out loud and in public.

Statistics and Participant Evaluation

Figure 1 shows the business profiles proposed in the program as well as a breakdown of communities where the proposed businesses locate. A survey on the program was conducted at the end of the program and the results are summarized in Appendix B.

FIGURE 1
Statistics

NEXT STEPS

Clarissa Harris LeBreton, Oasis Coordinator, introduced all the participants to the NBCC *Oasis Program*. Oasis provides multi-generational mentorship based on the specific and unique needs of individual mentees through resources and guidance necessary to explore their entrepreneurial goals. The mentoring circle women are now eligible to apply for a mentor to talk over and assist in solving a specific business issue. All are looking forward to further discussions with Clarissa. The virtual Aboriginal Business Women's Mentoring Circle was so successful that Employment Development Services, in concert with New Brunswick Community College system, are in discussions to initiate three virtual business circles beginning in the Fall of 2016.

- **Youth** Aged 16 to 24 wanting to start a business now or in the future
- **Women** Meeting the continuing interest of Aboriginal business women
- **Arts** Preserving traditional techniques and process so they remain within Aboriginal Communities

CONCLUSION

Economic Development Services of NBAPC and NCPEI was honoured to facilitate the New Brunswick Aboriginal Business Women's Mentoring Circle. Working with these enthusiastic, dedicated women was inspiring and reflected the growth and diversity of business development within our Aboriginal community.

We know that Aboriginal businesses create employment, economic prosperity and social wellbeing and that Aboriginal business circles provide the information, guidance and support Aboriginal entrepreneurs need to be successful in developing and/or growing their business ideas.

EDS sees this mentoring circle as the first of many.

Bruce Harquail, President
Economic Development Services of NBAPC and NCPEI

APPENDIX A
Mentoring Circle Outline

Week 1
- Introduction, Meet and Greet
- Expectations, Outcomes, Outline

Week 2
- Your personal business evaluation
- Why start a business?
  - How much do you have to risk?
- Business SWAT Analysis

Week 3
- Business Basics — Your Product is?
- Supply Chain: Suppliers, Time, Cost

Week 4
- Business Basics — Customers
- Who are your customers?
- Complete a Customer Map

Week 5
- Business Basics — Business Plan
- Why Bother?
- Business Plan — Component Overview

Week 6
- Business Basics- Business Plan
- Financial Plan: Grants, Loans, Sweat Equity

Week 7
- Business Basics — Marketing 101 and 2 and 3
- Legal matters and risk management

Week 8
- Business Basics — Growing Your Business
- Ways to Grow Your Business
- Responding to Growth

Week 9
- Review Business Plan and Marketing Plan components
- Identify any outstanding items
- Review any questions or concerns

Week 10
- This Is My Business — Participant Led
- 15 minute Presentation
- 10 minutes for Questions

APPENDIX B
Participant Evaluation

QUESTIONS

(Using a 5-point rating scale to indicate the extent to which participants agreed or disagreed with each statement. 1 being totally disagree and 5 being totally agree)

	Question Response Average
1. Mentoring Circle goals and objectives were stated clearly and met.	4.75
2. The Circle as presented matched with the Mentoring description.	4.75
3. The Circle was well organized.	4.6
4. The information presented were relevant and useful.	5
5. The presenter(s) provided adequate time for questions and answered them satisfactorily.	5
6. This Circle increased my knowledge and skills in Business development.	5
7. The speakers were relevant to the subject.	4.4
8. The presenter(s) allowed me to work with and learn from others.	4.9
9. The presenter(s) suggested ways to follow up on the topic.	4.9
10. The video conferencing was an effective way to have a Circle.	4.6
11. Overall rating.	5

COMMENTS

What Did You Like The Best?	What Did You Like The Least?
Convenience of getting to the video location	2 Hour classes
Hands on topics	Working alone, wished we had laptops in class to work
The feedback on business plan	There are some problems with video conference
Sharing with the group, getting together at the end	Late participants having to re-cover topics
The physical meeting	When people are late - we had to re-cap
We were able to access in our community	
The instructor	
What would you change?	**Any Other Comments**
Would like a 'How to Keep Books' session added	Very Well Done
More Presenters	Leslie was amazing, extremely helpful, welcoming. Great speaker, knowledgeable
More time to work on business plan together in class	Great, Very Informative. Loved Leslie as an instructor
Nothing, everything was great	

2015 Economic Developer of the Year Award Winners

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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 2015 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 finalist who they believed was the most deserving of the top award in each category. It is an honour to present to you the 2015 Economic Developer of the Year Award winners!

Cando Economic Developer of the Year Award Winner

Individual Category

Cliff Fregin

Cliff Fregin, a member of the Old Masset Village on Haida Gwaii, has been involved in Aboriginal economic development for almost 30 years. He expanded his role in economic development from administration to management, all while serving his community as an elected Councillor for multiple terms. During his time as Executive Director for the Gwaii Trust Society, he worked extensively in policy and program development. He then served as the C.O.O. for the National Aboriginal Capital Corporation Association (NACCA), a network of Aboriginal Financial Institutions growing the economy for First Nations entrepreneurs.

Cliff has been in his current role as Chief Executive Officer for New Relationship Trust (NRT) since its establishment, and has been directly responsible for the creation of unique economic development, capacity development and community programs that provide annual funding support of $6 million to First Nations individuals and communities in British Columbia. Programs such as the Entrepreneurs Equity Matching Fund (EEMF) Initiative and the First Nations Equity Fund provide much-needed capital for BC First Nations' business initiatives, while promoting Aboriginal entrepreneurship. The Direct Support Funding program provides funding directly to BC First Nations to develop their economic development infrastructure and governance systems. In total, over 300 Direct Support projects have been funded, including Musqueam Indian Band's development of a Custom Election Code and Tsilhqot'in National Government's Mining Policy Implementation Plan.

In his role at NRT, Cliff has emphasized the importance of mentorship in Aboriginal economic development. NRT launched the Economic Development Support Team (EDST), comprised of Aboriginal business experts who work with First Nations to map out strategies and provide guidance regarding viable business opportunities. In addition, Cliff supports NRT involvement with the BC Aboriginal Business Awards. Cliff sees importance in recognizing successful Aboriginal businesses in BC and giving them an opportunity to share their stories with other aspiring entrepreneurs. He also supports the Young Entrepreneurs Symposium (YES), an annual event bringing together young aspiring entrepreneurs to learn from successful Aboriginal business leaders. YES has provided hundreds of Aboriginal youth from across Canada with the confidence and skills to succeed. He also works in support of NRT Scholarships and Bursaries, which has seen $5.9 million awarded to Aboriginal students in various fields of study.

In addition to his corporate leadership, Cliff previously entered into entrepreneurship with two successful business ventures. In 1991, Cliff opened a sports card shop in his hometown of Prince Rupert, BC, inspired by an interest in sports memorabilia and Aboriginal professional athlete cards. This shop provided full time employment to many and had a captured market in the area. Cliff was also one of four partners that established and operated Haidabucks Café, a café in Masset, BC.

Cliff is often asked to provide his input in roundtables and conferences on Aboriginal Economic Development, governance, program delivery, or board diversity. Throughout his nearly 30-year career, he has worked in support of Aboriginal community economic development through countless programs and initiatives. The importance of his work to the promotion of First Nations governance and economic development cannot be overstated.

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Cando Economic Developer of the Year Award Winner

Community Category
Penticton Indian Band Development Corporation

As the for-profit business investment and development division for the Penticton Indian Band, the Penticton Indian Band Development Corporation (PIBDC) was formed to manage the band's business portfolio and to foster the development of a sustainable economy. The PIBDC has had many great achievements in less than a decade of operation; from the mod-

Chief Jonathan Kruger
Penticton Indian Band

est beginnings of a river tubing business, they are now leading the development of Penticton's only resort-style planned community and involved in a large-scale collaborative project with the City of Penticton. Focusing on responsible and sustainable business practices, PIBDC's businesses have led to successful job creation, training opportunities, and wealth generation for the Penticton Indian Band.

PIBDC currently oversees a number of diverse businesses:

- Skaha Hills is an award-winning, seven-phase "resort-style" community. It is designed to be the most energy efficient housing in all of BC, and will be situated on a spectacular 550-acre site along the south Okanagan hillside. The first phases of this development are already sold out.

- Westhills Aggregate LP specializes in construction sand and gravel services; in addition to trucking and delivering construction products for customers, Westhills Aggregates also employs excavation equipment that allows for both small and large construction jobs.

- Coyote Cruises LP is home of the South Okanagan's hottest summer attraction, providing tube rentals and transportation to visitors along Penticton's River Channel. Operating during the summer months, Coyote Cruises services over 100,000 people per year from around the globe.

- Sn'pink'tn Forestry LP manages the Penticton Indian Band's forest resources, addressing forest health issues and managing interface fire hazards.

The PIBDC has recently completed a health care centre and a cultural school. In addition, they are currently finalizing an official Comprehensive Community Plan, which identifies lands to be protected and lands to be designated for development such as residential, industrial, commercial, recreational, etc.

The PIBDC strives to form relationships and lines of communication with outside partners, including communities, government, and corporations. These relationships have pro-

vided the PIBDC with invaluable advice and expertise, and have created development opportunities. They are currently partnering with the City of Penticton on Satikw Crossing, a major development project that will connect the economies of the two communities. With the construction of a bridge across the Okanagan River Parkway Channel, an intersection feeding onto the proposed bridge, and a potable and fire protection water distribution line, the long-term goal for this project is to open up Penticton Indian Band lands for development of a hotel, retail space, and a business park.

The Penticton Indian Band and the PIBDC are distinguished by the relationships they have forged with communities and external partners. Their innovative and successful development ventures have won them numerous awards while transforming their economic prospects. The PIBDC has achieved outstanding business success in less than ten years using a combination of traditional values, collective community vision, relationship building, and strong leadership, paving the path to a future of self-determination.

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Cando Economic Developer of the Year Award Winner

Jenny Larocque and Janice Larocque

Aboriginal Private Sector Business Category
Spirit Staffing & Consulting Inc.

Spirit Staffing & Consulting is a 100% Aboriginal woman-owned and operated business. As a Metis woman navigating the corporate world, President Janice Larocque experienced many employment issues based on stereotypes and misconceptions about Aboriginal employees. She became determined to dispel these myths and to help Aboriginal people advance within the workforce. As a result, Spirit Staffing & Consulting began operating in 1998, with the vision of becoming a reputable Aboriginal Employment Agency while working to reduce the discrimination that Aboriginal people face in the corporate job market.

Spirit Staffing & Consulting's vision quickly gained traction, and after only six months of being in business, they signed their first large contracts with CP Rail and Husky Energy.

Today, Spirit Staffing & Consulting continues to support and promote the economic development of First Nation and Metis Communities by creating employment and training opportunities. They have been hand-selected as a preferred supplier by various large corporations for skills development, safety training, and management and recruitment of Aboriginal employees.

Spirit Staffing & Consulting fosters long term employment opportunities for local First Nation and Metis communities by providing customized training programs, employment placements, and career coaching and mentorship for job seekers. They also work to bridge partnerships between First Nation and Metis communities and Spirit Staffing & Consulting's corporate clients. These partnerships create job opportunities, ensure recruitment of local talent, create a means for community members to support their families without relocation, and ultimately drive community economic growth. Spirit Staffing & Consulting's flexible company structure allows them to adapt to each individual project, identifying gaps and designing unique processes to create win-win solutions benefitting both clients and communities.

Spirit Staffing & Consulting's subsidiary division, Fast Labour Solutions (FLS), was created in 2000 to focus on the industrial and safety training needs of their clients. FLS concentrates on placing general and skilled labour for the oil and gas, construction, environmental, manufacturing and transportation industries. As these types of placements often require specific safety training, FLS further expanded to include a fully certified safety training facility that offers 13 instructed courses and over 350 online courses.

In addition to helping increase Aboriginal representation in the work force, Spirit Staffing & Consulting emphasizes the Aboriginal integrity of their own organization. As such, 50% of Spirit Staffing & Consulting's internal staff and 33% of their contractors identify as Aboriginal. With a team of twelve people, and branches in Calgary and Edmonton, Spirit Staffing & Consulting is able to attract and retain Aboriginal employees for large-scale corporations across the province.

Spirit Staffing & Consulting is a recognized trailblazer and leader in promoting diversity. Their success can be seen with the people they have helped, the reputation they have built, and above all, the economic growth they have sparked within the communities they have supported. With Aboriginal people becoming one of the fastest growing populations within Canada, Spirit Staffing & Consulting's 17 years of experience and unique and effective approach will continue to position them ahead of competitors in the market.

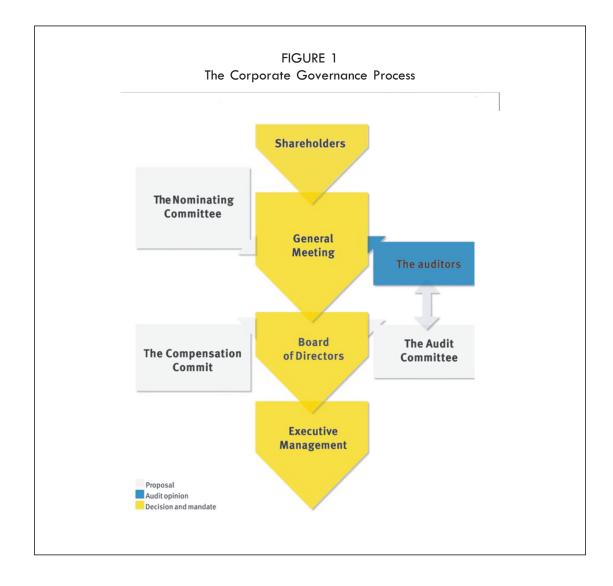# A Basic Primer on Organizational Governance

Brock Junkin
CPA, MBA, CD

There has been a sea change in the attitude to corporate governance in the past decade. Perhaps it has been less of a revolution and more of a realization that the old back-scratching order of long lunches, rubber stamps, and incestuous intra/inter board relationships are not robust enough to fulfill the stewardship mandate that rests with boards of directors. This has been thrown up due to a number of grievous corporate failures over the past couple of decades which have spawned a number of reports including the Dey (1994), Cadbury (1992), and King (1994) reports. This is more a realization rather than a revolution because the basics have always been there but have been forgotten over the years. It took a number of dramatic corporate failures for the business community to remember the basics, and it is to these that this essay will turn. These failures of corporate governance and their aftermath are not restricted to large operations but occur at all levels of organizational endeavour. Hence an understanding of good corporate governance is germane to all organizations, big and small, as the author has discovered to his chagrin.

Robert Tricker (2009) noted that "if management is about running the business, governance is about seeing that it is run properly" or it is "the system by which organizations are directed and controlled" as Adrian Cabury (1992) noted. This suggests an oversight or stewardship role which is exactly at the heart of the governance function. Before elaborating further on the governance function itself, it might be useful to examine exactly where a board of directors fits in the broader arrangement of a corporate organization. To develop this understanding we will look to the agency theory of corporate organization.

AGENCY THEORY

The agency theory of corporate governance refers to the liaison function that a board of directors plays between the principals of an economic enterprise, i.e., shareholders, community or investors, and the management which has been charged with bringing the goals of the principals to fruition. Agency theory basically states that a board is there to arbitrate between the varying interests that develop between the principals of a company and the management. The board is seen as both the galvanizing force to affect the principals' interests through management and the arbitrator between the principals and management, both of

FIGURE 1
The Corporate Governance Process

Shareholders

The Nominating Committee

General Meeting

The auditors

The Compensation Commit

Board of Directors

The Audit Committee

Executive Management

Proposal
Audit opinion
Decision and mandate

whom may have different interests and strategies. This contrasts with management theory which suggests that management, and particularly the chief executive officer (CEO or ED), is in charge of corporate direction while the board and shareholders act as subservient or support players.

Agency theory suggests that a group's principals (entrepreneurs, shareholders, community, investors) come together to carry out some enterprise. The people who are charged with affecting the enterprise are management. The liaison or agent between the two is the board of directors. The principals inform the board of the raison d'être of the enterprise. The board then acts as the principals' agent in creating a strategic plan to affect the raison d'être which it hands to management who wrap a business plan around it for board approval. Once approved, management puts the plan into action and reports back periodically to the board on progress. The board in turn reports back to the shareholders on a less periodic basis: at least once a year and, at times, quarterly. So the direction of the enterprise flows from the

principals through the board to management who report back on up the chain. Such is agency theory and the basis for our current corporate governance model.

The board then acts in a stewardship role in the agency model. In making their decisions in this model the board may have divided responsibilities. Should it be acting in the best interests of the corporation or those of the principals? In this matter Canada and United States diverge. In the U.S. model, the board is responsible to the principals or shareholders. In Canada, however, the board is primarily responsible to the corporation and this responsibility is enshrined in the Canada Business Corporations Act, R.S.C. 1985, c. C-44, ss. 122(1): "act honestly and in good faith with a view to the best interests of the corporation". It seems odd to make this distinction. Common sense would suggest that the interests of the corporation would be the same as those of the principals. In general this is true, but not always. There are more occasions than you might think where acting in the best interests of the principals may not be in the best interests of the corporation. This can happen when a dominant principal wishes the corporation to embark on a course which would benefit that principal but may be a detriment to or at least not be in the interests of the corporation. This most often happens in closely held companies. This can place directors in an uncomfortable situation when they are asked to decide on a matter in the interests of the corporation and against those of the principals who appointed them in the first place. Directorships can be uncomfortable.

THE ROLE OF THE BOARD

The role of the board of directors as agent between the principals and management is at once simple and complex: simple in that the responsibilities are few, complex in that the responsibilities, particularly monitoring, are complex. A board has three functions as follows:

- Strategic planning
- Hiring, firing, compensating, and evaluating the chief executive officer (CEO) or executive director (ED)
- Monitoring management in their accomplishment of the strategic plan

In attending to these responsibilities, the board has one employee, the CEO/ED.

Strategic planning

Strategic planning is undertaken by the board to provide the broad brush strokes of direction to management. Do not confuse a strategic plan with a business plan. The strategic plan is a simple document — the primary meat of which is the vision and the mission of the enterprise. The vision is the "blue sky" but not unrealistic place where the corporation would like to be or what it would like to accomplish in the long run. The mission is shorter term, and its realization should move the corporation towards the vision over a period of up to five years. Attached to the plan can be specific objectives and goals. These can come from either the board or from management when it wraps a business plan around the strategic plan. An important aside to the strategic planning process is the ethical framework by which it is to be accomplished. It is the board's responsibility to set the ethical tone from the top as a guide to management so that it does not wander into areas of questionable social

responsibility. This tone can be hard-wired with a code of ethics document supplemented further with a statement of values. The code and the values documents should be widely circulated in the organization so there is no mistake as to the framework in which the strategic plan is to be consummated. With the strategic planning function completed the CEO/ED then prepares a business plan to see the strategy implemented. This plan, together with relevant budgets, capital expenditures, and other significant plans of action must be approved by the board. After approval, any significant deviation should be brought to the board. The rigorous function of strategic planning is only undertaken every five years or so, but it should be subject to annual reviews as to its continuing relevancy.

The CEO/ED Function

With a strategic plan in place it then becomes necessary to hire a CEO/ED to implement the plan if one is not already in place. This needs to be done with due care and great reflection as a bad hire can be devastating for a corporation. The CEO/ED is the only employee of the board. Along with the hiring function comes the firing function should the CEO/ED not be meeting the standards of the board. This necessarily means that there needs to be a formal evaluation process in place. If the board feels uncomfortable doing so or lacks the necessary skills then it should hire an appropriate consultant. Finally, a fair compensation package needs to be negotiated which encourages performance in the direction of the strategic plan. The details of the compensation package should be carefully designed to align with the strategic plan. A compensation consultant can be of value here.

Monitoring

The monitoring role of the board is the most time consuming and complex function it has to perform. In order to maintain maximum effectiveness in this area the board should be ruled by the maxim NIFO or the "nose in, fingers out" rule. In other words, monitoring is done at a polite distance. Although it is incumbent on the directors to be asking questions that does not mean disrupting operations or lines of authority through micro-management. Queries should go through the chair and thence to the CEO/ED. While it is appropriate for directors to familiarize themselves directly with operations, it should be done with knowledge of the CEO/ED, and with any critical observations shared with the board and CEO/ED and not more generally.

The most powerful tool that a director has is asking questions, and questions need to be followed up until satisfactorily answered. New directors are often told that they should keep quiet for the first year or so until they get their feet wet. This is not so. New directors should feel comfortable to make as many inquiries as they feel necessary, and the chair should encourage this. New directors mean a fresh outlook and that outlook is best utilized by the board through the questions they raise.

Beyond the caution of maintaining a polite distance and the encouragement of questions, boards can fulfill their monitoring function with a number of tools including:

• The board package: This is the primary information source for the board and is requisite for all meetings. It provides relevant briefings and background information on the agenda items. These materials need to be in the directors' hands in sufficient time to allow the

directors to properly review and comprehend the essence of each agenda item. If this package is consistently late or incomplete, that is a danger signal in itself.

- The orientation package: This should provide new directors with a comprehensive review of the corporation, its values, ethics, operations, finances, policies, individual and broader responsibilities, and so on. Although it is permissible for management to prepare this orientation package, it is important that it be reviewed by the board to ensure that the orientation indeed aligns with the strategic plan and the wishes of the principals. When considering joining a board, look at this package. If it is lightweight or, worse still, non-existent, this is a danger signal and you may want to think twice before joining. The same is true of the board packages. If these are lightweight, you may want to move on to a better managed board.

- Risk assessment: The board needs to understand the risks that the corporation faces, and, in particular, what are the mitigating strategies should one of the risks materialize or increase to the point where there is a negative impact on the corporation. This is a document that should be reviewed and updated annually. The risks so noted should form part of the directors' peripheral vision so they remain aware of them and can report back any relevant intelligence gleaned from non-board activities. Risks include financial, reputational, operational, environmental, legal, regulatory, and so on.

- A two-year rolling agenda of board meetings: This provides directors with relatively fixed dates to allow them to make time on their personal agendas and so be able to attend meetings. More importantly, it ensures that items which are only addressed periodically (annual risk assessment review, strategic plan review, CEO/ED evaluation, business plan and budget, board self-evaluations, and so on) don't get missed. This also allows both directors and management to begin thinking about relevant topics in a timely fashion.

- Reports: The reports contained in the board package form an important source of information.

- Internal audit function: Given a critical mass in size, there needs to be an internal audit function. In this case the staff head of the function reports to the board with, at best, a dotted line relationship to the CEO/ED and never to the chief financial officer (CFO).

- Audited financial statements: A prime source of information and comfort for the directors. The directors should supplement these statements with a management letter from the auditors as they can often spot practices needing improvement or areas of risk which may escape management. In order to ensure the independence of the auditors, their non-audit work for the corporation should be kept to a minimum. If the board has no other committees, an indispensable one is the audit committee. It needs to be populated by financially literate members who are independent of potential biases. A member of management, for example, would not be appropriate to serve on the audit committee however skilled she may be.

- Self-assessment and individual director peer evaluation: A valuable tool to remind directors of their responsibilities to the group and encourage those on snooze control to participate in a more robust fashion.

- Ongoing professional education: Such in matters of governance, finance, operational, economic, and similar topics further enhances the ability of boards to properly fulfill their monitoring obligation.

