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cando
Inspiring Success

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Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development

VOLUME 11, NUMBER 2

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

Contents

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The Artist

Kassia Ward

Born in Edmonton, Alberta, and growing up on the Enoch Cree Nation, Kassia was first introduced to art as a young child when an artist came to the community to give some classes. From there her artistic inspiration was broadened during junior high and high school art classes. During her time in university, Kassia took classes at Pro's Art in Edmonton, where she was introduced to oil painting and techniques of the old masters. Classes began by learning how to paint fruits, and flowers. Once students could handle such subject matter, they were invited to paint anything, from landscapes and animals to portraits.

After moving to Calgary, Kassia took abstract acrylic classes at the Calgary School of Arts, where students were encouraged to create and try new things by using anything from acrylic paint, gold foil, matte and gloss mediums to modelling paste. She took further classes at the Alberta College of Art and Design via continuing education courses. Such classes consisted of a drawing course titled "hands and feet", a mixed media course, and illustration.

Currently, Kassia lives in Vancouver, where she attends the Vancouver School of Media Arts and studies 3D character animation. 3D characters are brought to life by combining real life references, various principles of animation, and Maya software. Other classes being taken at VanArts include 3D modelling, Photoshop, Life Drawing, and Story/ Visual Language.

Kassia's artistic inspiration comes from travelling, photos, nature, dreams, and the Aboriginal Culture. Some exhibits that Kassia has participated in are the Peace Hills Trust Aboriginal Art Contest and the juried ACAD "Spotlight" exhibition. The Aboriginal Art Contest displayed the piece "Chief Enoch". The ACAD exhibition is displaying the mixed media piece "Birch in Gold", which was selected by Katherine Ylitalo, an independent curator, art writer, and educator.

The Artist's Statement
The Cando 25th Silver Anniversary Logo

Kassia Ward
NATIVE ARTIST

The traditional art elements that I have combined to create this logo are the dreamcatcher, four stones (beads), and the eagle. The dreamcatcher represents the ideas and dreams of the communities Cando provides programs and services to. The stones, or beads, represent the four directions, but they also symbolize communication, trust, balance, and confidence. The stones are placed within the dreamcatcher to guard against the negative influences that might try to affect the dreams of the communities. The eagle, which is the focus of the piece, represents empowerment, for the eagle is the messenger that moves the dream from the spiritual/dream world to the physical/real world — the world in which communities are empowered by the support Cando provides.

It is my privilege and honour to present to you the 22nd issue of the Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development (JAED), co-published by the Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers (Cando) and Captus Press. I am happy to report that this issue highlights and clarifies new takes and updates on the state of Indigenous economic development and the thinking that goes into it, and on the leadership and followership (in all of their forms) that are required to implement, support, and sustain those effective and successful economic development activities and projects that further promote and enhance Aboriginal economic development and governance across Canada and around the world.

In this issue the primary topic that has emerged, as the focus for at least three of the submissions, is one that relates to Indigenous leadership. Other articles continue the discussion about provincial economic development activities (in this case Manitoba), in addition to the ongoing profiles of our Cando's Economic Developer of the Year Award Winners. We also provide information about international business, trade, and culture, which offers comparative insights (in this case between New Zealand and Alaska); and, finally, about the economic impact of Indigenous language revitalization (a new topic for our Journal). The issue ends with our ongoing and longitudinal coverage and analysis of Aboriginal unemployment, employment, and wage rates in Canada.

Enjoy, and happy reading! And *Huy tseep q'u Siiem nu Siye 'yu* — thank you respected friends and colleagues — for contributing to the Journal, for helping to edit the Journal, and for continuing to be an active member of the Cando family. *Huy ch q'u*.

Warren Weir

Introduction

Wanda Wuttunee

The readings in this section are meant to reach the heart of the front-line economic/community development workers in Indigenous communities across this country. It may be shared stories that inspire new friendships and mentoring opportunities, or articles that influence knowledge or strategic plans.

This edition opens with the CANDO winners chosen at the last conference. Tom Many Heads, member of Siksika in Alberta, is the driving force behind bringing Petro Canada and Subway to the community. Investments in B.C. hotels and a medical marijuana project are securing equity positions and employment opportunities for the winner of the individual category. Madawaska Maliseet First Nation in New Brunswick, winner of the community award, is proud of its Grey Rock Power centre that houses a multi-purpose entertainment centre, including a casino and bingo halls, with the largest truck stop in Atlantic Canada. For 12 years, the Yukon Motel and Restaurant has been growing into a successful business and employing many of the local residents in Teslin, Yukon. The hard work of the Kremer husband and wife team earned them recognition as winners of the private sector business category.

If you have ever wondered what is happening in Manitoba's Indigenous economy, the article by Ryan Johnson, entitled "Manitoba Indigenous Economic Development", shines a light on a variety of ventures in the north and south of the province. Urban reserves, partnership in hydro and plans for Northern development are only some of the initiatives that are explored.

Recognizing the tension produced by western influence on Indigenous worldviews, authors Kwantes and Stonefish focus on leadership and acknowledge this tension. What type of leadership is recognized as effective? What will more influence over time by mainstream business have on

Indigenous people who join the workforce? Check out this article for an interesting study that answers some questions and raises more.

Ekosi.

2018 Economic Developer of the Year Award Winners

Sam Laskaris
CANDO CONTRIBUTOR

Recognize! Celebrate! Honour!