Standards of Performance

According to the Canada Business Corporations Act, and common ethical practice, the board is to "act honestly and in good faith in the best interests of the corporation". There is also a duty of loyalty. Any conflicts or potential conflicts of interest need to be stated with the relevant board members recusing themselves accordingly. There is also a duty of confidentiality. Finally, where irreconcilable differences occur, there is a duty to resign.

THE BOARD STRUCTURE AND HOW IT WORKS

The members of the board are selected by the principals pursuant to the recommendations of a nominating committee. In smaller organizations they are often simply shareholder or stakeholder representatives. In larger organizations they can include members of management providing that their number does not overwhelm the principals' representatives. In boards where there may be potential for unhealthy bias it is recommended that directors independent of either management or the principals be appointed. This is important to provide a balance of unfettered opinion, and their role on the audit committee is particularly important.

The board should be large enough to provide the cross section of skills necessary to fully fulfill the monitoring function of the board. It should also be large enough to populate the committees without over-burdening particular individuals. Finally, in the case of some corporations which have a large number of partnerships, there need to be enough board members to allow population of joint venture boards.

As far as officers are concerned it is generally best if members of management, who are board members, are not also officers of the board. A possible exception would be the position of secretary which can be occupied by the corporate council. Beyond the secretary, there is the chair and the treasurer, as would be expected.

Minimum Committee Structure

A board should have a committee structure to bring recommendations to the board and so economize on board time. Committees are useful in other ways as well. A smaller group with a focused mandate can be very effective. Committees can also ensure independence that may be harder to obtain at the board level. Any committee should be governed by a committee charter which delineates its structure, its specific mandate, accountability, responsibilities, how it is to operate, a decision making process, and an obligation to take minutes and report. There should be a minimum of two committees, Audit and Finance as well as Nominating and Succession.

To the extent possible, the Audit and Finance committee needs to have at the minimum financially literate members and, ideally, at least one professional accountant among them. This committee should also be populated by independent directors to the extent possible, and certainly never have any directors as members who are also part of management. This group of the board has the highest profile as far as reporting and potential liability is con-

cerned; therefore, members need to be well schooled as to their obligations. The internal audit function, if one exists in the organization, reports to the audit committee. This committee also works closely with the external auditors for both the publishing of the year end results as well as any interim financial reports which may be necessary.

The Nominating and Succession committee is tasked with the recruiting of appropriate board members to fill board vacancies as they arise. You will note that it is called the Nominating and Succession committee to underline the fact that this not just a last minute duty before the annual general meeting (AGM) but really deserves on-going attention from the committee members as the success of any board depends on carefully planned succession. To fulfill its mandate, this team needs to pay attention to the following areas throughout its term in office:

- Take inventory of the board skills and compare them against an ideal skill set which will be discussed later under board characteristics and competencies.
- Strategize on how any current and future gaps can be filled. Review the strategic and business plans to determine if any special skills of oversight may be required.
- Put together a board succession plan.

This committee can sometimes be tasked with arranging for a CEO/ED succession plan in the absence of a formal human resource (HR) and Compensation committee. Within the bailiwick of this group is the orientation process for new board members. Although management plays a significant role in board orientation, the orientation should be controlled by the board to ensure that management biases do not creep in.

Other committees which you may find attached to the board include Personnel, Planning and Policy, Environment, Compensation, Governance, Risk, Information Technology, various ad hoc committees, and others as the particular circumstances of the corporation require.

Board Characteristics and Competencies

A well-balanced board is crucial to its success in strategizing and monitoring the activities of a corporation on behalf of its principals. As such, the officers and the nominating committee need to pay particular attention to the following attributes to ensure a well-functioning board:

- Integrity and accountability. As mentioned earlier, the board needs to set the ethical tone for the corporation, and these attributes are crucial in this regard.

- Informed judgment. Board members need to be able to exercise good judgment in an informed way. This means the ability to put aside old prejudices and exercise informed judgments based on existing circumstances and information. The old way of doing things is not necessarily the best way. You need broad-minded board members who are well rounded.

- Financial literacy. Financial literacy does not mean a professional accounting designation, but it does mean the ability to read a set of financial statements and particularly the notes attached thereto. Not every board member needs to be financially literate, but a good balance of them should be.

- Mature confidence. This is a difficult one to gauge. What this means is that the board member should be confident enough in his/her own self to ask questions that need to be asked and tough enough to see that they are answered satisfactorily. The mature aspect means being able to work in tough situations in a mature way, always respectful and not prone to flying off the handle. Confidence also means the ability to say no in appropriate situations. We might illustrate mature confidence by a quote from Mahatma Gandhi who said, "A 'no' uttered from deepest conviction is better and greater than 'yes' merely uttered to please, or what is worse, to avoid trouble." That is mature confidence.

- High performance standards.

- Experience in at least one of the following domains: accounting, finance, business judgment, management, crisis response, industry knowledge, marketing, leadership, strategy and vision, and risk management, together with any particular skills relevant to the corporation's operations.

Basic Governing Documents

The more clear that the responsibilities and requirements of individual board members and their committees are, the better functioning the board will be on an individual and aggregate level. Certain documentation beyond the strategic plan and the business plan helps in this regard:

- A board charter that clearly defines the board's roles and responsibilities and governance procedures by which the board's roles and responsibilities will be met.
- Job descriptions for the chair, secretary, treasurer, committee chairs, and directors at large.
- Committee charters outlining its structure, its specific mandate, accountability, responsibilities, how it is to operate, a decision making process, and an obligation to take minutes and report back.

The board charter differs from the by-laws of a firm in that the by-laws represent a legal document or set of rules. A charter on the other hand defines the board's roles and responsibilities as well as governance procedures by which the board's roles and responsibilities will be met, but it is not a legal document. The board charter will include at a minimum the strategic plan (mission, vision, values) along with the strategic planning function, decision making practice, performance monitoring and key indicators, individual member roles and responsibilities (chair, secretary, treasurer, committee heads, directors at large), commitment to professional development, committees, board evaluation, and other corporate specific elements of which the board needs to be aware.

What the Board Can and Can Not Do

Pursuant to 102(1), Part X of the Canada Business Corporations Act, the board has the "duty to manage or supervise management. Subject to any unanimous shareholder agreement, the directors shall manage, or supervise the management of, the business and affairs of a corporation." In practice the board delegates all operating matters to management and staff

with the exception of the strategic plan and hiring/firing/evaluating/compensating the CEO/ED and monitors the results of this delegation. However, there are limitations on what the board can delegate and these follow:

- Issuing securities
- Declaring dividends
- Purchasing or acquiring shares in another corporation
- Recommending approval of annual audited financial statements
- Approving information circulars
- Approving take-over bids
- Adopting or amending by-laws which must later be approved by the shareholders or principals

Restrictions on board actions and reserved solely for the shareholders of a corporation are:

- Electing, appointing, and removal of directors
- Changes to the Articles of Incorporation
- Amalgamations
- Substantial disposal of corporate assets or outright dissolution

Where there are boards of partnerships or joint ventures, there are likely to be further restrictions on the actions of a board outlined in a unanimous shareholder agreement.

Liability Issues

The remit of this essay is not a detailed examination of director liability, but it would be negligent not to include an overview of this issue in any discussion on governance and boards of directors. Personal director liabilities vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, so it is best to seek legal counsel as to the specific liabilities which a director may face in a particular region. Although directors are not guarantors of corporate conduct, they nonetheless generally face liabilities in these broad areas:

- Unlawful act if they directed, authorized, acquiesced, permitted or concurred in the act
- Declared dividends when the corporation was insolvent
- Breach of occupational health and environmental regulations by the corporation
- Unpaid employee wages
- Creditor claims if the corporation continues to trade while insolvent
- Unpaid government obligations relating to payroll and GST/HST
- Possible derivative actions by stakeholders (though this requires the consent of the court)

The best protection to a director from personal liability is to clearly exercise the "duty of care" and due diligence. The best way directors can do this is to ask questions and satisfy themselves that the answers are reasonable. If the answers lack a ring of credibility then the board is entitled to bring in a second opinion from outside the corporation and board. As far

as business judgment matters are concerned the courts will not hold directors liable for a mistake in business judgment so long as there is a clear record of them exercising due diligence. Make sure that minutes of the director meetings reflect the exercise of this "duty of care," particularly on subjects which may potentially blow up in the future. One way of ensuring that due diligence is undertaken in areas of specific director liability is to include as a regular agenda item an update from management on areas of possible liability as noted in the bullets above.

It is possible to purchase directors' and officers' (D&O) liability insurance, but this should not be seen as a universal panacea. For one thing, the directors have to continue to act honestly and in good faith. Liability insurance does not abrogate that duty. For another, the insurance may not cover what one might think it does. For this reason careful examination of the policy should be undertaken, particularly by new candidates for board appointment. Considerations in deciding on D&O insurance include:

- The cost
- Scope and deductibles
- Likelihood of a claim
- The need of insurance to attract good directors
- A severability clause that specifies individual rather than joint knowledge

There are certain areas which D&O insurance will not cover and you need to determine what these are. These deficiencies should then be covered off by indemnities from the corporation. In particular, the following items would likely need to be indemnified by the corporation:

- Blanket coverage of anything that insurance does not cover regardless of policy limits.
- Legal and other professional fees for defence of an action
- Cost of investigations, hearings, and inquiries.
- Cover hearings and similar events, whether compelled or simply asked to attend.
- Clarify who will engage any necessary counsel or professional help, i.e., the corporation or the director.
- All fees should be paid promptly without having to wait for sometimes lengthy insurance claims to be settled.
- In the event of a dispute the indemnity will cover all costs of determining indemnity before the courts.

Finally, D&O coverage and indemnification should not cease to cover you when you cease to be a director. Both the D&O insurance and indemnification should remain in force to cover you for the period you were with the board regardless of whether you have since left.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing should not intimidate aspirants and recruits to directorships. It will act as a good guide on how to make a directorship a fulfilling experience without getting tripped up in some of the potential problem areas. You don't have to be particularly skilled in any of

the arts of business, but you do need to feel comfortable asking questions and satisfied that the answers being given are reasonable. If you feel uncomfortable with the information you are receiving or the actions being sanctioned by the board then you should resign. Otherwise, enjoy the wealth of the experience.

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Introduction

David Newhouse

Economic development occurs with a particular social, political and culture environment. Understanding the interactions between these three important life aspects as well as the goals that Indigenous peoples are pursuing is foundational to the development of good public policy. Bonita Beatty of the University of Saskatchewan in her article *A Distributive Aboriginal Political Culture is Alive and Well in Northern Saskatchewan* finds that Indigenous culture was resilient and informed the shape of economic activity in the north; in doing so, she links political and economic objectives in a clear and meaningful way.

Business development and economic development require people who have business management skills and who know how to work effectively in both Indigenous and Canadian environments. Janice Esther Tulk, Mary Beth Doucette and Allan MacKenzie of Cape Breton University analyzes CBU's efforts to increase the number of Indigenous students pursing business education as well as helping them to learn how to work in both the business and Indigenous worlds. Their model uses technology and a wide network of mentors who develop long-term relationships with students to improve enrolments and retention of students. Graduates of the program are encouraged to remain involved as peer mentors to students within the program.

A Distributive Aboriginal Political Culture is Alive and Well in Northern Saskatchewan

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Bonita Beatty
UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN

ABSTRACT

Many suggest that northern Aboriginal political culture has largely been lost due to political and economic colonization. This paper suggests otherwise. Based on research findings from a northern political engagement study, it argues that northern Aboriginal political culture remains strong despite the pressures of modern life. At a recent meeting, Indigenous Alumni from the Masters in Northern Governance and Development (MNGD) Program went a step further suggesting that while northern Aboriginal culture was resilient, it needed support in many areas including language retention, training, youth education and protection of local knowledge. It was suggested that a formalized network of Northern Aboriginal Scholars could provide significant support. Aboriginal Peoples in northern Saskatchewan developed a distinct 'way of life' in that region blending historical cultural values and a mixed-wage economy. Over 86% of the 37,000 people living in the 45 northern Saskatchewan communities (municipalities, reserves) are Woodland Cree, Dene and Métis peoples. The north is their traditional homeland. Findings from a three-year research study (2010–2013) on northern Aboriginal political engagement illustrated a high desire (96.3%) by Indigenous people to protect their traditional northern ways of life (hunting, trapping, fishing, gathering) and the distributive values associated with it. This and other findings suggest that Aboriginal political culture in northern Saskatchewan is changing but is still alive and well.

INTRODUCTION

The region of 'northern Saskatchewan' is the ancestral home of the Dene, Métis and Woodland Cree People of the Canadian Shield. The northern Aboriginal Peoples share a common political culture that reflect aspects of community history, kinship networks, and distributive value systems associated with a historical way of life that has changed over the years, but is

still alive and well.[1] Political culture, as discussed here, broadly refers to the "shared norms, attitudes, behavior and values that shape contemporary Aboriginal political life" (Beatty, Berdahl, Poelzer, Doraty, et al. 2013). The paper draws on findings from a three-year research project on political engagement in northern Saskatchewan (Beatty, Berdahl, Poelzer, Doraty, et al. 2013). The work drew on extensive surveys of political participation and values, including focus groups with Aboriginal youth. The project revealed important elements in northern political culture, including substantial distrust in provincial and federal politics, stronger commitment to local and First Nations governments, high levels of civil society participation in the communities, and uncertainty about the role of government in Aboriginal life.

The research findings also implied a strong awareness and concern by Aboriginal northerners to protect and maintain their culture and traditional way of life. Emerging northern Aboriginal scholars express similar concerns. At recent meetings, the Northern Keewetinohk Indigenous Scholars, mostly alumni from the Masters in Northern Governance and Development (MNGD) Program, University of Saskatchewan, discussed the resiliency, as well as the pressures, on northern Aboriginal culture and discussed ways to protect it and pass on its values to the younger generations.[2] Aboriginal northern culture, like so many others, is changing under tremendous internal and external pressures, but it is not lost. It is still sufficiently embedded in a distinct northern land-based way of life or Keewetinohk Pimachesowin (Woodland Cree) with its associated values, knowledge systems and kinship networks. These continue to influence northern Aboriginal Peoples today in varying degrees. The northern Aboriginal Peoples, with their younger populations, are less tolerant of being politically and economically sidelined. Evidence of effective partnerships that produce visible benefits to communities rather than simply engaging them in discussions is therefore favoured. The risks associated with failing to address and balance competing interests can be far more costly.

The paper situates the contextual background of Aboriginal Peoples in Northern Saskatchewan by providing a broader national Aboriginal and provincial profile of the region.[3] It then provides a general description of the Northern Aboriginal political culture engagement study (NAPC), its purpose and key findings. This is followed by a discussion on key issues and implications, of which three will be highlighted for further analysis here:

(a)   The Regional political culture is distinct and resilient with strong Aboriginal community cultures (language, land, way of life) despite pressures of modern life but there are concerns about its future.

(b)   Demographic trends consist of a remote region facing serious socio-economic challenges resulting from many factors including high unemployment, housing shortages, poor health status, fast growing youth populations, limited access to

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[1] "Aboriginal" refers to the broader Canadian Constitutional definition, "Indian, Métis, Inuit."

[2] "Aboriginal" and "Indigenous" are used interchangeably here for brevity's sake, although the term "Indigenous" can often be used in a broader international context.

[3] "Aboriginal" is broadly used here in the Constitutional sense of "Indian, Métis and Inuit" Peoples of Canada. Politically, many Treaty First Nations dislike the term, fearing governments could use it to potentially water down their "Treaties."

relevant education, training and job opportunities, poor infrastructures and under-developed public and recreation services.

(c)   Political engagement, as far as voting patterns in the region, appear locally strategic with high local voter turnouts in the communities but less than average turnouts in provincial and federal elections. Regional and cultural alienation or at least perceptions of it are largely attributed to be the leading causes for disengagement. Higher engagement is anticipated during times where Aboriginal northerners feel their way of life and Aboriginal and Treaty Rights are under imminent threat.

The paper argues that weaker Indigenous voter turnouts at provincial and federal elections make it easier for governments and outside interests to overlook the concerns, cultures, and voices of northern Indigenous Peoples and their communities. The ensuing marginalization is not without political, economic and social costs. This is evident just by looking at the generally negative media patterns that give a contrasting picture of northern Saskatchewan with its pristine lakes and forests on the one hand, and its complex social and economic problems on the other. A recent example of this is the La Loche shooting at a school in northern Saskatchewan that recently captured local and international headlines. The NAPC survey findings identified problems associated with addictions, poor health, and high employment that had already been raised for many years by northern Aboriginal and community leaders (Beatty, Berdahl, Poelzer, Doraty, et al. 2013). One of the factors was that northern Aboriginal Peoples felt marginalized by outside authorities. Over 50.6% respondents in the NAPC survey believed that too many decisions regarding the north were being made outside the region in the government centres of Regina and Ottawa. The findings suggest a sense of alienation from the broader society and governments. Many think that only Aboriginal and Treaty Rights can provide Constitutional protection against unrestricted developments around their traditional lands and resources. Other protective measures, such as the Crown's duty to consult and appropriately accommodate Aboriginal Peoples whose Aboriginal and Treaty Rights may be potentially affected by industry developments, are useful but can also be interpreted so broadly that duty to consult becomes watered down and meaningless. Aboriginal northerners are obviously not against development, having been increasingly engaged in forestry, mining and other developments themselves, but they also have interests and tangible benefits to protect at the same time, such as caring for the environment, supporting local industries (commercial harvesting, hunting and trapping), protecting their cultures and ensuring that development benefits are sustainable and reach the communities. Some mining companies like Cameco have worked better than others with Aboriginal communities for many years by proactive employment strategies and various partnership arrangements (Cameco 2014). It is therefore evident that actively engaging northern Aboriginal Peoples at the start is a more effective process.

Some ideas for Aboriginal engagement include encouraging higher voting turnouts at provincial and federal elections through more public awareness and education about citizen voting rights and election procedures, especially among the youth. The one vote can sometimes be a game-changer in elections so voting matters. Furthermore, a more aware and educated citizen is more likely to vote regardless of the outcome and is more likely to be actively engaged in the overall community life, thus contributing to its development. Strategic engagement opportunities accessible to community people are therefore a necessary

building step, as well as taking the time to understand the broad cultural environment that is the backbone of the north. The paper suggests that meaningful Aboriginal participation can strengthen northern development in general by providing strategic and accessible capacity-building opportunities, relevant training and utilizing communication systems that are culturally responsive to the Aboriginal communities.

CANADIAN CONTEXT

Before we get into the discussion on northern Saskatchewan, it is important to situate northern Aboriginal Peoples within the Canadian context in order to better understand the broader Aboriginal Rights and Land issues that bubble beneath anything to do with northern development. Unfulfilled Treaty and land settlement Agreements, political and economic diversity, and changing demographics are among the key factors affecting Aboriginal Peoples in Canada. The early Treaties were intended to set out the land and jurisdiction relationships between First Nations and the Canadian State, but the bungling interpretations and subsequent actions by successive bureaucracies and governments, along with the cumulative pressures of the modern world, has strained the over 200-year-old Treaty Relationship. It is apparent that the ongoing issues around Treaty Implementation will still continue to dominate the political agenda with First Nations. According to the Assembly of First Nations, " Treaty leadership have been frustrated by the lack of progress made on advancing Treaty Implementation approaches or finding common ground on Treaty Implementation" (Assembly First Nations 2013). Generally speaking, Aboriginal Peoples do not trust Canadian governments and this is consistent with the often frustrated political culture that struggles to maintain its heritage and find ways for sustaining its families and communities.

Another distinguishing element of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada is their cultural and political diversity that reflects the geographical diversity of the land itself, contrary to a common misperception that assumes that Aboriginal communities are a homogenous group (Burleton and Gulati 2012, p. 7). Aboriginal Peoples share a rather dark colonial history with European and successive Canadian governments that tended to view Aboriginal Peoples as a political 'problem,' rather than partners, therefore needing to be managed through legislation, policies and practices. Political marginalization began with the disputed unilateral sale of western lands to Canada by the Hudson Bay Company in 1870, which had ignored the inherent land rights of the Aboriginal Peoples. The post-Treaty government management of Indian Peoples and Reserves through the 1876 *Indian Act* further isolated First Nations to Reserves and disempowered their political and economic authority. This subsequently led to government authorities justifying human rights violations in their jurisdictions, such as the more infamous residential school policies whose negative legacy reverberates to the current day. Similarly, the unilateral transfer of natural resources to the provinces in 1930, without the consent or knowledge of Aboriginal Peoples, also exacerbated their social and economic problems because provincial game laws now regulated their traditional way of life and livelihoods. Things started to turn around in the late 1960s as Aboriginal Peoples got politically organized, educated and in the mid 1980's, negotiated to get their Aboriginal and Treaty Rights recognized in the Canadian Constitution. Today, Aboriginal Peoples are pushing to develop their local communities, negotiate land claims settlements and invest in business developments, with leaders strategically engaging in regional, provincial and national politics with their own community interests in mind. In that

sense, diversity among community-centric groups has consolidated some political power at the broader provincial and federal levels, but it also continues to challenge political consensus making.

Aboriginal communities and regions are also socio-economically diverse and while conditions are improving for some, many are still struggling and generally poor. According to Statistics Canada, in the recent National Household Survey, an estimated 1.4 Million identified as Aboriginal in Canada, which is a little over 4% of the Canadian population (Statistics Canada 2011). This is a fast growing population relative to the Canadian population at large with an estimated growth rate at "20.1% between 2006 and 2011, compared with 5.2% for the non-Aboriginal population" (Statistics Canada 2011). Of this growing Aboriginal population, about 61% are First Nations, 32% Métis, and 4% Inuit (Statistics Canada 2011). The Aboriginal population has a high young population and a much smaller older (65+) sector, which is reflective of an underdeveloped sector. According to the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS), about 28% of the Aboriginal Peoples in Canada were less than 15 years of age compared to the larger population at 17%, and educational attainment is a great concern (Statistics Canada 2015). Saskatchewan has a significant share in that national Aboriginal population, with an estimated 11.3% (157,740) Aboriginal Peoples living in Saskatchewan (Statistics Canada 2011).

Aboriginal economic development is an emerging national priority among Aboriginal leaders, industry and government authorities. A recent report by the National Aboriginal Economic Development Board argues that Aboriginal Canadians are a critical part of Canada's long-term prosperity and federal strategic government measures and levering partnerships are needed to engage them in the national economy. The labour market has yet to successfully capitalize on the fast growing Aboriginal youth population although important training and employment opportunities are developing. The Aboriginal business sector is in a growth mode levered by innovative industry partnerships and land claim settlements (The National Aboriginal Economic Development Board 2012, p. 3). The ongoing high unemployment rates and lack of appropriate training and education in the Aboriginal population, however, require significant interim building steps especially in Aboriginal communities, including developing infrastructure, technical capacity and locally accessible training programs. Statistics Canada estimates that the average unemployment rate in 2009 for Aboriginal Peoples was 13.9% compared to 8.1% for non-Aboriginal Peoples (Statistics Canada 2011a). The 2011 rates are similar with the Aboriginal unemployment rate of 13% effectively doubling the non-Aboriginal rate of 6% (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada 2011). Lagging education attainment rates suggest that 29% of the Aboriginal population have not completed high school compared to 12% of in the non-Aboriginal sector of the same age (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada 2011).

In relation to this national picture, Saskatchewan's Aboriginal profile is similarly marginalized. The 2006 demographic data report a provincial Aboriginal population of 141,890 at an estimated average growth rate of 2.5% per year. It is a fast growing young population with 55% being less than 25 years of age compared to 31 % for the non-Aboriginal population (Elliot 2009). Almost half (49%) of the 2006 Aboriginal population (15 year of age and older) did not complete high school and only about a third (29%) completed university or technical education (Elliot 2009). There is high unemployment. The off-reserve Aboriginal unemployment rate for 2013 was estimated at 12.2% compared to 15.8% in 2012 (Saskatchewan 2013). Compared to the non-Aboriginal unemployment rates, however, the gap remains significant. According to a 2013 federal Labour Market Report, the 2011 unem-

ployment rate in Saskatchewan for Aboriginal Peoples was 15.5 % compared to 4.1% for non-Aboriginal Peoples, although there was slight improvement from 2006–2011 (Employment and Social Development Canada 2013).[4] Employment rates for Saskatchewan First Nations on reserve are estimated at 33% suggesting a much higher unemployment rate overall for Aboriginal Peoples in Saskatchewan (Elliot 2009). Recent estimates suggest that First Nations unemployment rates may be nearly five times higher that the non-Aboriginal rate (Senick 2013). What is evident is that much work needs to be done in Saskatchewan, as far as education and training for employability is concerned, although there are likely other factors that affect employment as well.

A more positive outlook of Canada and Saskatchewan Aboriginal Peoples is that of a promising, young, fast growing demographic that could have significant positive impact on the national and provincial economy if properly supported and educated. A recent report by Statistics Canada suggests a positive correlation between participation in extracurricular activities (sports — 46%, arts — 25%, clubs — 19%) and high school completion among off-reserve First Nations (Statistics Canada 2015). The messaging is consistent. Industry and governments need to be more engaged in working with Aboriginal communities for their development and training. Tangible positive results in the communities will be the measure of success. Supporting and helping build the skills of children and youth through positive and organized engagement in sports, clubs and arts and other educational opportunities are important steps in the development continuum.

NORTHERN SASKATCHEWAN PROFILE

Northern Saskatchewan is a distinct 'provincial north' region in Canada's *North* covering about half of the province (Bone 2012) with an estimated 4% of the Saskatchewan population residing there. It is distinct not only because of its cold subarctic geography and beautiful forests and lakes, but it is also home to a largely Aboriginal population with a distinct northern way of life (*Pimachesowin*) including hunting, trapping, commercial fishing and wild rice harvesting (Beatty, Berdahl, and Poelzer 2013, p. 125). Over 37,000 people live in about 45 northern communities (municipalities, reserves) and over 86% are Aboriginal (Berdahl, Beatty, and Poelzer 2011, p. 92). The region is better identified as the "Northern Administrative District," an area legislated by the provincial "Northern Administration Act, 1948," to facilitate the management and development of that region (Government of Saskatchewan 2014; Beatty, Berdahl, and Poelzer 2013, p. 122).

The Northern economy with its abundant natural resources has been experiencing an economic boom of sorts but the benefits have yet to trickle down to the Aboriginal communities in a tangible way, aside from encouraging efforts by some mining companies and government programs to train and employ workers to meet their specialized skill requirements (Berdahl, Beatty, and Poelzer 2011, p. 90). It has a high growth rate and a large youth population (34% under 15 years of age), high youth unemployment, low median income ($31,007), shortage of housing (18% overcrowding), all of which raise serious infrastructure issues for municipalities (Saskatchewan Association of Northern Communities (SANC) Ser-

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[4] The Labour Market Bulletin excludes the on-reserve population and with unemployment rates higher on most reserves, it is assumed the overall Aboriginal unemployment rate is also higher.

vices Inc. 2011). Some estimates suggest a northern population of 45000 by 2021 (Beatty, Berdahl, Poelzer et al. 2013). According to a recent northern training assessment report, over half of the working age population has not finished high school, and Aboriginal unemployment rates are high at 18.9% compared to 7% in southern Saskatchewan (The Northern Labour Market Committee 2011, p. 2).

The potential loss of cultural and economic knowledge also concerns northern Aboriginal Peoples. Aboriginal culture is widely known for its respect for the elders (elderly), but that population (65+) is only 4.5% of the northern population (Irvine, Quinn, and Stockdale 2011, p. 8). This has serious ramifications for traditional knowledge transference and translation. The bush way of life with all its inherent history, culture, economic and associated work values and belief systems are under pressure. It was interesting in the study to find that the majority of northern Aboriginal respondents, including the youth, strongly believed that it was important to protect and sustain the traditional knowledge of the elders. The youth in the focus groups specifically desired more organized opportunities to bond with their elders, go out on the land and learn more about their traditional ways of life and its value systems (Beatty, Berdahl, Poelzer et al. 2013, p. 6). The Aboriginal language retention is still fairly strong with over 40% still speaking Cree, Dene or Michif at home, and it is still being passed down to the youth, with nearly 46% survey respondents (ages 18–24) indicating they spoke an Aboriginal language.

The Aboriginal economy is largely a blended economy where many families still supplement their household resources from a variety of sources, including traditional subsistence hunting produce (meat, fish, fowl) and employment revenue from wage income, as well as traditional commercial fishing and trapping enterprises (Beatty, Berdahl, Poelzer et al. 2011, p. 10). For instance, over 95% of the commercial fishing industry is localized to northern Saskatchewan and over 89% are Aboriginal (Derek Murray Consulting Associates 2006, p. 76), so it has strong regional impact. The commercial fishing industry in northern Saskatchewan that emerged in the 1950s has continued to be sustained in many respects by the tenacity of local commercial fishing cooperatives, which continue to face troubles with increasing transportation costs, market downturns and pressures from external interests (Stewart 2013). The commercial fishing industry today continues to remain viable with about 700 licensed commercial fishers employing an estimated 1500 seasonal helpers (Saskatchewan Environment 2014). This is consistent with a 2006 Government of Saskatchewan report on the economic value of Saskatchewan commercial fishing, that reported the industry generated new economic activity estimated at $4.8 Million, including processing, and employing about 613 licensed commercial fishermen, and 270 full-time helpers or an estimated 1200 jobs given the seasonal nature of commercial fishing (Derek Murray Consulting Associates 2006, p. 4). The report noted that about 14% of the northern workforce depends on seasonal employment from commercial fishing and with the average income being lower in northern Saskatchewan, its impact becomes much more significant to northern people's annual incomes. It suggested not having a commercial fishing industry would generate serious social costs, not to mention jeopardizing northern culture and tradition, which it acknowledges, "similar to farming, fishing is a family business that is handed down through generations" (Derek Murray Consulting Associates 2006, p. 9).

The pressures on the traditional industries are enormous, as my late dad once told me, "it is going to get worse as the world gets smaller and the population in the north gets bigger and bigger." In other words, the pressures for scarce resources are going to potentially overrun these traditional Aboriginal industries unless they are protected and accommodated

within the new corporate developments — in other words, balanced development with strong conditions negotiated with Aboriginal Peoples. As long as Land, labour and capital are still the tenets of modern capitalism and basic generators in the production of wealth, Aboriginal Peoples in the north will be engaged in imbalanced relationships with wealthier corporate interests and government authorities. Nonetheless, they will still continue to have strong political and economic leverage with their lands and Aboriginal Rights, traditional industries, and strong kinship cultures, as well as their demographics and politically engaged communities. For Aboriginal northerners, political engagement is based on the desire to protect and maintain their traditional lands and way of life and culture, a pattern that others suggest is likely to continue for most First Nations (Slowey 2005, p. 10; Cardinal and Hildebrandt 2000). Those long involved in northern education and training realize how significant partnership networks are towards building effective programs (The Northern Labour Market Committee 2011, p. 2). Common concerns with high unemployment, low education attainment, high youth population, high social problems, and the risk of losing northern cultural values, language and a way of life, especially with a small elderly population, all reflect a region going through hard changes. It was important therefore to try to better understand their contemporary way of life, political culture, political and community engagement and their key concerns.

THE NORTHERN ABORIGINAL POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT STUDY

The Northern Aboriginal Political Engagement Study took place in northern Saskatchewan. The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) Strategic Grants Program supported the three-year project. The objective of the study was to better understand the political and economic roles that growing Aboriginal communities played in northern Saskatchewan. It explored how Aboriginal populations in northern Saskatchewan engage in political processes and examine the factors that explain these patterns of engagement.

The project consisted of literature review, a telephone survey in 2010 and a series of youth focus groups in eight communities over a few summers. The youth focus groups were essentially to accommodate the underrepresentation of youth (ages 18–24) in the survey sample. The telephone survey was conducted in Cree, Dene and English to accommodate the main language groups in the region. It was done over a period of two months in 2010 (November–December) and of the 850 people that responded to it, 505 were Aboriginal (Beatty, Berdahl, Poelzer et al. 2013). Much coordination and communication with community leaders was carried out before the survey, during the survey and after the survey by research team members. It was particularly helpful to be able to work with a popular northern radio (Misinipi Broadcasting Corporation) to promote the survey to northern households repeatedly over a set time period in English, Cree and Dene. It was also crucial to have graduate students helping with the communication, coordination and research support with community focus groups and other matters. It was a successful study to the extent that it yielded such a good response rate and that it engaged both formal and informal communication systems among the political and community interests.

The thematic areas explored demographic information, community engagement, political engagement (formal and informal), political culture and later added, youth engagement. The findings produced an important picture about the nature of contemporary northern polit-

ical culture, including low levels of reported political engagement in provincial and federal politics compared to the high political engagement and commitment reported towards local governments and communities. The reported community-based engagement illustrated high desire (96.3%) to protect the traditional northern ways of life (hunting, trapping, fishing, gathering) and values associated with it. This was similar with the youth (ages 18–24) findings as well with over 98% believing that the traditional way of life was important. Sharing is a cultural trait. Over 79.4% reported giving away or sharing their traditional food, which is reflective of the Aboriginal kinship system in the north where sharing scarce resources was a necessity of life for generations. It created a distributive mechanism that has sustained Aboriginal life in the north through many internal and external pressures throughout its history and undoubtedly will continue to do so.

The distributive nature of northern Aboriginal culture is also reflected in the relatively high levels of community engagement reported with 66.4% indicating they provided care or support for others, nearly 50% reported helping with school, church and other community events, and nearly 40% reported volunteering in organized community events such as teaching or coaching, and slightly less (31.7%) in participating in Boards or committees (Beatty, Berdahl, Poelzer et al. 2013). Not surprisingly, northern community engagement largely consisted of outdoor events, such as sports days and ski-doo rallies, along with the more traditional harvesting activities. Youth also exhibited strong community engagement especially in informal events and activities', including traditional outdoor activities, with over 98% believing it was important to do so. Some of the contextual reasons in the focus groups suggested the reasons for involvement included feeling some sense of accomplishment, acting as role model, having better mental and physical health, and keeping youth out of trouble through recreational activities (Beatty, Berdahl, Poelzer et al. 2013.

This northern preference is similarly reflected in the political attitudes toward government with 41.3% reporting that northern issues affect their voting preference in terms of candidates and political parties. Northern regionalism is apparent in the strong perception of alienation from government decisions, with 75.3% reporting they believed governments located in the south and in Ottawa made many important decisions affecting them (Beatty, Berdahl, Poelzer et al. 2013). The perceived importance of voting in general elections (86.7%) and voting in local Band elections (90.1%), suggested a high interest in the democratic right to vote. However, the reported voting in general elections was considerably lower (57.2 % in the last provincial election, 46.7% in the last federal election), but much better in the local Band elections with 68.8% Band members indicating they voted (Beatty, Berdahl, Poelzer et al. 2013). Youth are dramatically less engaged politically, with nearly 81% youth respondents reporting not voting in the last provincial election and 92% reporting not voting in the last federal election. The contextual reasons reflected in the focus groups for this lack of participation in politics included being too busy, not caring, not believing things will change, improper identification and not knowing where to vote, all of which reflect mistrust towards politics in general and lack of electoral experience and public education (Beatty, Berdahl, Poelzer et al. 2013. What is interesting is that notwithstanding their dissatisfaction and low voter turnout, the majority Aboriginal youth (70.3%) still believe that it was important for people to go out and vote in general elections.

Northern Saskatchewan with its majority Aboriginal population voted in a New Democratic Party candidate in the 2015 Federal election, contrary to the rest of the province that went mostly Conservative. It had been a tight race between the three political parties each

represented by Aboriginal candidates. The federal voter turnout in the Desnethe–Missinippi–Churchill River federal riding was at an all time high at 30,192/44,320 (68.12%) compared to the 2011 turnout at 50% (CBC News 2015). While there were many factors, one of the more likely reasons for the high voter turnout and shift was likely the negative feelings against the former Conservative Prime Minister that ran across most of the country. In any event, what was evident that concerted mobilization efforts across the north by all parties and the strategic push by Aboriginal leaders for Aboriginal Peoples to go vote in the federal elections paid off resulting in a noticeable high Aboriginal voter turnout across the country. Estimates suggest that the 27/33 ridings in the 2011 Federal elections with the largest Aboriginal populations showed significant increases in voter turnout higher than the national average (Grenier 2015).

The challenges that Aboriginal northerners face are well known. Both the telephone respondents and youth focus groups reported that they believed the biggest issues in their communities including addictions (alcohol, drugs), housing and unemployment. The youth also added the lack of recreation activities for youth and children, as well as the need for better education (Beatty, Berdahl, Poelzer et al. 2013). These priority concerns perhaps underlay the main issues regarding development in the north to find ways of addressing the serious addictions and chronic patterns of unemployment and insufficient housing.

The north has faced colonization challenges for many years and has had its share of strong Aboriginal leaders and resilient communities. The northern culture that evolved through the fur-trade in the north followed by State interventions and regulation of natural resources during the post-war era produced resilient community 'builders' — those who built the northern infrastructure around organized communities and public services (Beatty, Berdahl, and Poelzer 2013). This demographic of respected elderly leaders is nearly gone replaced by new generations. The demographics today suggest that the youth and children are increasingly outnumbering the household providers, and many are moving out of their communities into cities for various purposes, and at best, will likely remain transient between both worlds. There is concern over the increasing underdevelopment in many communities, fears that it may be building towards a type of perfect storm of pressures for the Aboriginal Peoples of the north, in terms of cultural resilience, community development and traditional environmental stewardship. But it is not there yet, and there are renewed calls to protect the northern culture and its developments.

KEY ISSUES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The strengths of northern Saskatchewan include a robust regional political culture with strong community allegiances and distinct Aboriginal culture, as reflected in their traditional values, community and political engagement, language retention and northern way of life. Aboriginal northerners have a strong commitment towards maintaining their traditional ways of life, as illustrated in the study where nearly 86% of local respondents reported believing that it was 'very important' (Berdahl, Beatty, and Poelzer 2011, p. 96). The older population in the local reserve communities (ages 65+ years) was 100% convinced that it was important to maintain their traditional way of life, compared to 76% of the youth (ages 18–29) who felt the same way (Berdahl, Beatty, and Poelzer 2011, p. 96). This is not unusual considering that most of the post-1980s youth would not have remembered growing up on the traplines and fishing camps like their parents and grandparents. Nonetheless, the youth would still be

familiar with commercial fishing and trapping since many of their households still engage in these to support family incomes and practice their culture, hence the continuing belief towards protecting the traditional ways of life.

Along with the strengths of Northern Aboriginal communities, are worrisome demographic trends, that suggest a region facing some serious social and economic challenges, including a fast growing young population that is largely underemployed, a mixed economy that is pressuring traditional industries in favour of corporate developments, high unemployment in the communities with low education attainment especially among the youth, limited housing and a myriad of social problems emerging largely from poverty conditions, such as alcohol and drug addictions that have yet to be addressed appropriately.

Some positive signs for improvement opportunities lie in improving Aboriginal voting patterns in the region. Northern Aboriginal voting appears strategic with high local voter turnouts in the communities but less than average turnouts in provincial and federal elections. The 2011 Federal election was different in that it was strongly strategic as far as getting the Aboriginal vote out. Regional alienation or at least perceptions of it was an underlying factor in the north, with the broader perceptions that governments in the south were making unilateral decisions that negatively impacted their communities.

Perceptions of regional alienation are challenging for any government since most are located far from the north. Creating opportunities for enhancing political engagement, therefore, could lessen the general political mistrust with provincial and federal governments. More opportunities for political engagement for communities and youth have to still be developed since the current consultation mechanisms and processes are not sufficiently addressing northern concerns. The majority in the survey obviously believed that northerners should vote in general elections, which suggests the interest is there but other factors are creating barriers. Identity, family and extended kinship networks are integrated into a way of life and thinking, so it is necessary to build on these strengths. The assumption behind local development and political and community engagement is that what is good for the individual will ultimately affect the good of the family, the community and region.

Political and Community Engagement can be empowering as people become more involved, educated and experienced. The study suggests that there is a high level of political and community engagement in the communities suggesting a robust social capital that is engaged in building their communities and can respond to external industry and government interests. The ways that political leaders and governments can better engage Aboriginal communities and youth, in particular, is to accommodate communities in developments that concern them and create strategic opportunities for engagement and education.

The barriers to political involvement need to be identified within the region between community leaders and the youth. The youth focus groups identified some common issues that contributed to their dissatisfaction with the governments which included the perceived federal lack of transparency to the Aboriginal communities, the lack of education and awareness in election processes and political parties, the notions that they were not helping the local communities enough (employment, recreation and youth facilities), the perceived attempts to take away their Treaty Rights and the lack of opportunities for youth to engage in meaningful ways in their communities and region.

Northern research can be useful if appropriately done. It can support the self-determination efforts of the north in a way that respects their political culture, on the other hand, it can also raise unrealistic expectations that may not be achievable and cause research fatigue, where people feel researched out and not want to participate. Many years ago, Coates raised

the issue of needing to develop a regional conceptual framework for studying the north rather than using southern paradigms that failed to properly explain the reality and nature of northern life (Coates 1994, p. 15). He was correct but, given the Indigenous demographics, more is needed. An Indigenous framework for studying the north is absolutely necessary for Aboriginal scholars since northern scholarship favours the non-Indigenous paradigms (north and south), which are very different from the indigenous perspectives. In fact, northern frameworks can marginalize the Indigenous realities and the voices of the Indigenous Peoples behind a broader conceptual framework. Coates refers to these different perceptions and expectations between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples as "tensions" that can result in disagreements over regional development, and lead to segregation and racism, especially in areas where the majority is non-indigenous (Coates 1994, p. 28).

The Indigenous and non-Indigenous tensions are still evident, but have improved with time, especially in regions where Aboriginal Peoples are more actively engaged in the broader economic and political systems. The northern Aboriginal political culture is still primarily rooted in Indigenous-based value systems that have been challenged but have survived a rather negative colonial history with the non-Aboriginal Peoples that moved into the north changing their lives and power relations through the fur trade, industry, and government systems. One of the helpful ways towards developing better northern understandings and relations is having more northern Aboriginal Peoples attaining graduate degrees and starting to express their distinct perspectives in their papers. Recently, a group of northern Keewetinohk Indigenous Scholars met to explore ways to build northern Indigenous scholarship, most were alumni of the Masters in Northern Governance and Development Program at the University of Saskatchewan. A sense of responsibility to pass on the northern Indigenous knowledge of the communities to the broader academy was a common sentiment as well as exchanging information and knowledge with other northern scholars. The Northern Keewetinohk Indigenous Scholars Network is currently working in collaboration with the International Centre of Northern Governance and Development (ICNGD) as a first step towards building northern Indigenous scholarship in collaborative and distributive ways with others who support indigenous development.

A challenge for further research and education is that it should be relevant to the needs of the communities. The NAPC study made this clear. It confirmed some priority areas that have been raised in northern Saskatchewan for many years. The areas of addictions (alcohol, drugs), housing shortages and unemployment have been a continuing challenge for northerner people and communities and the subject of many innovative local efforts. Research can support such local efforts. The NAPC study revealed a robust illustration of indigenous social capital in the northern communities where people were actively engaged in various volunteer activities and providing care or support through informal social networks (79.4% sharing traditional foods, 66.4% counselling and visiting) (Beatty, Berdahl, Poelzer, et al. 2013). Other related issues raised during the course of follow-up community meetings, included the need for targeted research that addresses family violence, education, culture and language loss, environmental concerns with land and water, pressure on the traditional resource industries and northern unity and collaboration.

Relevant research can also serve to raise flags that better informs political leaders and policy makers to better accommodate the continuing importance of the traditional resource harvesting industries (commercial trapping and fishing) to the northern Aboriginal Peoples and their families. Furthermore, it can broaden their perspectives to better appreciate the fact that these local resource industries by their very nature can be very effective monitoring

vehicles to check and balance any potentially harmful excesses of the bigger industrial mining, forestry and hydro developments.

A better understanding of the region's Aboriginal political culture is good for the political system as a whole. It can inform political leaders, governments, and industry to make more informed decisions. It is clear from the NAPC study that northern Aboriginal Peoples want to be more engaged in the decisions affecting their lives and communities. The advisory-type glass ceilings that have been the standard for engagement in the north for many years is no longer sufficient and people are less willing to be tolerant of engaging in advisory committees that do not show tangible benefits. Alienation of a significant group in a potential area of development is usually a recipe for problems. This message was evident in the follow up meetings with northern communities after the NAPC survey was done. One of the common issues identified by community members included the need to appropriately address the environmental impacts by resource developers. Another concern was for the need to develop programs to educate and occupy youth in both contemporary and traditional skills so they become productive parents and citizens.

It was also evident from the follow-up community meetings that maximum utilization and application of research findings and reports should go beyond journals and academic scholarship. People wanted to know how they could use the research. They appreciated user-friendly reports as far as using the data to better inform community proposals, strategies and program planning. For example, in the area of knowledge transference, one example that was identified was to expand the role of elders in all areas to ensure that their traditional knowledge, gained from years of experience, was preserved and transferred to future generations. The protection and sustainability of the Aboriginal Cree, Dene and Michif languages of the north was also raised repeatedly.

These are a few of the areas that Indigenous and other northern scholars can best provide relevant support through research, writing and other policy building initiatives. Research was repeatedly identified as a potentially useful tool for community empowerment. Research should be developed in partnership with the communities and used strategically to develop tools that benefit Aboriginal communities and the north. For example, the need for public awareness and education around the importance of voting in general elections, especially for the Aboriginal youth, was confirmed in both the NAPC survey and focus groups. It was also clear that a distinctive Aboriginal youth strategy was needed to address the lack of political knowledge and to promote engagement. Political parties were also mentioned as playing key roles towards educating the communities about their political platforms and policies regarding the north and the Aboriginal communities.

CONCLUSION

It is evident that the northern communities have a fast growing population and are becoming a strong political force in the political and economic development of northern Saskatchewan with their majority Aboriginal population. The NAPC study suggests strong evidence of a robust Indigenous social capital and a sharing political culture in the communities and in the region. Modern life is still embedded in informal social and kinship networks that continue to influence community engagement, even with the youth, who are generally not as engaged. The youth focus groups in the NAPC study suggested that youth would be more engaged if there were more accessible opportunities for them.

Northern Aboriginal Peoples consider the north their homeland and their view of the future is for future generations. They desire accessible opportunities to be strategically developed in their communities, especially for the youth. Relevant education and training was a common theme. Political engagement was another with participants wanting more public education about voting processes and the various positions of the political parties towards northern Aboriginal Peoples and their Indigenous rights. The follow-up community forums also raised the issues of relevant northern Aboriginal research to benefit their communities. There is clearly a need for more strategic research that can benefit and better engage northern communities, not to mention helping inform the political actors towards improved strategic planning and programs for the north. Helping build northern Indigenous scholarship is important. These and other efforts to sustain and protect northern traditional culture and sustainable development in the north is needed and will help support the promotion and protection of the northern Indigenous culture.

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Attracting Aboriginal Youth to The Study of Business: Mentorship, Networking, and Technology

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Janice Esther Tulk, Mary Beth Doucette, and Allan MacKenzie

CAPE BRETON UNIVERSITY

ABSTRACT

There is widespread recognition that Aboriginal Canada needs more community members with business training to work in economic development and management, particularly with the growing development of natural resources in Aboriginal territories and self-governance initiatives. Yet, only 12% of funded Aboriginal students pursue post-secondary education in business or commerce. Barriers to the pursuit of tertiary education include inadequate student preparation and career guidance, lack of funding, and attitudes surrounding the ability to do math. The Purdy Crawford Chair in Aboriginal Business Studies at Cape Breton University addresses these barriers via its program for Aboriginal youth, which combines mentorship, networking, and technology to facilitate the transition from high school to post-secondary studies and engage students in business education. This article outlines the model employed by the Purdy Crawford Chair and assesses the initiative in relation to relevant literature on mentorship and technology.

INTRODUCTION

In his report *Aboriginal Peoples and Post-secondary Education in Canada*, Mendelson concludes:

> Aboriginal peoples are a growing part of Canada's population, especially in the West and the North. While there are many Aboriginal people who are doing quite well, on average the Aboriginal population suffers from higher unemployment, lower levels of education, below average incomes and many other indicators of limited socioeconomic circumstances. These problems will have an increasing negative impact on the well-being of *all* of Canada, particularly in the West and the North. It is critical for all Canadians that this dire situation changes for the better. The way to effect change is through success in education. Numerous studies have shown that Aboriginal people

who achieve a post-secondary education do as well on most indicators (though not quite as well in employment levels) as the general population. But everyone loses when Aboriginal students fail to succeed. (2006, p. 35)

The Canadian reality is that fewer Aboriginal students go on to study at colleges and universities than do their non-Aboriginal counterparts. Not surprisingly, then, the number of Aboriginal students pursuing business education at post-secondary institutions is also low. While 18.3% of all students in Canadian post-secondary institutions study business, management, or public administration,[1] only 12% of funded Aboriginal students pursue post-secondary education in business or commerce.[2] There is widespread recognition, however, of the need for more Aboriginals with business training to work in economic development and management in communities across Canada, particularly with the growing development of natural resources in Aboriginal territories and self-governance initiatives (Colbourne 2012, p. 73; Kirkness 1995, p. 34).

The ability to respond to this need is constrained by student preparation in junior high and high school. Many note that secondary schools do not adequately prepare Aboriginal students for the reality of workforce and advanced studies (for example, Bruce and Marlin 2012; Restoule et al. 2013). Further, our research with Aboriginal students and economic development officers across Canada[3] has revealed the need for higher quality career guidance programs, improved academic guidance[4] to ensure that students are eligible for direct admission into post-secondary programs (instead of having to upgrade to meet entrance requirements), and improved financial literacy. Participants indicated that students were often counselled out of academic math because it is not required to graduate and, indeed, Aboriginal students may be led to believe that they are less capable of doing math (Wagner, 2011) or pursuing post-secondary education more generally (Restoule et al. 2013, p. 5). Our consultations also revealed that due to limited funding available for post-secondary education, students are often encouraged to pursue technical programs or trades instead of university programs because they often cost less.[5] Consequently, many Aboriginal high school students are not effectively prepared to consider the value of a business education, are graduating without the pre-requisites required to enter their chosen programs, and in some cases are not being encouraged to follow particular educational paths.[6]

Faced with the challenge of how to overcome these educational barriers and encourage more Aboriginal youth to study business, the Purdy Crawford Chair in Aboriginal Business Studies at Cape Breton University (CBU) launched a pilot business mentorship program in

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[1] Enrolments for 2013–2014 according to Statistics Canada (http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/educ72a-eng.htm, accessed 26 September 2016).

[2] Statistics (cited for 2010–2011) are only available for First Nations and Inuit students receiving funding from the federal government and so may be misleading as they do not capture all Aboriginal students in Canada (AANDC, personal communication, June 4, 2012).

[3] Student roundtables were held in Sydney, Nova Scotia on October 19, 2011, in Ottawa, Ontario on January 24, 2012, and in Edmonton, Alberta on March 19, 2012. The roundtable with economic development officers was held in Eskasoni, Nova Scotia on October 28, 2011.

[4] Participants noted that often guidance counsellors are doing the best they can, but they themselves have not received adequate training. This echoes Mendelson\'92s (2008) finding that First Nation-run schools may not be able to provide professional development opportunities for staff (p. 3).

[5] A recent survey of Aboriginal students in Ontario indicated that less than 50% of First Nations students receive funding to pursue tertiary education (Restoule et al. 2013, p. 3).

[6] Similar observations might be made of STEM education (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics).

Nova Scotia in 2011. Then referred to as the Business Network for Aboriginal Youth (BNAY), the program combined mentorship, networking, and technology to facilitate the transition from high school to post-secondary studies and engage students in business education. In this article, we describe the establishment of the Purdy Crawford Chair in Aboriginal Business Studies, review relevant literature on mentorship and technology that shapes and contextualizes our work, and explain how the Business Network for Aboriginal Youth developed, identifying key components of the program. We then assess the effectiveness of the Business Network for Aboriginal Youth, outline changes made as a result of the three-year pilot, and comment on the expansion of the program as In.Business — A Mentorship Program for Indigenous Youth across Canada.

ESTABLISHING THE PURDY CRAWFORD CHAIR IN ABORIGINAL BUSINESS STUDIES

Cape Breton University has a forty year history of supporting Aboriginal communities through engagement and partnership (Cape Breton University, n.d.) and, compared to other universities in Atlantic Canada, has had higher application and admittance rates for Aboriginal students (Bruce et al., 2010). The majority of students, however, are enrolled in the Bachelor of Arts (BA) or Bachelor of Arts in Community Studies (BACS) programs. The percentage of applications received from Mi'kmaw students to study business is significantly lower than for many other programs.

When CBU established the Shannon School of Business Advisory Board, the late Purdy Crawford, a distinguished and respected Canadian lawyer, asked several questions of fellow board member Chief Terry Paul of Membertou. Was there a reason why more Aboriginal people are not involved in or educated in business? Was there something the board could do — *should do*? Crawford's questions revealed his insistence that the creation of viable and vibrant economies for Aboriginal communities requires that both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people rise to the challenge. The only way Aboriginal people can fully engage in such initiatives is by understanding business and the economy, and by finding ways to make them work for and with their communities. The advisory board determined the best course of action was to build on existing partnerships and networks to put in place an applied research chair dedicated to Aboriginal business studies. This research chair would have practical project deliverables related to research, curriculum, and recruitment as they pertain to Aboriginal business. Research would lead to the creation of educational resources for post-secondary business programs, with the hope that having more culturally inclusive and appropriate curriculum materials would make the study of business more attractive and relevant to Aboriginal students. The first holder of the research chair was Dr. Keith G. Brown, Vice President, International and Aboriginal Affairs at CBU until June 2016. Early in his career as an educator, he taught in a remote northern community and saw firsthand the challenges faced in such communities.

In December 2010, a concept paper was prepared at the request of the SSOB Advisory Board. It defined the need for a research chair in Aboriginal business studies and the business case for establishing it as a fully endowed project that would continue in perpetuity after five years of fundraising. Cape Breton businessman Joe Shannon and Membertou Chief Terry Paul presented this proposal to representatives of the federal government, thereby initiating a discussion that led to partial funding from Aboriginal Affairs and North-

ern Development Canada (AANDC, now Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada). Additional funding was obtained from Enterprise Cape Breton Corporation (ECBC), which established an endowment fund to enable the work of the Chair to continue beyond the initial five-year start up phase.[7]

As part of the funding arrangement, AANDC required that there be provincial government and private sector support for the research chair. Since the Province of Nova Scotia was willing to fund a project that was complementary to, but distinguishable from, that funded by AANDC, there was a need to identify a specific initiative. *A Study of the Atlantic Aboriginal Post-Secondary Labour Force* had revealed the importance of adequate and appropriate preparation of young Aboriginal people in the school system so that they will be ready to attend post-secondary institutions if they so desire:

> In order to better prepare Aboriginal students for success in the labour market, it is recommended that elementary and secondary schools develop and implement more effective and meaningful career planning programs and activities. This should be developed by Education Directors and build upon successful initiatives in place in some schools/communities in the region. Furthermore, partnerships should be forged with employers to provide placements and mentorships be established through the leadership of the Chief and Council, and through proactive efforts of business leaders. (Bruce et al. 2010, p. 75)

While this study focussed on the Atlantic Provinces, it was clear that similar challenges existed elsewhere. A variety of Aboriginal youth programming initiatives had been established in other areas of Canada, such as the Ch'nook program[8] in British Columbia which incorporated networking and mentorship.[9] As Rao and Mitchell (1998) have noted, "relationships play an important role in developing new leaders," but they warn that "too many of today's learners have come to think of networking as a substitute for mentoring" (Rao and Mitchell 1998, pp. 46–48). Recognizing the potential for impact through mentorship, but also the need to create a new model where students and mentors could be connected across space and time, the Purdy Crawford Chair in Aboriginal Business Studies envisioned a pilot project that combined mentorship, social media and networking, and technology that could be supported by the provincial government and Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey (MK).[10]

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[7] ECBC was a Crown corporation located in Sydney and dedicated to supporting economic development in the region. In 2014, operation was transferred to Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency and Public Works and Government Services Canada.

[8] Since 2003, the Ch'nook Initiative has focused on increasing Aboriginal participation in post-secondary business education studies in the province of British Columbia and across Canada. Ch'nook offers a wide range of business education opportunities, some of which are aimed at promoting business education to Aboriginal high school students (for example, their "Cousins" program). Other programs provide extended learning opportunities for post-secondary Aboriginal business students enrolled in institutions across British Columbia and Canada (for example, the Indigenous Business Education Network). For more on the program, visit <http://www.chnook.org/>. See also Colbourne 2012.

[9] Other initiatives include eSpirit, a business plan competition for Aboriginal high school students sponsored by Business Development Bank of Canada, which ran until 2015 (https://www.bdc.ca/en/resources/espirit/espirit-competition.html, accessed 26 September 2016), and the Martin Aboriginal Education Initiative, which runs an Aboriginal Youth Entrepreneurship Program and an Accounting Mentorship Program (http://www.maei-ieam.ca/, accessed 26 September 2016).

[10] Mi'kmaw Kina'matnewey is the education authority in Nova Scotia in which 12 of the 13 First Nations are partnered.

As a result of these partnerships, the Purdy Crawford Chair in Aboriginal Business Studies was established at Cape Breton University with four primary objectives: research on what drives success in Aboriginal communities, the development of resources that support and enhance business curriculum, the recruitment of Aboriginal students to the study of business, and mentorship at secondary and post-secondary levels. The mentorship initiative for secondary students was originally referred to as the Business Network for Aboriginal Youth.

MENTORSHIP, TECHNOLOGY, AND INNOVATION

Traditionally, mentorship refers to a relationship between an adult and a child or youth. For example, Erickson et al (2009) state: "Mentors are non-parental adults who take a special interest in the lives of youth. They step outside their normal social roles as teachers, relatives, youth workers, ministers, and employers by helping to guide young people in the transition to adulthood with advice and emotional support and by serving as role models" (2009, p. 344). Such relationships may develop informally or formally. Those that develop formally do so "with organizational assistance or intervention, which is usually in the form of matching mentors with protégés" (Ragins 2000, p. 1177). The efficacy of formal mentoring relationships is sometimes questioned, since formal mentors "may be less personally invested" than informal mentors who enter such relationships with particular individuals by their own initiative (Ragins 2000, 1179). Nevertheless, "when relationships with nonparental adults are experienced by youth as meaningful and supportive, they can serve as a catalyst for several intertwined developmental and interpersonal processes that, in turn, help young people to both avoid problems and reach their full potential" (Dubois et al. 2011, p. 66).

In the past few decades, formal mentorship programs have emerged largely as an intervention strategy for at-risk populations (see DuBois et al. 2011, p. 58). Such programs are often established with both "soft" and "hard" outcomes or goals. Soft outcomes are subjective and more difficult to measure, and include such goals as attitudinal change or improved self-esteem. Hard outcomes are more objective and easier to measure, such as improved academic performance or employment rates (DuBois et al. 2011, p. 74; Colley 2003, pp. 524–525). While we have never used the language of "intervention" in relation to the development of our program, it was designed to address the specific issues of the lack of support and guidance available to Aboriginal high school students and the relatively low enrolment rate of Aboriginal students in post-secondary business programs. For our purposes, the soft goals would include a reduction in the feeling of isolation experienced by students as the "only" student interested in business in their school and improved self-esteem or confidence. The hard goal for the program would be an increase in the number of Aboriginal youth studying business at the post-secondary level, and a recent study in the United States supports this goal, finding that youth with mentors are more likely to pursue post-secondary education than those without (Bruce and Bridgeland 2014, p. 3). Simply put, we wanted students to establish a vision for their future, to understand the possible pathways for attaining that vision, and to have the confidence to make the vision a reality.

While the traditional arrangement between one adult and one youth is common in mentorship programs, studies show that a variety of mentoring relationships are effective.

Group mentoring and older peer mentoring can be used to reach a program's goals and objectives (DuBois et al. 2011, p. 74). As Erickson et al. (2009) note, "peers can also serve as a positive resource for young people" (p. 346). Further, peer learning can lead students to "care more about their work" (Kitsis 2008, p. 30). Ultimately, the outcome of mentor-protégé relationships is more dependent on the quality of the arrangement than the specific type of relationship established (Ragins 2000, p. 1190). While it may be advantageous to have an ethnic or cultural match between those in a mentoring relationship, Syed et al. (2012) note that what "works" in any situation is dependent on the individuals involved: "Many often assume that ethnic minorities prefer to have mentors that share their background. Although our findings did support this notion, they also revealed important individual differences" (pp. 905–906). In short, having Aboriginal mentors for Aboriginal students would help to ensure a cultural match, but just as important was the match of personalities, experiences, and interests (among other factors).

While it is often assumed that mentoring relationships are in-person, face to face interactions, increasingly they are being mediated by technology. As Boris-Schacter and Vonasek (2009) observed of their own mentoring relationship, email mentoring "reduced the typical isolation a school principal faces and provided mutual emotional and intellectual nurturance" (494). This suggested, then, that mentoring at a distance could be viable in our program with the appropriate technology.

Technology can be a powerful tool for learning if efforts are made to improve competency in using it. That technology is appealing to students is an advantage. As Istance and Kools (2013) observe, youth "expect technology to be: a) a source of engagement to make learning more interesting and relevant, b) a means to make school work more convenient, and c) a means to make it more educationally productive" (p. 44). Indeed, these notions undergirded the design of our mentorship program, which endeavours to educate Aboriginal students about business in a way that is enjoyable, engaging, and easy.

The way that youth use technology is important to understand. Engagement with technology can be spoken about in terms of "messing around" and "geeking out." While these may appear to be discrete categories, they represent a continuum of engagement. Messing around is more about the consumption of content, while geeking out refers to the active creation of content. Most youth consume content, but never progress to creating content (Warschauer and Matuchniak 2010, pp. 192–194). Designing a mentorship program that promoted "geeking out" would expand the skill sets of participants while developing creative and innovative thought processes — key for future business leaders.

Wankel proposes several possible innovations to education that could capitalize on these competencies. For example, he suggests that, given the prevalence and relatively low cost of technology today, it would be possible to require students to purchase inexpensive video cameras rather than a textbook for a course and have them conduct interviews as part of course content (2009, p. 253). Indeed, with the advent of smartphones, it is likely that the majority of students would already have access to a handheld device with video capabilities. Wankel also describes the use of live tweeting during presentations, which allows students to be engaged and provide "instant feedback" (ibid, 254). The potential of such innovations for student engagement is significant. Indeed, such innovations, and technology more generally, "can redefine who are the teachers" (Istance and Kools, 2013, p. 52). A mentorship program, then, could be constructed to allow mentors, peers, program facilitators, community members, and others to share in this educational role. As such, we

attempted to employ technology in ways similar to those outlined by Wankel in the design and delivery of our program.

THE BUSINESS NETWORK FOR ABORIGINAL YOUTH

The Business Network for Aboriginal Youth (BNAY) was established to connect Aboriginal learners with an interest in business to their futures as business leaders. The following value statements were foundational to the program:

- Encouraging the study of business will help improve the economic future of Aboriginal communities;
- Connecting students with peers and mentors establishes support structures that will help students transition into post-secondary business studies;
- Exploring a variety of business options helps students make informed decisions regarding their education and career paths; and
- Connecting students in person and virtually helps to address issues of psychological and physical isolation.

From 2011 to 2014, the provincial program based in Nova Scotia connected thirty students with six mentors annually to explore business concepts and opportunities. The program had two primary components: in-person conferences and interaction via social media. In the sections that follow, we describe the application process for students, recruitment of mentors, role of advisors, and content of the program during the three-year pilot.

APPLICATION PROCESS AND STUDENT RECRUITMENT

At the start of each school year, the project manager, Allan MacKenzie, visited the high schools in Nova Scotia that had a significant number of Aboriginal students, and presented the program to Aboriginal students in grades 10, 11, and 12. A promotional video was created and introduced as part of the recruitment kit in the second year of the Nova Scotia pilot; however, the presentation also featured a PowerPoint presentation and question and answer period.[11] Students were informed that the program was meant to be both fun and educational, and were invited to apply if they had any interest in business. The application form requested basic information, as well as parental consent to apply to the program. Letters of reference (introduced in the second year of the pilot) were also required to be considered for the program. A scoring system developed in consultation with an advisory council was used to select successful applicants.

Students chosen for the program were asked to sign contracts that outlined their commitment to the program, as well as guidelines for the appropriate use of smartphones. Students were then placed in groups and matched with mentors who would guide their learning experience. Initially, students were grouped according to their specific interest in busi-

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[11] Promotional videos are available online at <https://www.youtube.com/user/PurdyCrawfordChair>.

ness (such as marketing or tourism) and a mentor with an appropriate background was assigned to that group. Following the first year, however, it was determined that students would benefit from exposure to many different aspects of business so that they could better determine their interests for the future. In the second year of the pilot, groups of students were instead created with an eye to diversity (age, grade, location, and gender) and assigned to a mentor. Each group was named after Mi'kmaw animals, such as *tiamuk* (moose) or *muinaq* (bears), as recommended by the advisory council.

RECRUITMENT OF MENTORS

In consultation with the advisory council, we determined that the ideal mentor for the BNAY was someone who was Aboriginal and relatively young (to ensure students could relate to mentors and vice versa), had recently graduated from business or a related discipline, and understood the value of a business degree and the effort required to attain one. Further, as a group, it was desirable to have mentors with diverse training backgrounds, work experiences, and geographic locations throughout the province. This profile for mentors was established with the belief that students could relate better to mentors from their own Aboriginal communities. Further, these mentors would hopefully understand the challenges faced by students and, therefore, be better able to support students in culturally appropriate ways.

Like students, mentors signed contracts that set out expectations for their involvement and interaction. As Paterson and Hart-Wasekeesikaw (1994) suggest, to ensure the best possible experience for those involved in a mentoring relationship, "Mentorship should be a contractual agreement in which the roles and expectations of each are made clear at the onset" (p. 75). Mentors were also required to provide criminal record checks annually. To assist mentors in their program work, resource binders were prepared and distributed. These included a variety of cultural and practical materials, including the Mi'kmaw Resource Guide (Bernard 2007)[12] and an excerpt outlining the seven sacred teachings (Bones et al., 2012); resources for conflict resolution, bullying, harassment, and discrimination; and the general admission requirements for colleges and universities in Nova Scotia. The binders also included sample activities referred to as "challenges" that could be used or modified as part of their programming and copies of the terms and conditions for both mentors and students. Mentors were responsible for providing guidance based on their experiences, creating a positive atmosphere for open communication, and offering constructive criticism in a supportive way.

ADVISORY COUNCIL

An advisory council comprised of Aboriginal educators, Elders, and business leaders was established to guide the development of the program and policies surrounding participation. Importantly, this group provided advice regarding content that students should be exposed to so that they become leaders in their communities. Members of the council emphasized that students should not be made to believe that choosing a business education meant

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[12] Available online at <http://cmmns.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/MIKMAWRGPrint.pdf> (accessed 26 September 2016).

sacrificing anything about themselves or culture; rather, culture and community-focused projects should be seen as integral to the success and future of their communities. Elders were specifically asked how cultural teachings could be more intentionally integrated into the program and, as a result, they regularly participated in conferences, sometimes leading ceremonies and sometimes sharing their personal experiences.

TECHNOLOGY AND PROGRAM CONTENT

Studies have observed that today's students are experienced with technology. For example, Wankel (2009) states, "students are digital natives ... who have been involved with computers from the time they were toddlers" (p. 251). Further, "they generally feel comfortable with computer-based collaborations such as those using social media" (ibid). Warschauer and Matuchniak (2010), however, caution that this notion of today's youth being "digital natives" is largely a myth, arguing that inequity still exists (p. 218). Though access to technology has increased significantly, it can still be uneven and limited by a number of factors, including income level and physical location (see Warschauer and Matuchniak 2010, p. 185). Similarly, Istance and Kools (2013) note that, the notion of the current generation being referred to as "digital natives" is flawed because digital literacy remains a problem (p. 45). There is a need to teach youth how to use technology. Levy and Murnane (2004) refer to this as a new "digital divide":

> Today the digital divide resides in differential ability to use new media to critically evaluate information, analyze, and interpret data, attack complex problems, test innovative solutions, manage multifaceted projects, collaborate with others in knowledge production, and communicate effectively to diverse audiences. (Warschauer and Matuchniak 2010, p. 213)

As this literature suggests, it is important not only to ensure youth today have access to technology, but also that they receive instruction on how to use it effectively, ethically, and safely (Greehow et al. 2009, p. 252; Kitsis 2008, p. 34).

In our pilot mentorship program, technology allowed for regular interaction between mentors and students without the need for travel. Further, it provided an environment in which students could interact with different people and explore new ideas and experiences. In urban areas with larger populations, there are usually a variety of social and service groups that allow youth to "try on" different personalities and experiment with ideas and beliefs by finding like-minded individuals. The same opportunities often do not exist for youth in rural and isolated communities. Interactive platforms such as instant messaging and Facebook seem to be the preferred communication tools of youth. By embracing these technologies, youth from rural, isolated areas could expand their networks and be exposed to a wider variety of positive educational opportunities.

Given the physical distance between participants in the program, smartphone technology was initially an effective way to connect students to one another and mentors while delivering a fun and challenging program that was culturally appropriate and supportive. To ensure that all participants had the same minimum level of access, BlackBerry devices were provided to participants. We taught them how to use these devices in appropriate ways and harness their power to create a pathway to the future. The result was a virtual community of Aboriginal students who shared similar interests using BlackBerry Messenger, Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter. Students worked within small groups (five members each) on bi-

weekly challenges facilitated by mentors that explored various facets of business and were submitted via social media. For example, students learned about the stock market, how it works, and different investment strategies through a stock market simulation. They engaged in a friendly competition to make the most money in a specified time period and win a prize. Business culture and expectations of the "real world" drove us to ensure the program was rigorous, yet supportive and fun.

CONFERENCES

Although the majority of the program was delivered virtually, in-person interaction was important as well, both for removing the feeling of isolation some participants experienced in their home communities and for developing bonds with each other that were then maintained through smartphone technology. We observed that this type of approach worked well in the Ch'nook program, where the students' interactions with one another created energy that was critical to keeping students interested and engaged.

At the start of each year of the program (usually at the end of November or early December), mentors and students were brought together to engage in team building activities. The opening conference allowed mentors to connect with students and get to know their personalities more quickly, facilitating the virtual interaction that was to follow. For students, the trip away from home (staying overnight in a hotel) and the visit to the university (CBU) helped them to imagine themselves comfortably moving through and being in such spaces in the future. Bruce et al. (2010) note that Aboriginal students tend to be less successful at university because they do not feel welcome on campus (p. 14), while Kirkness (1995) says they do not "feel at home" (p. 34). While students in our program were on campus, they attended business classes, ate in the dining hall, and toured campus, learning about support services and visiting a dorm room. It was hoped that this orientation would allow students to feel more comfortable on campus in the future.

Both the opening and closing conferences featured team business challenges and provided an opportunity to showcase individual work. Awards named after Purdy Crawford and referred to as "Purdy Awards" were established to recognize the winners of challenges; however, they could also be used to acknowledge the efforts or contributions of individuals in the program. Mentors in the program and employees of the Purdy Crawford Chair observed participation during the conferences and then suggested individuals worthy of recognition, such as someone who is a team player, supportive, polite, professional, or particularly enthusiastic.

The conferences were also designed to showcase successful Aboriginal businesses and communities, and ensure a cultural connection to the study of business. To this end, conferences were held on reserves throughout Nova Scotia, including Eskasoni, Membertou, Millbrook, and Wagmatcook. Conferences integrated technology and social media, for example with "live tweeting" during presentations. Such presentations and workshops featured a variety of speakers to inspire and educate students, such as journalist, politician, and rap artist Wab Kinew (who has a degree in economics), lawyer and comedian Candy Palmater (of The Candy Show), local entrepreneur Robert Bernard of Waycobah and Chief Leroy Denny of Eskasoni (to name only a few). Wherever possible, conferences supported and incorporated Aboriginal owned and/or operated businesses as venues or suppliers.

After the opening conference, mentors and students interacted in a mediated form, completing challenges and learning from each other (as described above) before coming together at the end of the year for a closing conference. The closing conference was very similar to the opening conference, but it was always held in a location different from the opening conference. Closing conferences also featured a final challenge called "Rant Your Resume" for which students prepared a video "selling themselves" in a Rick Mercer style rant (not unlike an elevator pitch) between 30 and 45 seconds in length. The winner each year received an entrance scholarship tenable at CBU should he or she study business there. The closing conference also featured a completion ceremony to recognize the hard work and success of the student participants.

SUCCESS OF THE PILOT

A review of the three-year pilot of the mentorship program demonstrated that it had been a success in the short-term. This review was based on the feedback we received from participants, their pursuit of business education at the post-secondary level, and continued interest in the program, often as a result of word-of-mouth among students. For example, we now have siblings and friends of former participants enrolled in the program.

Of the grade twelve students who completed the program, 56% had enrolled in business at a post-secondary institution. While not all students who completed the program chose to study business, several students have realized that business is complementary to their chosen career paths and intend to take business electives to learn, for example, the business side of running an architecture firm or a veterinary office. There have also been students who discovered that they are not interested in business and we consider that to be a valid outcome, since they were able to make better-informed decisions about their post-secondary education.

Year	Enrolled in Program	Completed the Program	Grade 12 Completion	Attended Post-secondary	Enrolled in Business
1	30	21	6	4	2
2	30	26	12	9	7
3	30	22	12	12	5

In addition to collecting anecdotal evidence, we also implemented exit surveys to collect data to improve the program and determine its success during the pilot program period. A sampling follows:

- **Feedback received via exit surveys (2011–2012):**
  - 100% of respondents say that, given the opportunity, they would participate in the program again.
  - 94% of respondents say that the social media challenges provided a fun way to learn about business concepts.
  - "I've always wanted to own my own business, and after this program, I know that I can!"
  - "I want more people from my community in this program."

- **Feedback received via exit surveys (2012–2013):**
  - 94% of respondents say they gained valuable experience through this mentorship program
  - 100% of respondents would recommend this program to a fellow student
  - "They helped me get excited about business."
  - "I want other students to have the same great experience I did."

- **Feedback received via exit surveys (2013-2014):**
  - 100% responded that, given the opportunity, they would participate in this program again
  - 95% responded that they would recommend this program to a fellow student.
  - "This program has helped me grow, kept me in touch with my culture, and gave me a whole new sense of confidence as an Aboriginal female."
  - "It has provided me with irreplaceable knowledge, experiences, and friendships."
  - "It gets better every year!"[13]
  - "It made me want to own my own business when I finish school!"
  - "It is a life changing experience. You get a sense of accomplishment when you finish challenges because you walk away with new knowledge."

CHANGES TO THE PROGRAM

As a result of feedback collected through surveys and discussions with participants, changes have been made to how the program is run. At the end of the first year, we were challenged by one mentor's question: What makes the program Aboriginal? Was it just that the participants are Aboriginal? In response, we designed some challenges to have more of a focus on Aboriginal culture (for example, looking at tourism initiatives in communities) and added cultural components to conferences. For example, to end the December 2013 opening conference, Eskasoni singers Michael R. Denny and Sulian Denny were invited to lead the group in a round dance to honour the new friendships that had been made. For some students, it was their first opportunity to participate in a round dance.

Some graduates of the program began taking on responsibility for promoting and recruiting students to the program. In fall 2013, half of the presentations to high school students were made by program graduates (sometimes paired with a mentor). They became involved in conferences and on Facebook, participating in activities and providing feedback and support to students in the program. As junior or peer mentors in the program, they are gaining valuable work experience in the process.

Since mentorship relationships are "bidirectional" (Kelehear and Heid 2002, p. 77), we realize that it is important to better understand how mentors benefit from participation in our program. We have only begun to interrogate this question, but are committed to making exit surveys a required component for mentors (previously, they were only used with students). Our preliminary work in this area has demonstrated both personal and professional benefits

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[13] Students are permitted to enroll in the program more than once.

for mentors. Mentors have noted a sense of satisfaction from being able to help students discover and follow their life paths, as well as observing improved self-confidence in their students. In the design of challenges, mentors also learned more about various topics through their research. Professionally, mentors have noted that they have met industry professionals who they do not normally network with in their current work environments and the program serves as a refresher for the aspects of their business education that are not required or often used in their current positions. These surveys also indicate that we need to provide additional training for mentors, particularly in the areas of crisis intervention, conflict resolution, and technology.

Finally, there has been a shift to the use of Android devices instead of BlackBerrys. The original attraction of BlackBerrys was the BBM application (BlackBerry Messenger), which allowed us to connect mentors, students, and program coordinators in virtual groups and facilitated communication and the distribution of challenges. Increasingly, however, students wanted to be able to use their own devices (usually Androids or iPhones) and we needed to be able to access and use a greater variety of applications. Games and simulations such as GoVenture Entrepreneur, GoVenture Personal Finance, or Market Millionaire Enhanced (stock simulation) were not available on BlackBerry. In November 2013, the program rolled out on Android smartphones (with some students using their personal iPhones) to improve the experience for students.

REBRANDING AND EXPANDING

Based on the initial success of the provincial pilot, discussions began around the potential for expanding nationally. The Purdy Crawford Chair in Aboriginal Business Studies submitted a proposal titled *A Capacity to Imagine, Plan, and Strategize a New Economic Future for Aboriginal Canadians: Success in Business, A National Model* to the federal government. The proposal spoke to the need for national capacity building in business studies, encouragement in entrepreneurism, and dissemination of best practices in proven economic models — all with the goal of substantially increasing the participation of Aboriginals in business and a concomitant emulation of best practices. The funding received as a result of this proposal enabled the program to begin a national expansion. In 2014, as the Nova Scotia-based Business Network for Aboriginal Youth was expanding into the Atlantic Provinces and across Canada, it was rebranded as In.Business — A Mentorship Program for Indigenous Youth.[14]

To achieve its expansion goals, Cape Breton University partnered with post-secondary institutions across the country: Nipissing University in North Bay, Ontario; University of Winnipeg in Winnipeg, Manitoba; Vancouver Island University in Nanaimo, British Columbia; and Yukon College in Whitehorse, Yukon. As part of the expansion, a number of resources were developed to facilitate the implementation of the program in other regions, including a database of challenges that mentors could select from and deploy in their mentoring groups, an operations manual to standardize delivery across the country, and the educational business simulation Music Mogul.

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[14]   More on the current program can be found at <http://www.cbu.ca/indigenous-affairs/purdy-crawford-chair-in-aboriginal-business-studies/in-business/>.

Music Mogul puts the player in the role of manager for a Canadian Aboriginal musical group. As the group tours across Canada, the player chooses the communities that are visited on each tour, selects and purchases merchandise for sale at shows, and arranges advertising campaigns. The player also negotiates the cost of venue rental, sets the ticket prices for each show and the mark-up for merchandise, and takes out and repays loans throughout the game. Through a logbook, the player tracks the growth of their fan base, as well as their income and expenses. The ultimate goal is to become a Music Mogul by making $1 million dollars or playing in 39 towns or cities from coast to coast to coast. By playing the game, students learn about money and banking, management and operations, entrepreneurship, advertising, mark-up and pricing, public relations, budgeting, and inventory management. This game is played by all students in the program.

For the 2014–2015 school year, the In.Business program operated in two regions: Atlantic (Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Québec) and Central (Manitoba and Nunavut). By the 2015–2016 school year, it was operating in five regions (Atlantic, Eastern, Central, Pacific, Northern) with students from all provinces and territories. While there are common elements of the program, such as Music Mogul, some elements are designed to be flexible to ensure cultural fit. Not surprisingly, the focus on Mi'kmaw culture and language (particularly in the naming of mentoring groups) has lessened as the program expanded to take in students from other Aboriginal communities. Some elements, such as Rant Your Resume, have been replaced with other activities, such as the 60-Second Sell.

Having only one year of the national program completed, we still consider the program to be in a pilot stage (now a national pilot, as opposed to the original three-year provincial one). Response to the program continues to be positive. In 2016, a survey was conducted with all students in the program from coast to coast to coast. The results suggest that In.Business is making a difference in terms of students' understanding of and interest in business. For example, 80% of students who completed the program indicated that it had changed how they thought about business. Upon entering the program, 11% of the students felt that they were very knowledgeable about business for their age, but after completing the program, that number increased to 20%. Of the grade 12 students who completed the program, 71% indicated that they would be attending post-secondary institutions in the fall and 20% of those students were choosing business.

Year	Enrolled in Program	Completed the Program	Grade 12 Completion	Attended Post-secondary	Enrolled in Business
4	116	64	25	17	7
5	232	144	72	51	10

During the first five years of the program, then, 63% of students enrolled in In.Business completed the program. Of the students completing the program who were in grade 12, 73% went on to post-secondary studies, with 33% choosing business.

	Enrolled in Program	Completed the Program	Grade 12 Completion	Attended Post-secondary	Enrolled in Business
5-Year Total	438	277	127	93	31

THE FUTURE OF IN.BUSINESS

Ultimately, we are striving to create social networks through which students can support one another as they transition into post-secondary studies, even if they are in different locations and at different universities. Since our access point is through high schools, our work is necessarily tied to the high school calendar. DuBois et al. (2011) observe that mentorship initiatives that are tied to the academic or school year may produce "less enduring" relationships (p. 59). One way that we address this concern in our program is by permitting students to participate in the program for multiple years. We also invite students who have completed the program and graduated from high school to remain engaged with the program as peer mentors to new students or paid employees helping to run the program.

Rightly, DuBois et al. (2011) also note a lack of longer term studies that test whether the effects of mentorship programs endure into the future (p. 74). Similarly, Erickson et al. (2009) observe,

> The establishment of mentoring relationships is a potential life-altering event when experienced at a pivotal time in a person's life. Thus, we need to gain a better understanding not only of the short-term gains from social relationships, but of how these experiences contribute to longer-term patterns of attainment and resource accumulation across the life course. (p. 362)

The long-term impact of the In.Business mentorship program is unknown, but based on the tracking of our students from the first five years of the program, it does appear that our program is impacting their decisions to pursue post-secondary education and, in particular, business.

In terms of programming, studies suggest that virtual worlds specifically may encourage innovative thought: "Frauenheim (2006) reports that people are willing to be more flexible in their thinking and to experiment in virtual worlds" (quoted in Wankel 2009, p. 256). Consequently, the use of simulations and gaming can be very beneficial for the development of problem-solving abilities and innovative thought processes. Certainly the trend in education seems to be toward virtual learning. As we work to incorporate additional simulations and gaming in our program, we also intend to study and evaluate the impact of Music Mogul on student learning.

While the future of education surely is in technology and virtual learning, it has also been suggested that partnerships between institutions will become increasingly important to the delivery of education. Istance and Kools (2013) suggest that, "The contemporary learning environment will instead have well-developed connections with other partners which will extend the environment's resources and learning spaces" (p. 50). In an article focussed on a mentoring partnership between middle school students and university students, Russ (1993) observes, "Both university and middle school students have and will continue to benefit from the experiences that are provided by the collaborative efforts of an university and middle school when working toward a common goal" (Russ 1993, p. 287). Productive mentoring relationships can be established between youth and university partners, and In.Business — A Mentorship Program for Indigenous Youth is one model for how this might occur.

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Aboriginal Employment in 2015: A Year of Negative Results

Robert J. Oppenheimer

JOHN MOLSON SCHOOL OF BUSINESS, CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY
MONTREAL, QUEBEC

ABSTRACT

The employment, participation, and unemployment rates for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginals in 2015 are compared with the changes that have occurred, primarily from 2014. The changes in all three of these rates were disappointing for Aboriginals in 2015. The employment and participation rates decreased and the unemployment rate increased. Employment data is examined by gender and age, educational level, provinces, regions and territories and by economic sector.

INTRODUCTION

Employment is an important economic indicator. Three measures that are generally examined in this regard are the participation, employment and unemployment rates. The participation rate is the percent of the population that is employed or are seeking employment. The higher this rate is the larger is the potential workforce, as a larger percentage of the population that is working or seeking to do so. The employment rate is the percent of the population that is employed. Generally, the higher the employment rate, the greater the economic benefit is for that population. The unemployment rate is the percent of the labour force seeking employment. The labour force is the total of those employed and those seeking employment.

In comparing 2015 versus 2014, Aboriginal rates for unemployment increased from 11.2 to 12.4%, the employment rate decreased from 57.0 to 55.2% and the participation rate decreased from 64.2 to 63%. These changes are considered negative from an economic perspective. Aboriginal employment and unemployment rates had been improving each year from 2011 through 2014, which makes the 2015 changes more disturbing. In comparison, there was almost no change for each of these three rates for non-Aboriginals in 2015 versus 2014. (See Table 1.)

EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY GENDER AND AGE

The employment rate for Aboriginal men and women declined in 2015 compared to 2014 in every age category except for women 55 and over, which is the age category that has the lowest employment rate. It increased from 32.8 to 33.7%. There were minor changes in the employment rates for non-Aboriginals in 2015 versus 2014. (See Table 2.) Similarly, the Aboriginal unemployment rates increased in 2015 compared to 2014 in every age category, except for women 55 and over. (See Table 3.)

EMPLOYMENT RATES BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Employment and unemployment rates vary significantly based upon the level of education completed. The higher the level of education that is completed, the higher is the rate of employment and the lower is the unemployment rate. This has been the case for each year since 2007 and it applies for both Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. (See Table 4A and Table 4B.)

For Aboriginals who did not complete high school, the employment rate was 32.3 in 2015 and 32.4 in 2014. The employment rate for non-Aboriginals who did not complete high school in 2015 was 32.3 and it was 32.8 in 2014. Thus, the employment rate for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals who did not complete high school was the same in 2015 at 32.3, while non-Aboriginals experienced more of a decline in their employment rate than Aboriginals did. (See Table 5A.)

The employment rates in 2015 for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals who completed high school were almost the same. It was 58.5 for Aboriginals and 58.3 for non-Aboriginals. For non-Aboriginals the employment rate for those who completed high school was 59.9 in

TABLE 1
Population, Labour Force, Employment, Unemployment, and Participation
15 years and older
(In thousands, except for rates)

	Aboriginal living off reserves								
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**
Population	638.3	672.5	706.5	740.5	772.8	798.2	824.3	850.3	876.2
Labour Force	415.1	446.0	464.3	460.8	489.8	516.7	528.7	545.8	552.1
Employment	370.7	400.6	400.7	395.9	425.7	449.9	466.8	484.8	483.7
Full-time Employment	299.6	325.2	324.7	314.3	337.2	359.8	374.0	384.1	385.8
Part-time Employment	71.1	75.4	76.1	81.6	88.6	90.1	92.8	100.7	97.8
Unemployment	44.4	45.4	63.6	64.8	64.1	66.9	61.9	60.9	68.4
Not in Labour Force	223.2	226.5	242.2	279.7	283.0	281.5	295.6	304.5	324.1
Unemployment Rate	10.7	10.2	13.7	14.1	13.1	12.9	11.7	11.2	12.4
Participation Rate	65.0	66.3	65.7	62.2	63.4	64.7	64.1	64.2	63.0
Employment Rate	58.1	59.6	56.7	53.5	55.1	56.4	56.6	57.0	55.2

	Non-Aboriginal								
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**
Population	25823.2	26152.3	26497.7	26833.6	27140.8	27486.2	27823.3	28130.7	28403.7
Labour Force	17424.7	17670.9	17781.0	17980.1	18118.5	18284.6	18505.4	18574.4	18716.8
Employment	16390.5	16602.3	16318.7	16555.1	16781.7	16976.7	17219.9	17310.4	17451.8
Full-time Employment	13396.5	13524.7	13172.9	13323.4	13552.0	13764.8	13937.2	13980.5	14164.1
Part-time Employment	2993.9	3077.5	3145.8	3231.7	3229.7	3211.9	3282.7	3329.9	3287.7
Unemployment	1034.3	1068.7	1462.4	1425.0	1336.7	1307.9	1285.5	1264.0	1265.0
Not in Labour Force	8398.5	8481.4	8716.7	8853.5	9022.3	9201.6	9317.9	9556.3	9686.9
Unemployment Rate	5.9	6.0	8.2	7.9	7.4	7.2	6.9	6.8	6.8
Participation Rate	67.5	67.6	67.1	67.0	66.8	66.5	66.5	66.0	65.9
Employment Rate	63.5	63.5	61.6	61.7	61.8	61.8	61.9	61.5	61.4

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

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

TABLE 2
Employment Rates for Men and Women by Age

	Aboriginal living off reserves								
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Both Sexes									
15 Years and Over	58.1	59.6	56.7	53.5	55.1	56.4	56.6	57.0	55.2
15–24 Years	49.8	52.8	46.4	45.2	47.1	45.7	49.2	50.4	49.8
25–54 Years	69.9	70.8	68.8	65.8	67.3	69.3	69.2	69.3	67.5
55 Years and Over	32.5	33.4	34.3	29.8	32.4	34.5	33.2	34.8	34.4
Men									
15 Years And Over	**62.9**	**65.4**	**59.7**	**55.4**	**58.0**	**60.5**	**59.2**	**59.7**	**58.3**
15–-24 Years	50.9	55.3	47.8	44.6	47.1	47.5	49.5	51.8	51.5
25–54 Years	75.5	77.0	72.8	69.5	70.9	73.8	72.8	72.9	72.1
55 Years and Over	38.7	38.5	36.9	29.7	37.0	41.2	34.8	37.0	35.3
Women									
15 Years and Over	**53.7**	**54.3**	**54.0**	**51.7**	**52.4**	**52.6**	**54.3**	**54.6**	**52.3**
15–24 Years	48.7	50.8	45.1	45.8	47.1	43.9	49.0	49.1	48.2
25–54 Years	64.6	64.7	65.2	62.4	64.1	65.2	65.8	66.1	63.2
55 Years and Over	27.3	29.4	31.8	29.9	28.3	28.6	31.7	32.8	33.7

	Non-Aboriginal								
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Both Sexes									
15 Years and Over	63.5	63.5	61.6	61.7	61.8	61.8	61.9	61.5	61.4
15–24 Years	59.8	59.8	55.6	55.2	55.6	54.7	55.3	55.8	56.0
25–54 Years	82.5	82.6	80.6	80.9	81.3	81.7	82.0	81.6	81.8
55 Years and Over	31.7	32.4	32.7	33.6	33.9	34.4	35.0	35.1	35.1
Men									
15 Years And Over	**68.0**	**68.0**	**65.1**	**65.5**	**65.9**	**65.6**	**65.7**	**65.5**	**65.5**
15–-24 Years	59.4	59.1	53.6	53.4	54.4	53.4	54.3	54.3	54.5
25–54 Years	86.5	86.8	83.7	84.2	85.1	85.4	85.5	85.4	85.6
55 Years and Over	38.1	38.5	38.3	39.4	39.6	39.9	40.4	40.6	40.8
Women									
15 Years and Over	**59.1**	**59.1**	**58.1**	**58.0**	**57.9**	**58.0**	**58.2**	**57.7**	**57.5**
15–24 Years	60.2	60.4	57.7	57.1	56.9	56.1	56.4	57.3	57.6
25–54 Years	78.5	78.3	77.4	77.5	77.6	78.1	78.5	77.8	78.0
55 Years and Over	26.0	27.1	27.7	28.4	28.8	29.5	30.1	30.1	29.9

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

TABLE 3
Unemployment Rates for Men and Women by Age

	Aboriginal living off reserves								
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**
Both Sexes									
15 Years and Over	10.7	10.2	13.7	14.1	13.1	12.9	11.7	11.2	12.4
15–24 Years	16.9	15.1	22.5	21.1	19.7	21.3	17.8	16.7	18.8
25–54 Years	8.9	9.1	11.5	12.1	11.1	10.8	10.1	9.8	11.0
55 Years and Over	8.4	6.3	10.4	11.7	11.3	9.3	9.3	8.3	8.6
Men									
15 Years And Over	**11.2**	**10.3**	**15.2**	**15.7**	**14.9**	**13.2**	**12.8**	**11.9**	**13.1**
15–24 Years	18.5	16.5	24.3	24.5	23.1	21.0	19.3	17.6	19.5
25–54 Years	9.1	9.1	12.6	13.0	12.5	11.1	11.1	10.3	11.2
55 Years and Over	9.6	0.0	13.3	14.5	12.5	10.5	11.0	9.6	11.5
Women									
15 Years and Over	**10.1**	**10.0**	**12.1**	**12.4**	**11.1**	**12.6**	**10.6**	**10.4**	**11.7**
15–24 Years	15.3	13.9	20.6	17.8	16.1	21.7	16.4	15.7	18.0
25–54 Years	8.7	9.2	10.3	11.1	9.6	10.5	9.1	9.4	10.9
55 Years and Over	0.0	0.0	7.0	9.2	9.8	7.7	7.6	6.8	5.6

	Non-Aboriginal								
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**
Both Sexes									
15 Years and Over	5.9	6.0	8.2	7.9	7.4	7.2	6.9	6.8	6.8
15–24 Years	11.0	11.5	15.1	14.7	14.1	14.2	13.6	13.4	13.0
25–54 Years	5.0	5.0	7.0	6.8	6.2	5.9	5.8	5.7	5.7
55 Years and Over	4.8	5.0	6.5	6.2	6.2	5.9	5.9	5.7	5.7
Men									
15 Years And Over	**6.3**	**6.5**	**9.4**	**8.7**	**7.8**	**7.6**	**7.4**	**7.3**	**7.3**
15–24 Years	12.1	12.9	18.2	17.1	15.8	15.9	15.0	14.9	14.9
25–54 Years	5.3	5.3	8.0	7.3	6.3	6.2	6.0	5.9	6.1
55 Years and Over	4.9	5.2	7.4	6.9	6.7	6.2	6.3	6.3	6.1
Women									
15 Years and Over	**5.6**	**5.6**	**6.9**	**7.1**	**6.9**	**6.7**	**6.5**	**6.3**	**6.1**
15–24 Years	9.9	10.0	12.0	12.4	12.2	12.4	12.0	11.8	11.0
25–54 Years	4.7	4.7	6.0	6.3	5.9	5.6	5.5	5.4	5.3
55 Years and Over	4.7	4.6	5.4	5.4	5.7	5.5	5.4	5.0	5.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

TABLE 4A
Population, Employment, Unemployment and Partication by Educational Level
(In thousands, except for rates)

	Aboriginal living off reserves								
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Total, all education levels									
Population	638.3	672.5	706.5	740.5	772.8	798.2	824.3	850.3	876.2
Labour Force	415.1	446.0	464.3	460.8	489.8	516.7	528.7	545.8	552.1
Employment	370.7	400.6	400.7	395.9	425.7	449.9	466.8	484.8	483.7
Full-time Employment	299.6	325.2	324.7	314.3	337.2	359.8	374.0	384.1	385.8
Part-time Employment	71.1	75.4	76.1	81.6	88.6	90.1	92.8	100.7	97.8
Unemployment	44.4	45.4	63.6	64.8	64.1	66.9	61.9	60.9	68.4
Not in Labour Force	223.2	226.5	242.2	279.7	283.0	281.5	295.6	304.5	324.1
Unemployment Rate	10.7	10.2	13.7	14.1	13.1	12.9	11.7	11.2	12.4
Participation Rate	65.0	66.3	65.7	62.2	63.4	64.7	64.1	64.2	63.0
Employment Rate	58.1	59.6	56.7	53.5	55.1	56.4	56.6	57.0	55.2
Some post-secondary education or less									
Population	418.0	434.3	445.1	466.8	482.7	489.8	501.0	506.7	523.4
Labour Force	239.0	255.4	255.0	254.0	265.4	276.4	282.6	281.7	286.2
Employment	208.3	223.6	210.2	208.7	219.7	229.5	241.1	240.3	239.6
Full-time Employment	159.5	172.1	158.7	155.1	160.5	171.4	179.4	175.1	180.1
Part-time Employment	48.8	51.5	51.5	53.6	59.3	58.1	61.7	65.3	59.6
Unemployment	30.7	31.8	44.8	45.3	45.6	46.9	41.4	41.4	46.6
Not in Labour Force	179.0	178.9	190.1	212.8	217.3	213.4	218.5	225.1	237.2
Unemployment Rate	12.8	12.4	17.6	17.8	17.2	17.0	14.7	14.7	16.3
Participation Rate	57.2	58.8	57.3	54.4	55.0	56.4	56.4	55.6	54.7
Employment Rate	49.8	51.5	47.2	44.7	45.5	46.9	48.1	47.4	45.8
Less than high school									
Population	232.9	236.4	233.0	247.8	250.7	256.3	248.0	242.0	247.8
Labour Force	105.2	112.3	105.3	103.8	105.7	115.7	106.7	98.9	103.6
Employment	87.2	94.1	80.8	78.9	81.6	90.6	85.7	78.4	80.0
Full-time Employment	61.5	67.6	55.3	53.9	55.3	62.2	58.9	51.4	53.9
Part-time Employment	25.8	26.5	25.5	25.0	26.3	28.4	26.9	27.0	26.0
Unemployment	17.9	18.2	24.5	24.9	24.0	25.1	20.9	20.5	23.6
Not in Labour Force	127.7	124.1	127.7	144.0	145.0	140.6	141.4	143.1	144.2
Unemployment Rate	17.0	16.2	23.2	24.0	22.7	21.7	19.6	20.7	22.8
Participation Rate	45.2	47.5	45.2	41.9	42.2	45.1	43.0	40.9	41.8
Employment Rate	37.5	39.8	34.7	31.8	32.6	35.4	34.6	32.4	32.3
0–8 years									
Population	59.3	59.3	55.6	54.1	57.2	57.6	57.8	52.6	54.0
Labour Force	15.7	15.8	14.0	13.2	11.7	14.9	13.3	11.8	13.1
Employment	12.2	13.2	10.6	9.3	8.6	11.5	10.6	9.1	11.0
Full-time Employment	9.4	10.4	7.7	7.8	6.4	8.8	7.3	7.0	8.5
Part-time Employment	2.8	2.8	2.9	1.5	2.2	2.7	3.3	2.1	2.6
Unemployment	3.4	2.6	3.4	3.9	3.2	3.5	2.7	2.7	2.1
Not in Labour Force	43.7	43.5	41.6	40.9	45.5	42.7	44.5	40.8	40.9
Unemployment Rate	21.9	16.6	24.1	29.5	26.9	23.2	20.1	22.6	15.9
Participation Rate	26.4	26.7	25.2	24.4	20.5	25.9	22.9	22.4	24.3
Employment Rate	20.6	22.2	19.1	17.2	15.0	19.9	18.3	17.3	20.4
Some high school									
Population	173.6	177.1	177.4	193.7	193.4	198.7	190.3	189.5	193.8
Labour Force	89.5	96.5	91.3	90.6	93.9	100.8	93.4	87.1	90.5
Employment	75.0	80.9	70.2	69.6	73.1	79.1	75.1	69.3	68.9
Full-time Employment	52.0	57.1	47.6	46.1	48.9	53.4	51.5	44.4	45.5
Part-time Employment	23.0	23.8	22.6	23.5	24.2	25.7	23.6	24.9	23.5
Unemployment	14.5	15.6	21.1	21.0	20.9	21.6	18.3	17.8	21.5
Not in Labour Force	84.1	80.6	86.1	103.1	99.5	97.9	96.9	102.3	103.3
Unemployment Rate	16.2	16.1	23.1	23.2	22.2	21.4	19.6	20.5	23.8
Participation Rate	51.6	54.5	51.5	46.8	48.6	50.7	49.1	46.0	46.7
Employment Rate	43.2	45.7	39.6	35.9	37.8	39.8	39.5	36.6	35.6

continued on next page.

TABLE 4A continued.

	Aboriginal living off reserves								
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**
9 to 10 years									
Population	110.1	110.6	110.7	116.1	120.9	118.9	113.5	113.3	111.5
Labour Force	51.9	54.1	51.3	48.2	53.7	53.8	50.2	43.7	45.0
Employment	43.0	44.6	38.9	36.1	41.1	41.2	39.8	33.6	33.6
Full-time Employment	30.0	31.4	26.2	23.7	27.0	27.5	28.4	22.2	22.5
Part-time Employment	13.0	13.2	12.8	12.5	14.2	13.7	11.5	11.4	11.2
Unemployment	8.9	9.5	12.3	12.1	12.6	12.6	10.4	10.1	11.3
Not in Labour Force	58.2	56.5	59.5	67.9	67.2	65.1	63.3	69.6	66.6
Unemployment Rate	17.2	17.5	24.0	25.0	23.4	23.4	20.7	23.2	25.2
Participation Rate	47.1	48.9	46.3	41.5	44.4	45.3	44.3	38.6	40.3
Employment Rate	39.0	40.3	35.2	31.1	34.0	34.7	35.1	29.6	30.1
11 to 13 years, non-graduate									
Population	63.4	66.5	66.7	77.6	72.5	79.8	76.7	76.2	82.2
Labour Force	37.6	42.4	40.1	42.4	40.2	46.9	43.2	43.4	45.5
Employment	32.0	36.3	31.3	33.4	31.9	37.9	35.3	35.7	35.3
Full-time Employment	22.1	25.8	21.5	22.4	21.9	25.9	23.2	22.2	23.0
Part-time Employment	10.0	10.5	9.8	11.0	10.0	12.0	12.1	13.5	12.3
Unemployment	5.6	6.1	8.8	8.9	8.3	9.0	7.9	7.7	10.2
Not in Labour Force	25.9	24.1	26.6	35.3	32.3	32.9	33.6	32.7	36.7
Unemployment Rate	14.8	14.4	21.9	21.1	20.6	19.2	18.2	17.7	22.4
Participation Rate	59.2	63.8	60.1	54.6	55.4	58.8	56.3	57.0	55.3
Employment Rate	50.4	54.6	46.9	43.1	44.0	47.5	46.0	46.9	43.0
High school graduate or some post-secondary									
Population	185.1	197.9	212.1	219.0	232.0	233.5	253.0	264.7	275.6
Labour Force	133.8	143.1	149.7	150.3	159.7	160.7	175.9	182.8	182.6
Employment	121.1	129.5	129.4	129.8	138.1	138.9	155.4	161.9	159.7
Full-time Employment	98.1	104.5	103.4	101.3	105.2	109.2	120.6	123.7	126.1
Part-time Employment	23.0	25.0	26.0	28.5	33.0	29.7	34.8	38.3	33.5
Unemployment	12.8	13.6	20.4	20.4	21.6	21.8	20.5	20.9	22.9
Not in Labour Force	51.2	54.8	62.4	68.8	72.3	72.8	77.1	81.9	93.0
Unemployment Rate	9.5	9.5	13.6	13.6	13.5	13.6	11.7	11.4	12.6
Participation Rate	72.3	72.3	70.6	68.6	68.8	68.8	69.5	69.0	66.3
Employment Rate	65.4	65.5	61.0	59.3	59.5	59.5	61.4	61.2	57.9
High school graduate									
Population	119.9	126.5	140.8	140.5	150.9	161.8	183.2	193.5	203.1
Labour Force	91.1	93.2	101.6	97.9	108.1	114.0	128.7	136.3	135.7
Employment	82.9	85.0	88.0	84.1	94.1	98.8	114.0	121.1	118.9
Full-time Employment	69.0	70.9	71.9	68.4	73.9	79.7	91.2	95.5	97.7
Part-time Employment	13.8	14.1	16.1	15.7	20.1	19.1	22.8	25.6	21.2
Unemployment	8.2	8.2	13.5	13.8	14.0	15.2	14.7	15.2	16.8
Not in Labour Force	28.9	33.2	39.2	42.6	42.9	47.8	54.5	57.2	67.4
Unemployment Rate	9.0	8.8	13.3	14.1	13.0	13.3	11.4	11.2	12.4
Participation Rate	75.9	73.7	72.1	69.7	71.6	70.4	70.3	70.4	66.8
Employment Rate	69.1	67.2	62.5	59.9	62.3	61.1	62.2	62.6	58.5
Some post-secondary									
Population	65.1	71.4	71.3	78.5	81.1	71.7	69.8	71.3	72.5
Labour Force	42.8	49.9	48.2	52.3	51.6	46.7	47.2	46.5	46.9
Employment	38.2	44.5	41.3	45.7	44.0	40.1	41.4	40.9	40.8
Full-time Employment	29.0	33.6	31.5	32.9	31.2	29.5	29.4	28.1	28.5
Part-time Employment	9.2	10.9	9.9	12.8	12.8	10.6	12.0	12.7	12.3
Unemployment	4.5	5.4	6.8	6.6	7.6	6.6	5.8	5.6	6.1
Not in Labour Force	22.4	21.6	23.2	26.1	29.4	25.0	22.6	24.8	25.6
Unemployment Rate	10.6	10.8	14.2	12.7	14.7	14.1	12.2	12.1	13.0
Participation Rate	65.6	69.8	67.5	66.7	63.7	65.1	67.6	65.2	64.6
Employment Rate	58.7	62.3	58.0	58.3	54.3	55.9	59.3	57.3	56.2

TABLE 4A continued.

	Aboriginal living off reserves								
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**
Completed post-secondary education									
Population	220.3	238.2	261.4	273.7	290.1	308.4	323.3	343.5	352.8
Labour Force	176.1	190.6	209.3	206.7	224.4	240.3	246.2	264.1	265.9
Employment	162.3	177.0	190.5	187.2	206.0	220.3	225.7	244.5	244.0
Full-time Employment	140.1	153.2	166.0	159.1	176.7	188.4	194.6	209.1	205.8
Part-time Employment	22.2	23.8	24.6	28.1	29.3	31.9	31.1	35.5	38.2
Unemployment	13.7	13.6	18.7	19.5	18.4	20.0	20.5	19.6	21.9
Not in Labour Force	44.2	47.6	52.2	66.9	65.7	68.1	77.1	79.5	86.9
Unemployment Rate	7.8	7.2	8.9	9.4	8.2	8.3	8.3	7.4	8.2
Participation Rate	79.9	80.0	80.0	75.5	77.4	77.9	76.1	76.9	75.4
Employment Rate	73.7	74.3	72.9	68.4	71.0	71.4	69.8	71.2	69.2
Post-secondary certificate or diploma									
Population	180.5	189.2	206.0	218.7	230.4	239.4	250.9	263.0	270.7
Labour Force	142.7	149.1	161.8	161.7	174.3	183.5	185.5	197.6	200.4
Employment	130.7	137.9	144.8	144.6	158.2	167.0	167.3	181.5	182.3
Full-time Employment	112.7	119.8	126.4	122.7	134.9	142.3	144.5	155.7	154.7
Part-time Employment	18.0	18.2	18.4	21.9	23.3	24.7	22.8	25.8	27.5
Unemployment	12.1	11.2	17.0	17.1	16.1	16.5	18.2	16.1	18.1
Not in Labour Force	37.8	40.1	44.2	57.0	56.1	55.9	65.4	65.4	70.3
Unemployment Rate	8.5	7.5	10.5	10.6	9.2	9.0	9.8	8.1	9.0
Participation Rate	79.1	78.8	78.5	73.9	75.7	76.6	73.9	75.1	74.0
Employment Rate	72.4	72.9	70.3	66.1	68.7	69.8	66.7	69.0	67.3
Trade certificate									
Population	71.2	76.3	86.5	88.5	90.0	89.4	94.0	99.0	103.7
Labour Force	55.5	58.2	65.4	63.5	65.9	67.0	67.5	71.9	74.5
Employment	49.3	53.2	57.6	55.2	58.2	59.8	59.6	65.5	67.0
Full-time Employment	43.2	46.8	51.5	48.5	51.7	52.4	52.0	58.0	59.8
Part-time Employment	6.1	6.4	6.2	6.7	6.5	7.4	7.6	7.4	7.2
Unemployment	6.2	5.0	7.7	8.3	7.7	7.2	7.9	6.4	7.5
Not in Labour Force	15.8	18.1	21.2	25.0	24.1	22.4	26.5	27.2	29.2
Unemployment Rate	11.2	8.6	11.8	13.1	11.6	10.7	11.7	8.9	10.1
Participation Rate	77.9	76.3	75.5	71.8	73.2	74.9	71.8	72.6	71.9
Employment Rate	69.2	69.8	66.6	62.4	64.7	66.9	63.4	66.1	64.6
College diploma									
Population	96.0	100.3	107.9	116.4	124.5	133.2	140.9	147.6	150.3
Labour Force	77.2	80.3	87.7	88.1	96.2	103.5	106.0	113.8	113.1
Employment	71.8	74.8	79.0	80.0	88.8	95.1	97.0	104.9	103.4
Full-time Employment	61.3	64.2	67.9	66.7	73.4	79.6	83.3	87.9	85.0
Part-time Employment	10.5	10.6	11.2	13.3	15.4	15.6	13.7	17.0	18.5
Unemployment	5.4	5.5	8.7	8.1	7.4	8.3	9.1	8.9	9.6
Not in Labour Force	18.8	19.9	20.2	28.3	28.3	29.7	34.8	33.8	37.3
Unemployment Rate	7.0	6.9	9.9	9.2	7.7	8.1	8.6	7.8	8.5
Participation Rate	80.4	80.1	81.3	75.7	77.3	77.7	75.3	77.1	75.2
Employment Rate	74.8	74.6	73.2	68.7	71.3	71.4	68.8	71.1	68.8
Certificate or diploma below bachelor									
Population	13.3	12.6	11.6	13.8	15.9	16.8	16.0	16.4	16.7
Labour Force	10.1	10.6	8.7	10.1	12.2	13.1	12.0	12.0	12.8
Employment	9.6	9.9	8.1	9.4	11.2	12.1	10.8	11.2	11.9
Full-time Employment	8.2	8.8	7.1	7.4	9.8	10.4	9.2	9.8	10.0
Part-time Employment	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	1.7	1.5	0.0	1.9
Unemployment	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Not in Labour Force	3.2	2.1	2.9	3.7	3.6	3.8	4.1	4.4	3.9
Unemployment Rate	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Participation Rate	75.7	83.7	75.3	72.9	77.1	77.6	74.7	72.9	76.7
Employment Rate	72.2	78.4	70.2	67.7	70.7	71.9	67.2	68.0	70.9

continued on next page.

TABLE 4A continued.

	Aboriginal living off reserves								
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**
University degree									
Population	39.8	49.0	55.4	55.0	59.7	69.0	72.3	80.5	82.1
Labour Force	33.3	41.5	47.5	45.0	50.1	56.9	60.7	66.4	65.5
Employment	31.7	39.1	45.8	42.6	47.8	53.4	58.3	63.0	61.8
Full-time Employment	27.4	33.4	39.6	36.5	41.8	46.1	50.1	53.3	51.0
Part-time Employment	4.3	5.6	6.2	6.2	6.0	7.3	8.2	9.7	10.7
Unemployment	1.7	2.5	1.7	2.4	2.3	3.5	2.3	3.5	3.7
Not in Labour Force	6.4	7.5	7.9	10.0	9.6	12.1	11.7	14.1	16.6
Unemployment Rate	5.0	5.9	3.6	5.3	4.7	6.2	3.9	5.2	5.7
Participation Rate	83.8	84.7	85.7	81.9	83.9	82.4	83.9	82.5	79.7
Employment Rate	79.6	79.7	82.6	77.6	80.0	77.3	80.6	78.2	75.2
Bachelor's degree									
Population	31.9	38.1	40.5	42.0	45.1	52.1	54.8	61.1	61.2
Labour Force	26.2	32.7	35.1	34.3	37.2	42.8	46.3	50.4	49.7
Employment	24.9	30.5	33.9	32.3	35.4	39.8	44.2	47.6	46.7
Full-time Employment	21.6	26.2	29.5	27.9	30.8	34.5	38.3	40.1	38.6
Part-time Employment	3.3	4.3	4.4	4.4	4.6	5.3	5.9	7.4	8.1
Unemployment	0.0	2.2	0.0	2.1	1.9	3.1	2.1	2.9	3.0
Not in Labour Force	5.7	5.3	5.4	7.7	7.8	9.3	8.5	10.7	11.5
Unemployment Rate	0.0	6.8	0.0	6.0	5.0	7.1	4.6	5.7	6.0
Participation Rate	82.1	86.0	86.8	81.6	82.6	82.2	84.5	82.5	81.2
Employment Rate	78.1	80.2	83.8	76.7	78.5	76.3	80.6	77.8	76.4
Above bachelor's degree									
Population	7.9	11.0	15.0	12.9	14.7	16.9	17.5	19.3	21.0
Labour Force	7.1	8.8	12.4	10.7	12.9	14.1	14.4	16.0	15.9
Employment	6.7	8.5	11.9	10.4	12.4	13.6	14.1	15.4	15.1
Full-time Employment	5.8	7.2	10.0	8.6	11.0	11.6	11.8	13.2	12.5
Part-time Employment	0.0	0.0	1.8	1.8	0.0	2.0	2.3	2.2	2.6
Unemployment	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Not in Labour Force	0.0	2.2	2.6	2.2	1.8	2.9	3.2	3.4	5.1
Unemployment Rate	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Participation Rate	90.7	80.0	82.8	82.7	87.8	83.0	82.0	82.6	75.5
Employment Rate	85.8	77.8	79.4	80.3	84.7	80.3	80.6	79.6	71.8

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

TABLE 4B

Population, Employment, Unemployment and Partication by Educational Level
(In thousands, except for rates)

	Non-Aboriginal								
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Total, all education levels									
Population	25823.2	26152.3	26497.7	26833.6	27140.8	27486.2	27823.3	28130.7	28403.7
Labour Force	17424.7	17670.9	17781.0	17980.1	18118.5	18284.6	18505.4	18574.4	18716.8
Employment	16390.5	16602.3	16318.7	16555.1	16781.7	16976.7	17219.9	17310.4	17451.8
Full-time Employment	13396.5	13524.7	13172.9	13323.4	13552.0	13764.8	13937.2	13980.5	14164.1
Part-time Employment	2993.9	3077.5	3145.8	3231.7	3229.7	3211.9	3282.7	3329.9	3287.7
Unemployment	1034.3	1068.7	1462.4	1425.0	1336.7	1307.9	1285.5	1264.0	1265.0
Not in Labour Force	8398.5	8481.4	8716.7	8853.5	9022.3	9201.6	9317.9	9556.3	9686.9
Unemployment Rate	5.9	6.0	8.2	7.9	7.4	7.2	6.9	6.8	6.8
Participation Rate	67.5	67.6	67.1	67.0	66.8	66.5	66.5	66.0	65.9
Employment Rate	63.5	63.5	61.6	61.7	61.8	61.8	61.9	61.5	61.4
Some post-secondary education or less									
Population	12877.8	12932.4	13008.5	12876.6	12798.5	12723.7	12762.7	12768.2	12549.3
Labour Force	7368.4	7413.0	7305.3	7208.9	7124.8	7004.2	7022.3	6943.6	6708.7
Employment	6770.8	6806.0	6484.9	6420.5	6392.0	6309.5	6331.4	6284.1	6064.6
Full-time Employment	5128.1	5143.5	4810.7	4735.1	4739.8	4702.7	4695.1	4640.1	4476.0
Part-time Employment	1642.7	1662.6	1674.2	1685.4	1652.2	1606.7	1636.3	1644.0	1588.6
Unemployment	597.6	607.0	820.4	788.4	732.8	694.8	690.8	659.5	644.1
Not in Labour Force	5509.5	5519.4	5703.2	5667.7	5673.8	5719.0	5740.4	5824.6	5840.6
Unemployment Rate	8.1	8.2	11.2	10.9	10.3	9.9	9.8	9.5	9.6
Participation Rate	57.2	57.3	56.2	56.0	55.7	55.1	55.0	54.4	53.5
Employment Rate	52.6	52.6	49.9	49.9	49.9	49.6	49.6	49.2	48.3
Less than high school									
Population	5695.3	5609.9	5539.7	5381.2	5266.9	5210.1	5072.1	4949.7	4836.1
Labour Force	2384.5	2357.1	2243.5	2150.9	2085.5	2026.8	1963.7	1877.9	1805.2
Employment	2100.2	2078.7	1894.4	1815.2	1772.3	1733.8	1683.3	1622.0	1562.5
Full-time Employment	1428.5	1411.9	1262.6	1212.4	1192.0	1184.8	1145.0	1094.2	1040.9
Part-time Employment	671.8	666.9	631.8	602.8	580.3	549.0	538.3	527.8	521.6
Unemployment	284.3	278.4	349.1	335.7	313.2	293.0	280.3	255.9	242.7
Not in Labour Force	3310.8	3252.8	3296.1	3230.3	3181.5	3183.3	3108.5	3071.8	3031.0
Unemployment Rate	11.9	11.8	15.6	15.6	15.0	14.5	14.3	13.6	13.4
Participation Rate	41.9	42.0	40.5	40.0	39.6	38.9	38.7	37.9	37.3
Employment Rate	36.9	37.1	34.2	33.7	33.6	33.3	33.2	32.8	32.3
0–8 years									
Population	1975.0	1909.4	1849.7	1770.4	1723.9	1651.0	1632.7	1592.9	1530.9
Labour Force	478.0	447.7	437.7	412.7	399.9	379.8	376.0	350.6	325.7
Employment	419.4	393.2	369.2	351.7	340.2	330.1	324.8	305.4	286.7
Full-time Employment	330.9	307.5	288.0	271.3	264.4	251.9	256.8	243.0	220.1
Part-time Employment	88.4	85.6	81.2	80.4	75.8	78.2	68.1	62.5	66.5
Unemployment	58.6	54.5	68.5	61.0	59.7	49.7	51.1	45.2	39.1
Not in Labour Force	1497.0	1461.6	1411.9	1357.7	1324.1	1271.2	1256.7	1242.2	1205.1
Unemployment Rate	12.3	12.2	15.7	14.8	14.9	13.1	13.6	12.9	12.0
Participation Rate	24.2	23.4	23.7	23.3	23.2	23.0	23.0	22.0	21.3
Employment Rate	21.2	20.6	20.0	19.9	19.7	20.0	19.9	19.2	18.7
Some high school									
Population	3720.4	3700.5	3690.0	3610.8	3543.0	3559.1	3439.5	3356.9	3305.2
Labour Force	1906.6	1909.4	1805.8	1738.3	1685.6	1647.0	1587.7	1527.3	1479.4
Employment	1680.9	1685.6	1525.2	1463.5	1432.1	1403.7	1358.5	1316.5	1275.8
Full-time Employment	1097.5	1104.3	974.6	941.1	927.6	932.9	888.3	851.3	820.8
Part-time Employment	583.4	581.2	550.6	522.4	504.5	470.8	470.2	465.3	455.0
Unemployment	225.7	223.8	280.6	274.7	253.5	243.3	229.2	210.7	203.6
Not in Labour Force	1813.8	1791.1	1884.2	1872.5	1857.4	1912.1	1851.8	1829.6	1825.8
Unemployment Rate	11.8	11.7	15.5	15.8	15.0	14.8	14.4	13.8	13.8
Participation Rate	51.2	51.6	48.9	48.1	47.6	46.3	46.2	45.5	44.8
Employment Rate	45.2	45.5	41.3	40.5	40.4	39.4	39.5	39.2	38.6

TABLE 4B continued.

	Non-Aboriginal								
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**
9 to 10 years									
Population	2301.1	2285.6	2298.3	2233.2	2180.9	2201.4	2127.1	2086.1	2051.3
Labour Force	1071.7	1073.4	1012.7	962.5	930.7	906.5	872.2	834.3	809.1
Employment	931.7	935.9	846.7	800.0	783.3	765.0	741.4	710.6	692.9
Full-time Employment	616.9	627.8	548.1	528.7	516.5	523.2	498.5	476.4	462.4
Part-time Employment	314.7	308.0	298.5	271.3	266.8	241.8	242.9	234.2	230.4
Unemployment	140.0	137.5	166.0	162.4	147.3	141.5	130.8	123.7	116.3
Not in Labour Force	1229.4	1212.1	1285.6	1270.7	1250.2	1295.0	1254.9	1251.8	1242.2
Unemployment Rate	13.1	12.8	16.4	16.9	15.8	15.6	15.0	14.8	14.4
Participation Rate	46.6	47.0	44.1	43.1	42.7	41.2	41.0	40.0	39.4
Employment Rate	40.5	40.9	36.8	35.8	35.9	34.7	34.9	34.1	33.8
11 to 13 years, non-graduate									
Population	1419.3	1415.0	1391.7	1377.6	1362.1	1357.7	1312.3	1270.8	1253.9
Labour Force	834.9	835.9	793.1	775.8	754.9	740.6	715.5	693.0	670.3
Employment	749.2	749.7	678.5	663.5	648.8	638.7	617.1	606.0	582.9
Full-time Employment	480.6	476.5	426.5	412.4	411.1	409.7	389.7	374.9	358.3
Part-time Employment	268.7	273.2	252.1	251.1	237.7	229.0	227.3	231.1	224.6
Unemployment	85.7	86.3	114.6	112.3	106.2	101.8	98.4	87.0	87.3
Not in Labour Force	584.4	579.0	598.6	601.8	607.2	617.1	596.8	577.8	583.6
Unemployment Rate	10.3	10.3	14.5	14.5	14.1	13.7	13.8	12.6	13.0
Participation Rate	58.8	59.1	57.0	56.3	55.4	54.5	54.5	54.5	53.5
Employment Rate	52.8	53.0	48.8	48.2	47.6	47.0	47.0	47.7	46.5
High school graduate or some post-secondary									
Population	7182.5	7322.5	7468.9	7495.4	7531.6	7513.1	7690.5	7818.5	7713.2
Labour Force	4983.8	5055.9	5061.8	5058.0	5039.3	4977.4	5058.6	5065.7	4903.5
Employment	4670.5	4727.3	4590.5	4605.3	4619.7	4575.7	4648.1	4662.1	4502.1
Full-time Employment	3699.6	3731.6	3548.2	3522.6	3547.8	3517.9	3550.1	3545.9	3435.1
Part-time Employment	970.9	995.7	1042.3	1082.6	1071.9	1057.7	1098.0	1116.3	1067.0
Unemployment	313.3	328.6	471.3	452.7	419.6	401.8	410.5	403.6	401.4
Not in Labour Force	2198.6	2266.6	2407.1	2437.4	2492.3	2535.7	2631.9	2752.8	2809.7
Unemployment Rate	6.3	6.5	9.3	8.9	8.3	8.1	8.1	8.0	8.2
Participation Rate	69.4	69.0	67.8	67.5	66.9	66.3	65.8	64.8	63.6
Employment Rate	65.0	64.6	61.5	61.4	61.3	60.9	60.4	59.6	58.4
High school graduate									
Population	5096.6	5121.4	5286.8	5294.2	5382.8	5485.3	5679.5	5847.1	5834.0
Labour Force	3542.1	3530.1	3588.6	3571.4	3599.4	3624.5	3731.2	3783.2	3687.0
Employment	3329.4	3306.9	3262.1	3265.7	3317.8	3346.6	3442.7	3501.1	3399.5
Full-time Employment	2745.1	2732.4	2645.3	2626.7	2666.1	2699.7	2754.8	2789.7	2720.3
Part-time Employment	584.4	574.5	616.7	639.0	651.7	647.0	687.9	711.4	679.2
Unemployment	212.6	223.2	326.5	305.7	281.6	277.8	288.5	282.1	287.5
Not in Labour Force	1554.5	1591.3	1698.2	1722.8	1783.4	1860.9	1948.3	2063.9	2147.0
Unemployment Rate	6.0	6.3	9.1	8.6	7.8	7.7	7.7	7.5	7.8
Participation Rate	69.5	68.9	67.9	67.5	66.9	66.1	65.7	64.7	63.2
Employment Rate	65.3	64.6	61.7	61.7	61.6	61.0	60.6	59.9	58.3
Some post-secondary									
Population	2085.9	2201.2	2182.1	2201.2	2148.8	2027.7	2011.0	1971.4	1879.2
Labour Force	1441.8	1525.8	1473.2	1486.6	1439.9	1352.9	1327.4	1282.5	1216.5
Employment	1341.1	1420.4	1328.4	1339.6	1301.9	1229.0	1205.4	1161.0	1102.6
Full-time Employment	954.6	999.2	902.8	896.0	881.8	818.3	795.3	756.1	714.8
Part-time Employment	386.6	421.2	425.6	443.6	420.2	410.8	410.1	404.9	387.8
Unemployment	100.6	105.4	144.8	147.0	138.0	123.9	122.0	121.5	113.9
Not in Labour Force	644.2	675.4	708.9	714.7	708.9	674.8	683.6	688.9	662.7
Unemployment Rate	7.0	6.9	9.8	9.9	9.6	9.2	9.2	9.5	9.4
Participation Rate	69.1	69.3	67.5	67.5	67.0	66.7	66.0	65.1	64.7
Employment Rate	64.3	64.5	60.9	60.9	60.6	60.6	59.9	58.9	58.7

TABLE 4B continued.

	Non-Aboriginal								
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Completed post-secondary education									
Population	12945.4	13219.9	13489.2	13957.0	14342.2	14763.0	15060.6	15362.5	15854.3
Labour Force	10056.4	10257.9	10475.7	10771.2	10993.7	11280.4	11483.1	11630.7	12008.1
Employment	9619.7	9796.2	9833.8	10134.6	10389.7	10667.2	10888.4	11026.3	11387.2
Full-time Employment	8268.4	8381.3	8362.2	8588.4	8812.2	9062.0	9242.1	9340.4	9688.1
Part-time Employment	1351.2	1414.9	1471.6	1546.2	1577.5	1605.2	1646.4	1685.9	1699.1
Unemployment	436.7	461.7	642.0	636.6	604.0	613.2	594.7	604.5	620.9
Not in Labour Force	2889.0	2961.9	3013.4	3185.8	3348.5	3482.6	3577.5	3731.7	3846.3
Unemployment Rate	4.3	4.5	6.1	5.9	5.5	5.4	5.2	5.2	5.2
Participation Rate	77.7	77.6	77.7	77.2	76.7	76.4	76.2	75.7	75.7
Employment Rate	74.3	74.1	72.9	72.6	72.4	72.3	72.3	71.8	71.8
Post-secondary certificate or diploma									
Population	7882.5	7975.2	8124.8	8313.2	8484.9	8642.8	8704.2	8819.9	8991.4
Labour Force	6026.4	6090.4	6204.4	6293.0	6395.7	6463.8	6513.3	6546.2	6660.2
Employment	5736.9	5799.0	5779.5	5891.6	6018.4	6092.8	6153.7	6190.1	6290.5
Full-time Employment	4902.7	4939.4	4899.5	4967.6	5086.9	5136.3	5191.0	5226.9	5331.6
Part-time Employment	834.3	859.6	880.1	924.0	931.6	956.4	962.7	963.3	958.9
Unemployment	289.4	291.4	424.9	401.4	377.2	371.0	359.6	356.1	369.7
Not in Labour Force	1856.2	1884.8	1920.3	2020.2	2089.3	2179.0	2190.9	2273.7	2331.2
Unemployment Rate	4.8	4.8	6.8	6.4	5.9	5.7	5.5	5.4	5.6
Participation Rate	76.5	76.4	76.4	75.7	75.4	74.8	74.8	74.2	74.1
Employment Rate	72.8	72.7	71.1	70.9	70.9	70.5	70.7	70.2	70.0
Trade certificate									
Population	2722.2	2765.1	2780.0	2841.9	2854.9	2829.1	2821.6	2794.2	2768.0
Labour Force	1977.4	2010.7	2013.5	2048.7	2052.2	2019.1	2030.7	1986.4	1976.6
Employment	1866.2	1899.7	1844.6	1897.8	1914.8	1889.7	1900.9	1857.1	1843.9
Full-time Employment	1653.0	1673.7	1612.5	1656.6	1681.0	1656.9	1680.4	1626.8	1615.2
Part-time Employment	213.1	226.0	232.1	241.3	233.8	232.8	220.5	230.3	228.7
Unemployment	111.2	111.0	168.9	150.8	137.5	129.4	129.8	129.3	132.8
Not in Labour Force	744.8	754.4	766.5	793.2	802.7	810.0	790.9	807.9	791.4
Unemployment Rate	5.6	5.5	8.4	7.4	6.7	6.4	6.4	6.5	6.7
Participation Rate	72.6	72.7	72.4	72.1	71.9	71.4	72.0	71.1	71.4
Employment Rate	68.6	68.7	66.4	66.8	67.1	66.8	67.4	66.5	66.6
College diploma									
Population	4502.5	4571.8	4723.1	4797.3	4940.7	5094.3	5203.9	5351.4	5449.6
Labour Force	3581.8	3624.4	3739.8	3763.4	3856.9	3949.1	4015.5	4090.7	4143.5
Employment	3423.8	3466.1	3510.1	3542.5	3641.9	3740.4	3809.4	3885.8	3933.2
Full-time Employment	2883.0	2908.9	2939.0	2947.7	3025.4	3104.7	3153.4	3234.8	3290.2
Part-time Employment	540.8	557.2	571.1	594.8	616.5	635.7	656.1	651.0	643.0
Unemployment	158.0	158.3	229.7	220.9	215.0	208.8	206.0	204.9	210.3
Not in Labour Force	920.7	947.3	983.3	1033.9	1083.8	1145.2	1188.4	1260.7	1306.1
Unemployment Rate	4.4	4.4	6.1	5.9	5.6	5.3	5.1	5.0	5.1
Participation Rate	79.6	79.3	79.2	78.4	78.1	77.5	77.2	76.4	76.0
Employment Rate	76.0	75.8	74.3	73.8	73.7	73.4	73.2	72.6	72.2
Certificat or diploma below bachelor									
Population	657.8	638.3	621.6	673.9	689.3	719.4	678.8	674.3	773.7
Labour Force	467.1	455.3	451.1	480.9	486.5	495.6	467.1	469.1	540.0
Employment	447.0	433.2	424.8	451.3	461.8	462.7	443.4	447.2	513.5
Full-time Employment	366.7	356.8	348.0	363.3	380.5	374.7	357.3	365.3	426.3
Part-time Employment	80.3	76.3	76.8	87.9	81.3	87.9	86.1	81.9	87.2
Unemployment	20.2	22.1	26.3	29.6	24.7	32.9	23.8	21.9	26.6
Not in Labour Force	190.6	183.1	170.5	193.0	202.8	223.8	211.7	205.2	233.7
Unemployment Rate	4.3	4.9	5.8	6.2	5.1	6.6	5.1	4.7	4.9
Participation Rate	71.0	71.3	72.6	71.4	70.6	68.9	68.8	69.6	69.8
Employment Rate	68.0	67.9	68.3	67.0	67.0	64.3	65.3	66.3	66.4

TABLE 4B continued.

	Non-Aboriginal								
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**
University degree									
Population	5062.9	5244.7	5364.4	5643.8	5857.3	6120.2	6356.4	6542.6	6863.0
Labour Force	4030.0	4167.5	4271.3	4478.2	4598.1	4816.6	4969.8	5084.5	5347.9
Employment	3882.7	3997.2	4054.2	4243.0	4371.3	4574.4	4734.8	4836.1	5096.6
Full-time Employment	3365.8	3441.9	3462.7	3620.8	3725.3	3925.7	4051.0	4113.6	4356.4
Part-time Employment	517.0	555.3	591.6	622.2	646.0	648.7	683.7	722.6	740.2
Unemployment	147.3	170.3	217.0	235.2	226.7	242.1	235.0	248.4	251.2
Not in Labour Force	1032.9	1077.1	1093.1	1165.6	1259.3	1303.6	1386.6	1458.1	1515.1
Unemployment Rate	3.7	4.1	5.1	5.3	4.9	5.0	4.7	4.9	4.7
Participation Rate	79.6	79.5	79.6	79.3	78.5	78.7	78.2	77.7	77.9
Employment Rate	76.7	76.2	75.6	75.2	74.6	74.7	74.5	73.9	74.3
Bachelor's degree									
Population	3517.2	3581.7	3690.5	3887.5	4014.5	4168.5	4323.8	4476.3	4706.6
Labour Force	2807.9	2843.0	2935.3	3095.4	3144.6	3281.4	3383.4	3475.5	3667.9
Employment	2702.8	2728.7	2780.8	2925.4	2983.4	3109.4	3220.3	3305.4	3499.0
Full-time Employment	2337.2	2347.2	2373.0	2492.1	2541.8	2665.1	2744.9	2799.9	2990.8
Part-time Employment	365.6	381.5	407.8	433.3	441.6	444.4	475.4	505.5	508.2
Unemployment	105.1	114.3	154.5	170.0	161.2	171.9	163.1	170.0	168.8
Not in Labour Force	709.3	738.7	755.2	792.0	869.9	887.1	940.4	1000.9	1038.8
Unemployment Rate	3.7	4.0	5.3	5.5	5.1	5.2	4.8	4.9	4.6
Participation Rate	79.8	79.4	79.5	79.6	78.3	78.7	78.3	77.6	77.9
Employment Rate	76.8	76.2	75.4	75.3	74.3	74.6	74.5	73.8	74.3
Above bachelor's degree									
Population	1545.7	1662.9	1673.9	1756.3	1842.8	1951.7	2032.5	2066.3	2156.3
Labour Force	1222.1	1324.6	1336.0	1382.8	1453.4	1535.2	1586.4	1609.1	1680.0
Employment	1179.9	1268.5	1273.5	1317.6	1387.9	1465.0	1514.5	1530.7	1597.6
Full-time Employment	1028.5	1094.7	1089.7	1128.7	1183.5	1260.6	1306.2	1313.6	1365.6
Part-time Employment	151.4	173.8	183.7	188.9	204.4	204.4	208.3	217.0	232.0
Unemployment	42.2	56.1	62.5	65.2	65.5	70.2	71.9	78.4	82.4
Not in Labour Force	323.6	338.4	337.9	373.6	389.4	416.5	446.2	457.2	476.3
Unemployment Rate	3.5	4.2	4.7	4.7	4.5	4.6	4.5	4.9	4.9
Participation Rate	79.1	79.7	79.8	78.7	78.9	78.7	78.0	77.9	77.9
Employment Rate	76.3	76.3	76.1	75.0	75.3	75.1	74.5	74.1	74.1

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

TABLE 5
Employment and Unemployment Rates by Educational Level

| | Employment Rates | | | |
| | Aboriginals | | Non-Aboriginal | |
	2014	2015	2014	2015
Less than high school	32.4	32.3	32.8	32.3
High school graduate	62.6	58.5	59.9	58.3
Completed post-secondary education	71.2	69.2	71.8	71.8
University degree	78.2	75.2	73.9	74.3

| | Unemployment Rates | | | |
| | Aboriginals | | Non-Aboriginal | |
	2014	2015	2014	2015
Less than high school	20.7	22.8	13.6	13.4
High school graduate	11.2	12.4	7.5	7.8
Completed post-secondary education	7.4	8.2	5.2	5.2
University degree	5.2	5.7	4.9	4.7

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

2014. However, the employment rate for those who completed high school declined more in 2015 for Aboriginals (from 62.6 in 2014 to 58.5 in 2015) than for non-Aboriginals (from 59.9 in 2014 to 58.3 in 2015). (See Table 5.)

Aboriginals who completed their post-secondary education had an employment rate of 69.2 in 2015, which was a meaningful decline from 71.2 in 2014. Non-Aboriginals employment rates remained at 71.8 in 2015 and 2014, for those who completed their post-secondary education. (See Table 5.)

The employment rate for Aboriginals with a University degree was 75.2 in 2015, which was a considerable decrease from 78.2 in 2014. For non-Aboriginals these employment rates increased from 73.9 in 2014 to 74.3 in 2015. (See Table 5.)

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

The unemployment rates for Aboriginals, by level of education completed, are significantly higher for Aboriginals than they are for non-Aboriginals. This is in contrast to the employment rates, by educational level, which are fairly similar for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. (See Table 4A and Table 4B.)

In 2015 the unemployment rate for Aboriginals increased regardless of the education level complete. For Aboriginals who did complete high school it increased from 20.7 in 2015 to 22.8 in 2015. This compares to a decrease for non-Aboriginals from 13.6 to 13.4. For Aboriginals who graduated from high school the unemployment rate increased from 11.2 to 12.4, in comparison to non-Aboriginals whose rates of unemployment increased

from 7.5 to 7.8. The unemployment rates for Aboriginals who completed a post-secondary education increased from 7.4 to 8.2, while for non-Aboriginals it remained at 5.2. For University graduates the difference in unemployment rates between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals is not as large; however, it increased for Aboriginals and decreased for non-Aboriginals. It went from 5.2 in 2014 to 5.7 in 2015 for Aboriginals, while for non-Aboriginals it decreased from 4.9 to 4.7. (See Table 5.)

EMPLOYMENT RATES BY PROVINCE AND TERRITORY

Alberta continued to be the province with the highest employment rates in 2015. This was the case for non-Aboriginals since 2007 and for Aboriginals every year since 2007, except for 2009. The employment rate for Aboriginals was 62.4 in 2015, which was a decline from 66.4 in 2014. This compares to the decline in employment rates for non-Aboriginals in Alberta from 69.4 in 2014 to 68.8 in 2015. (See Table 6.)

TABLE 6
Employment by Province, Region and Territories
Aboriginals and Non-Aboriginals

	Aboriginal living off reserves[1]								
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Canada									
Population	638.3	672.5	706.5	740.5	772.8	798.2	824.3	850.3	876.2
Employment	370.7	400.6	400.7	395.9	425.7	449.9	466.8	484.8	483.7
Employment rate	58.1	59.6	56.7	53.5	55.1	56.4	56.6	57.0	55.2
Atlantic Region									
Population	40.0	44.5	49.0	53.5	57.5	59.8	61.8	63.6	65.6
Employment	20.6	24.1	26.0	26.8	31.1	32.7	33.9	33.6	37.0
Employment rate	51.5	54.1	53.1	50.1	54.1	54.7	54.8	52.8	56.4
Newfoundland and Labrador									
Population	16.0	18.3	20.6	22.9	24.9	25.5	26.0	26.4	27.0
Employment	8.3	9.1	10.3	10.5	12.9	13.2	14.5	14.3	14.6
Employment rate	51.9	49.7	49.8	45.7	52.0	51.8	55.6	54.2	54.2
Prince Edward Island									
Population	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.5	1.7	1.8
Employment	0.6	0.4	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.9	1.3
Employment rate	67.2	44.0	67.7	48.9	49.7	60.7	46.6	55.6	69.6
Nova Scotia									
Population	14.3	15.7	17.2	18.6	20.0	21.0	21.8	22.6	23.5
Employment	7.4	8.9	9.1	10.6	11.3	12.0	12.5	12.1	13.2
Employment rate	51.7	56.4	52.8	56.7	56.5	57.4	57.3	53.6	56.3
New Brunswick									
Population	8.9	9.5	10.1	10.8	11.4	11.9	12.4	12.9	13.3
Employment	4.3	5.7	5.9	5.2	6.2	6.6	6.2	6.2	7.9
Employment rate	48.8	59.8	58.7	47.9	54.9	55.5	49.8	48.2	59.3

continued on next page.

TABLE 6 continued.

| | Aboriginal living off reserves[1] | | | | | | | | |
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**
Quebec									
Population	62.8	67.6	72.5	77.3	81.7	84.3	87.0	89.8	92.4
Employment	29.1	36.7	40.4	34.9	39.1	40.8	45.4	46.6	43.2
Employment rate	46.3	54.2	55.7	45.2	47.8	48.4	52.1	51.9	46.7
Ontario									
Population	159.8	169.3	178.7	188.2	197.1	204.0	211.0	217.8	224.6
Employment	92.4	97.7	98.4	93.6	106.6	114.3	110.6	121.7	119.4
Employment rate	57.8	57.7	55.0	49.7	54.1	56.0	52.4	55.9	53.1
Total West Provinces									
Population	375.7	391.0	406.3	421.6	436.5	450.1	464.6	479.1	493.6
Employment	228.6	242.2	236.0	240.6	249.0	262.1	277.0	283.0	284.1
Employment rate	60.8	61.9	58.1	57.1	57.0	58.2	59.6	59.1	57.6
Prairie Region									
Population	263.5	272.7	281.9	291.0	300.3	309.1	318.9	328.8	338.9
Employment	163.1	169.2	166.8	170.2	175.9	184.3	196.2	200.6	200.9
Employment rate	61.9	62.0	59.2	58.5	58.6	59.6	61.5	61.0	59.3
Manitoba									
Population	87.0	89.7	92.4	95.1	98.0	100.8	103.8	106.9	110.3
Employment	51.8	55.2	56.9	55.7	57.6	58.4	60.0	60.4	62.6
Employment rate	59.6	61.5	61.5	58.6	58.8	57.9	57.8	56.5	56.7
Saskatchewan									
Population	64.7	66.6	68.6	70.6	72.4	73.4	74.7	76.0	77.4
Employment	36.4	37.7	37.6	38.0	40.5	41.0	44.1	43.3	43.9
Employment rate	56.3	56.6	54.8	53.9	55.9	55.9	59.0	56.9	56.8
Alberta									
Population	111.8	116.3	120.8	125.3	129.9	134.9	140.4	145.9	151.3
Employment	74.8	76.2	72.4	76.4	77.7	84.9	92.1	96.9	94.4
Employment rate	66.9	65.5	59.9	61.0	59.9	62.9	65.6	66.4	62.4
British Columbia									
Population	112.2	118.4	124.4	130.5	136.3	140.9	145.6	150.3	154.6
Employment	65.5	73.0	69.2	70.4	73.1	77.7	80.8	82.4	83.2
Employment rate	58.4	61.7	55.6	54.0	53.7	55.2	55.5	54.8	53.8
Territories									
Population	30.3	35.3	37.4	38.0	36.5	38.2	38.4	38.4	39.3
Employment	16.7	17.0	16.7	18.3	18.4	19.5	20.0	18.9	20.2
Employment rate	55.1	48.2	44.7	48.2	50.4	51.0	52.1	49.2	51.4
Northwest Territories									
Population	13.5	14.0	14.8	16.0	14.5	14.4	14.4	14.7	15.0
Employment	7.5	7.1	6.9	8.2	8.0	8.0	7.9	7.6	8.3
Employment rate	55.6	50.7	46.6	51.3	55.2	55.6	54.9	51.7	55.3
Nunavut									
Population	11.4	15.9	16.4	16.8	17.3	17.6	18.0	18.6	19.0
Employment	6.4	7.2	7.1	7.7	8.0	8.1	8.7	8.2	8.6
Employment rate	55.8	45.0	43.4	45.9	46.1	46.1	48.4	44.3	44.9
Yukon									
Population	5.4	5.4	6.2	5.2	4.7	6.2	6.0	5.1	5.3
Employment	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.4	2.4	3.4	3.4	3.1	3.3
Employment rate	51.9	50.0	43.5	46.2	51.1	54.8	56.7	60.8	62.3

Note: 1. Except for the three territories which does not have any reserves.

TABLE 6 continued.

	Non-Aboriginal								
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**
Canada									
Population	25823.2	26152.3	26497.7	26833.6	27140.8	27486.2	27823.3	28130.7	28403.7
Employment	16390.5	16602.3	16318.7	16555.1	16781.7	16976.7	17219.9	17310.4	17451.8
Employment rate	63.5	63.5	61.6	61.7	61.8	61.8	61.9	61.5	61.4
Atlantic Region									
Population	1870.5	1874.8	1883.3	1893.8	1901.8	1906.9	1907.5	1905.6	1905.6
Employment	1070.4	1079.4	1067.8	1075.2	1081.8	1092.6	1091.5	1080.2	1072.8
Employment rate	57.2	57.6	56.7	56.8	56.9	57.3	57.2	56.7	56.3
Newfoundland and Labrador									
Population	409.5	409.6	411.8	414.4	415.7	417.4	418.8	417.5	415.9
Employment	209.5	213.4	205.9	213.2	219.9	228.9	229.4	224.7	222.4
Employment rate	51.2	52.1	50.0	51.4	52.9	54.8	54.8	53.8	53.5
Prince Edward Island									
Population	111.5	112.3	113.4	115.3	117.4	118.4	118.6	119.0	119.1
Employment	67.8	68.5	67.4	69.0	71.2	72.1	73.4	73.1	71.9
Employment rate	60.8	61.0	59.4	59.9	60.6	60.9	61.9	61.4	60.4
Nova Scotia									
Population	750.6	751.9	754.2	757.3	759.4	760.6	760.1	760.3	762.0
Employment	440.1	442.8	440.4	440.6	441.5	445.4	440.5	435.6	434.8
Employment rate	58.6	58.9	58.4	58.2	58.1	58.6	57.9	57.3	57.1
New Brunswick									
Population	598.9	600.9	603.9	606.8	609.4	610.5	610.1	608.9	608.6
Employment	353.0	354.8	354.1	352.4	349.1	346.2	348.2	346.8	343.6
Employment rate	58.9	59.0	58.6	58.1	57.3	56.7	57.1	57.0	56.5
Quebec									
Population	6239.9	6314.7	6394.5	6477.1	6550.1	6615.2	6668.4	6712.4	6750.9
Employment	3807.4	3844.5	3811.9	3896.6	3931.4	3958.3	4011.5	4010.4	4048.8
Employment rate	61.0	60.9	59.6	60.2	60.0	59.8	60.2	59.7	60.0
Ontario									
Population	10160.9	10276.9	10393.8	10524.5	10653.0	10795.1	10931.5	11051.8	11161.0
Employment	6452.3	6510.5	6334.1	6442.0	6547.2	6586.7	6710.7	6754.0	6800.3
Employment rate	63.5	63.4	60.9	61.2	61.5	61.0	61.4	61.1	60.9
Total West Provinces									
Population	7551.9	7685.9	7826.1	7938.2	8035.9	8169.0	8315.9	8460.9	8586.1
Employment	5060.3	5167.8	5104.9	5141.3	5221.3	5339.1	5406.2	5465.8	5529.9
Employment rate	67.0	67.2	65.2	64.8	65.0	65.4	65.0	64.6	64.4
Prairie Region									
Population	4171.5	4256.1	4341.8	4405.2	4469.3	4564.8	4674.7	4781.6	4863.6
Employment	2920.9	3000.3	2984.2	2989.5	3068.4	3155.8	3221.9	3271.2	3307.8
Employment rate	70.0	70.5	68.7	67.9	68.7	69.1	68.9	68.4	68.0
Manitoba									
Population	812.0	817.3	824.6	833.3	841.7	851.8	860.5	869.5	877.0
Employment	539.1	545.2	544.1	552.3	553.8	562.6	566.7	567.0	573.6
Employment rate	66.4	66.7	66.0	66.3	65.8	66.0	65.9	65.2	65.4
Saskatchewan									
Population	693.7	704.9	717.1	729.3	739.6	752.9	764.7	776.2	784.1
Employment	466.6	477.3	485.1	491.0	494.5	506.8	521.4	527.8	530.1
Employment rate	67.3	67.7	67.6	67.3	66.9	67.3	68.2	68.0	67.6

TABLE 6 continued.

	Non-Aboriginal								
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**
Alberta									
Population	2665.8	2734.0	2800.0	2842.6	2887.9	2960.2	3049.5	3135.9	3202.5
Employment	1915.2	1977.8	1955.0	1946.3	2020.1	2086.5	2133.7	2176.4	2204.2
Employment rate	71.8	72.3	69.8	68.5	69.9	70.5	70.0	69.4	68.8
British Columbia									
Population	3380.4	3429.8	3484.3	3533.0	3566.6	3604.1	3641.2	3679.3	3722.5
Employment	2139.4	2167.5	2120.8	2151.8	2152.9	2183.2	2184.3	2194.6	2222.1
Employment rate	63.3	63.2	60.9	60.9	60.4	60.6	60.0	59.6	59.7
Territories									
Population	40.7	41.2	40.2	40.9	44.2	43.6	44.2	45.1	44.7
Employment	33.4	34.1	32.5	32.2	35.8	35.0	35.1	35.4	33.8
Employment rate	82.1	82.8	80.8	78.7	81.0	80.3	79.4	78.5	75.6
Northwest Territories									
Population	18.1	17.8	17.0	16.0	17.8	18.0	18.1	17.7	17.0
Employment	15.8	15.3	14.3	13.3	15.0	15.1	15.2	14.5	13.6
Employment rate	87.3	86.0	84.1	83.1	84.3	83.9	84.0	81.9	80.0
Nunavut									
Population	3.7	4.0	4.1	4.2	4.3	4.4	4.5	4.7	4.8
Employment	3.3	3.6	3.6	3.8	3.9	4.0	4.0	4.1	4.1
Employment rate	90.7	90.5	88.3	89.3	89.1	89.6	89.2	87.9	86.0
Yukon									
Population	18.9	19.4	19.1	20.7	22.1	21.2	21.6	22.7	22.9
Employment	14.3	15.2	14.6	15.1	16.9	15.9	15.9	16.8	16.1
Employment rate	75.7	78.4	76.4	72.9	76.5	75.0	73.6	74.0	70.3

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

Saskatchewan and Manitoba have the next highest employment rates for Aboriginals with rates in 2015 of 56.8 and 56.7, which was very similar as in 2014, with rates of 56.9 and 56.5 respectively. For non-Aboriginals, the employment rate in 2015 was 67.6 and 68.0 in 2014 in Saskatchewan. In Manitoba it was 65.2 in both 2015 and 2014. (See Table 6.)

The Atlantic Provinces employment rate of 56.4 for Aboriginals in 2015 was very similar to those in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, which improved from 52.8 in 2014. The non-Aboriginal employment rate in the Atlantic Provinces was 56.3 in 2015 and 56.7 in 2014. (See Table 6.)

Ontario and British Columbia`s Aboriginal employment rates in 2015 were lower than most other provinces at 53.1 and 53.8 respectively, which were decreases from 55.9 and 54.8 in 2014. Non-Aboriginals rates of employment in Ontario and British Columbia were 60.9 and 59.7 in 2015 and 61.1 and 59.6 in 2014, respectively. (See Table 6.)

Quebec was the province with the lowest Aboriginal employment rate in 2015 at 46.7 and was also the lowest in 2014 at 51.9. Non-Aboriginal employment rates in Quebec in 2015 and 2014 were 60.0 and 59.7, respectively. The difference in employment rates between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals was the largest in Quebec than in any of the provinces. (See Table 6.)

The employment rates in the three Territories of the Yukon, Northwest Territory and Nunavut, improved in 2015 to 51.4 from 49.2 in 2014. In marked contrast, the employment rates for non-Aboriginals were higher than any of the provinces in Canada at 75.6 in 2015 and 78.5 in 2014. The difference in the employment rates in the Territories between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals is considerably greater than in Quebec, which was the province with the largest difference. (See Table 6.)

ABORIGINAL EMPLOYMENT BY ECONOMIC SECTOR

Employment may be examined by how many people are working in the goods-producing or the services-producing sector. In Canada, over three-quarters of those employed are in the services-producing sector. More specifically, 75.5 % of Aboriginals were employed in the services-producing sector in 2015, while for non-Aboriginals it was 78.5%. Aboriginal employment declined by 1.4% in the services-producing sector and increased by 3.5% in the goods-producing sector, resulting in an overall decrease of .23% in 2015, which were 1,100 fewer people employed. Non-Aboriginal employment decreased by .80% in the goods-producing sector and increased by 1.27% in the services-producing sector, resulting in an overall increase of .82% in 2015. (See Table 7.)

Two areas where there has been fairly consistent growth of Aboriginal employment since 2010 have been in educational services and in health care and social assistance. Employment in health care and social services declined slightly in 2013, but otherwise both sectors increased each year since 2010. (See Table 7.)

The sectors with the greatest percent increases in Aboriginal employment in the services-producing sector in 2015 were in information, culture and recreation (13.8%), professional, scientific and technical services (11.4%) and in management of companies and administration (10.0%). In the goods-producing sector the two sectors with the largest percent increases in Aboriginal employment in 2015 were in utilities (50%) and in forestry and fishing (36.4%). However, these large increases were based upon very small levels of employment in 2014, which were 4,000 employed in utilities and 3,300 employed in forestry and fishing. Thus, the employment increase of 50% in utilities is based upon 2,000 additional people being employed in this sector. (See Table 7.)

The sectors that experienced the largest percent decreases of Aboriginal employment in 2015 were in other services (−20.2%), wholesale trade (−19.0%) and finance, insurance, real estate and leasing (−15.9%). (See Table 7.)

NON-ABORIGINAL EMPLOYMENT BY SECTOR

Non-Aboriginal employment increased every year since 2010, with an increase of 0.82% in 2015. The sectors that experienced the largest percent increases in employment in 2015 for non-Aboriginals were all in the services-producing sector. They were in wholesale trade (7.6%), management of companies and administrative and other support services (3.4%), health care and social services (3.2%), and educational services (3.0%). The two sectors with the greatest decrease in non-Aboriginal employment in 2015 were in mining and oil and gas extraction (−6.5%), and other services (−3.8%). The decline in employment in mining and oil and gas extraction in 2015 was in marked contrast to the growth in employment

TABLE 7
Employment by Sector

	Aboriginal living off reserves									% Change
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2015/2014
Total employed — **Figures are in thousand**	370.7	400.6	400.7	395.9	425.7	449.9	466.8	484.8	483.7	-0.23
Goods-producing sector	97.1	101.4	87.3	92.2	102.1	112.8	115.6	114.4	118.4	3.50
• Natural Resources and Utilities	25.0	24.1	20.4	26.3	30.2	28.6	33.5	28.6	33.5	17.13
Resource sectors	21.6	21.0	18.1	22.9	26.1	24.8	28.8	24.6	27.5	11.79
Agriculture	4.8	4.1	3.4	4.5	5.7	5.4	5.0	5.1	5.2	1.96
Forestry, fishing, mining, oil and gas	16.8	17.0	14.7	18.4	20.5	19.4	23.8	19.5	22.3	14.36
Forestry & fishing	4.8	3.3	3.0	4.3	5.1	4.2	5.6	3.3	4.5	36.36
Mining and oil and gas extraction	12.0	13.6	11.7	14.2	15.3	15.2	18.2	16.2	17.8	9.88
Utilities	3.4	3.1	2.3	3.4	4.1	3.8	4.7	4.0	6.0	50.00
Other goods producing	72.1	77.3	66.9	65.9	71.9	84.2	82.1	85.9	84.9	-1.16
Construction	35.7	41.4	41.7	40.2	41.6	49.1	49.3	53.0	51.3	-3.21
Manufacturing	36.4	35.8	25.2	25.7	30.3	35.1	32.9	32.9	33.6	2.13
• 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	7.9	-2.47
Services-producing sector	273.6	299.2	313.4	303.7	323.6	337.1	351.2	370.4	365.2	-1.40
• Education & Health and Social Services	66.4	68.9	77.6	75.7	79.8	88.0	89.6	97.0	101.8	4.95
Educational services	20.1	23.3	24.6	23.1	23.8	26.1	28.4	30.9	31.9	3.24
Health care and social assistance	46.3	45.6	53.0	52.7	56.1	61.9	61.2	66.1	69.8	5.60
• Public administration	25.3	29.5	30.8	34.0	32.5	36.4	32.1	31.7	31.4	-0.95
• 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	232.1	-3.97
Trade	55.6	60.4	63.3	56.9	64.5	63.6	66.3	74.4	69.3	-6.85
Wholesale trade	9.6	11.4	12.4	10.3	9.7	11.6	12.6	14.7	11.9	-19.05
Retail trade	46.0	49.0	50.9	46.5	54.8	52.0	53.7	59.8	57.5	-3.85
Transportation and warehousing	19.5	21.9	22.1	20.6	22.6	21.3	25.2	23.3	25.0	7.30
Finance, insurance, real estate and leasing	12.3	12.6	17.4	16.8	14.6	16.3	18.7	20.8	17.5	-15.87
Professional, scientific and technical services	12.0	11.4	11.8	11.7	13.1	15.6	18.1	15.8	17.6	11.39
Management of companies, administrative and other support services	18.3	23.2	18.3	19.3	19.8	22.1	23.2	21.0	23.1	10.00
Information, culture and recreation	14.6	19.4	19.1	15.2	17.4	19.6	16.5	17.4	19.8	13.79
Accommodation and food services	33.1	33.0	34.3	35.2	38.9	38.8	40.3	43.1	39.2	-9.05
Other services	16.4	18.9	18.7	18.3	20.5	15.4	21.1	25.8	20.6	-20.16
Goods-producing sector employment/Total employment	0.262	0.253	0.218	0.233	0.240	0.251	0.248	0.236	0.245	
Services-producing sector/Total employment	0.738	0.747	0.782	0.767	0.760	0.749	0.752	0.764	0.755	

TABLE 7 continued.

	Non-Aboriginal									% Change
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2015/2014
Total employed — **Figures are in thousand**	16390.5	16602.3	16318.7	16555.1	16781.7	16976.7	17219.9	17310.4	17451.8	0.82
Goods-producing sector	3871.3	3877.0	3630.0	3630.7	3695.8	3759.2	3793.5	3780.7	3750.3	-0.80
• Natural Resources and Utilities	789.7	792.1	763.0	745.4	754.0	775.7	783.6	785.4	752.8	-4.15
Resource sectors	655.6	648.9	621.6	607.5	621.4	646.4	653.5	652.6	621.7	-4.73
Agriculture	329.6	324.8	322.1	301.3	301.4	299.8	308.4	299.3	288.7	-3.54
Forestry, fishing, mining, oil and gas	326.0	324.1	299.5	306.2	319.9	346.6	345.1	353.3	333.1	-5.72
Forestry & fishing	78.7	71.9	65.3	68.3	63.0	65.0	62.6	61.6	60.5	-1.79
Mining and oil and gas extraction	247.2	252.1	234.2	237.9	256.9	281.6	282.5	291.7	272.6	-6.55
Utilities	134.2	143.2	141.5	137.9	132.7	129.3	130.1	132.7	131.0	-1.28
Other goods producing	3081.6	3084.9	2867.0	2885.3	2941.8	2983.5	3009.8	2995.4	2997.5	0.07
Construction	1092.0	1195.1	1149.5	1202.6	1252.6	1273.8	1320.3	1318.3	1320.1	0.14
Manufacturing	1989.5	1889.8	1717.5	1682.7	1689.2	1709.7	1689.5	1677.0	1677.4	0.02
• Special grouping of Forestry and logging, wood, paper and allied	280.0	259.6	229.6	223.5	222.1	220.2	206.7	224.9	214.5	-4.62
Services-producing sector	12519.1	12725.3	12688.6	12924.4	13085.9	13217.5	13426.4	13529.7	13701.5	1.27
• Education & Health and Social Services	2943.0	2983.0	3033.5	3129.2	3170.5	3260.4	3325.9	3356.6	3461.3	3.12
Educational services	1152.1	1139.9	1125.3	1142.7	1144.2	1181.8	1197.4	1204.5	1240.3	2.97
Health care and social assistance	1790.9	1843.1	1908.2	1986.5	2026.3	2078.6	2128.4	2152.1	2221.0	3.20
• Public administration	840.3	881.2	888.3	887.7	889.5	889.1	886.8	879.5	876.2	-0.38
• Services industries except Education, Health and Social and Public admin.	8735.8	8861.0	8766.8	8907.5	9025.9	9068.0	9213.7	9293.6	9364.0	0.76
Trade	2607.5	2616.5	2581.1	2622.3	2610.8	2593.7	2642.3	2654.2	2661.4	0.27
Wholesale trade	610.4	614.8	613.5	614.0	618.0	596.8	592.3	607.9	654.4	7.65
Retail trade	1997.1	2001.7	1967.6	2008.4	1992.8	1996.9	2050.0	2046.3	2007.1	-1.92
Transportation and warehousing	801.1	827.8	802.2	792.9	827.2	835.4	858.0	873.3	891.8	2.12
Finance, insurance, real estate and leasing	1032.5	1046.8	1049.0	1055.9	1059.6	1044.5	1060.5	1062.7	1084.1	2.01
Professional, scientific and technical services	1110.9	1160.2	1136.1	1202.1	1249.1	1252.6	1291.7	1315.6	1346.3	2.33
Management of companies, administrative and other support services	677.6	682.4	665.6	672.4	675.3	683.0	717.8	713.9	738.1	3.39
Information, culture and recreation	759.2	729.7	728.2	746.6	754.4	739.6	739.6	739.6	730.5	-1.23
Accommodation and food services	1039.3	1055.2	1041.6	1062.6	1101.2	1131.1	1129.3	1164.5	1171.0	0.56
Other services	707.8	742.3	763.1	752.6	748.5	788.1	774.6	769.8	740.7	-3.78
Goods-producing sector employment/Total employment	0.236	0.234	0.222	0.219	0.220	0.221	0.220	0.218	0.215	
Services-producing sector/Total employment	0.764	0.766	0.778	0.781	0.780	0.779	0.780	0.782	0.785	

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey.

in this sector each year from 2010 to 2014. Non-Aboriginal employment increased in health care and social assistance every year since 2008. Other sectors of consistent employment growth for non-Aboriginals every year from 2010 to 2014 included educational services, professional, scientific and technical services, management of companies and administrative and other support services (except in 2014), accommodation and food services (except in 2013) and transportation and warehousing (except in 2010). (See Table 7.)

CONCLUSION

The employment figures for Aboriginals in 2015 are disappointing. The total number of people employed decreased as did the participation and employment rates, while the unemployment rate increased. The lower employment rate and higher unemployment rate occurred for Aboriginal men and women in every age category, except women 55 years of age and older. The higher the level of education completed the higher the employment rate and the lower the unemployment rate. These strong relationships hold for Aboriginals as well as non-Aboriginals and has been the case for each year since 2007, which is the earliest year reported here. Alberta continued to be the province with the highest Aboriginal employment rate, while Quebec continued to have the lowest. Both Alberta and Quebec experienced substantial decreases in their employment rates in 2015, compared with 2014. The sectors with meaningful percent increases in Aboriginal employment in 2015 were in information, culture and recreation; professional, scientific and technical services; management of companies and administration; and in mining and oil and gas extraction. Educational services and health care and social assistance are the two sectors where there has been fairly consistent growth of Aboriginal employment since 2010. The sectors with substantial decreases in Aboriginal employment in 2015 were in other services; wholesale trade; and finance, insurance, real estate and leasing. Non-Aboriginal employment has fairly consistently increased since 2010 in health care and social assistance; educational services; professional, scientific and technical services; management of companies and administrative and other support services; accommodation and food services; and transportation and warehousing.

The employment picture for Aboriginals in 2015 was disappointing. However, there are a number of findings that may be helpful. Understanding the positive relationship between education and employment should provide an incentive for individuals, communities and the nation to pursue and promote the completing of high school as well as higher levels of education. Knowing in which provinces and sectors there are higher rates of employment and growth, for Aboriginals as well as non-Aboriginals, there has been employment growth may provide some direction for those seeking work or considering what career to pursue.

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Call for Papers
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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 2 of JAED will be published in Fall 2017 in preparation for the Cando 24th 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

Warren Weir — Editor
c/o Svitlana Konoval
Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers
9635 — 45th Avenue
Edmonton, AB T6E 5Z8
E-mail: skonoval@edo.ca
Phone: 1-800-463-9300
Fax: (780) 429-7487

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 2, is March 31, 2017**. 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.

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