In 1995, the Cando Economic Developer of the Year Award was created to recognize and promote recent or long-standing Indigenous 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 Indigenous economic development. That is why today Cando grants Economic Development of the Year Awards in three separate categories:

- Individual EDO
- Community
- Indigenous Private Sector Business

Three candidates exemplifying outstanding Indigenous economic development were awarded the ED of the Year at the Cando 25th Annual National Conference. Two finalists in each of the categories were selected to present to an audience during a special plenary at 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 2018 Economic Developer of the Year Award winners!

Tom Many Heads
ED of the Year Winner — Individual EDO Category

Chief Patricia Bernard,
Madawaska Cree Nation
ED of the Year Winner — Community Category

Juanita Kremer
Yukon Motel & Restaurant
ED of the Year Winner — Indigenous Private Sector Business Category

Cando Economic Developer of the Year Award Winner

Individual Category

Tom Many Heads

Siksika Resource Development Ltd., Alberta

Since becoming the CEO of the Siksika Resource Development Ltd. (SRDL) in 2010, Tom Many Heads has played an instrumental role with various business ventures on his First Nation.

The SRDL promotes all investments and economic developments for Alberta's Siksika Nation. The SRDL has been part of a number of success stories in recent years, with various businesses that have popped up on its First Nation. And there are no plans to slow down.

In fact, officials with the SRDL are going full steam ahead with their plans to have the Siksika Nation become the first First Nation in Canada to have a medical marijuana production facility on its own land. Many Heads said the SRDL has already secured what he calls a "pre-licensing authorization letter" from Health Canada. The plan is to have a 25,000-square foot facility fully operational on the Siksika Nation by some point in 2019 or at the latest the following year. Construction is expected to begin soon.

"I'd love to see it start this fall," Many Heads said. "But we're probably looking at some point in the winter."

The production facility would undoubtedly employ a number of Siksika Nation members. Plus, Many Heads believes producing medical marijuana on his First Nation would help somewhat with the massive opioid crisis occurring throughout the country.

"There is a lot of potential for economic and health benefits for our own involvement in terms of what cannabis can do in positive ways," he said.

For his various ventures with the SRDL, Many Heads was nominated for Cando's Economic Developer of the Year Award, and he won in the Individual EDO category.

Under Many Heads' leadership, some brand name businesses have recently opened on the Siksika Nation. These include a Petro Canada, which opened in December of 2016 and has exceeded expectations with more than $6 million in sales, as well as a Subway® restaurant, which has been open since June of 2017. The SRDL has also entered the hospitality business through forming partnerships with various hotels. In 2018 it announced it was buying into three B.C.-based hotels.

The SRDL will also have a 50 percent equity partnership with hotels expected to open this September in Calgary and Edmonton.

Cando Economic Developer of the Year Award Winner

Community Category

Madawaska Maliseet First Nation

Madawaska, New Brunswick

The Madawaska Maliseet First Nation is not resting on its laurels. Located a few kilometres from the New Brunswick city of Edmundston, the First Nation has had numerous recent successful economic stories that have greatly assisted toward its goal of becoming self-sustaining. The First Nation's local efforts have helped it garner national recognition — it was selected as the winner in the Community category at the 2018 Cando Conference, staged in Enoch, Alberta, in October 2018.

"It's clearly a great honour," said Patricia Bernard, who has served as the Chief of the Madawaska Maliseet First Nation since 2013. "More importantly it's exciting to see a small community like us succeed."

Noting the strong competition from the other finalist, Bernard said her First Nation's victory was a bit unexpected. "It was a surprise given the competition we were up against," she said. "They (Cree Nation of Mistissini) were quite awesome. It was a surprise we were able to beat them."

As for the Madawaska Maliseet First Nation, the most notable venture undertaken in recent years in the community was the building of the Grey Rock Power Centre, which opened in 2013. The facility, mere minutes from the Quebec border and the border with the American state of Maine, has become the pride and joy of the First Nation.

The property, located next to the Trans-Canada Highway, includes a multi-purpose entertainment centre that features a casino and bingo hall as well as one of Atlantic Canada's largest truck stops.

Several other businesses, including a food court and a Ford car dealership, are located in the centre. A hotel and conference centre, located next to the casino, was expected to be completed by the end of 2018, but some delays have pushed back that expected opening until the spring of 2019. That facility will include 80 hotel rooms.

"People will be able to come and stay now," Bernard said. "That will help out quite a bit."

A Yamaha dealership is also completed and opens for business in 2019.

By 2018 the Grey Rock Power Centre had opened its doors for five years. However, it was a long journey for the officials of the 550-member First Nation to come to accepting such a venture in the community. "It's been a long shot of vision for the community," Bernard said. "Previous administrations have had this vision all the way back to the 1970s."

The Grey Rock Power Centre is managed by the Madawaska Maliseet Economic Development Corporation. The CEO of the corporation is Bernard's older sister Joanna, who had served as the First Nation's chief for a decade, up until 2013. Joanna Bernard was also nominated as one of the contenders for Cando's 2018 Economic Development Officer of the Year.

Although Joanna Bernard did not make it to the finalists, she deserves plenty of praise for her work for the First Nation. "She's been instrumental in getting our community where we are today," Patricia Bernard said. "Without what she's done we wouldn't be where we are today."

This year marked the first time Patricia Bernard attended a Cando Conference. "It was a beautiful conference," she said. "It was nice to be on the Cree territory as well and to be so well received. I thought it was fantastic. I'm not an economic development officer myself, but it was really exciting for me."

Cando Economic Developer of the Year Award Winner

Indigenous Private Sector Business Category

Yukon Motel & Restaurant

Teslin, Yukon

A dozen years ago, while working as a conservation officer and trying to raise three young children in addition to being pregnant again, an opportunity arose that drastically changed the work career of Juanita Kremer and that of her husband, Steve, as well.

Steve Kremer, a carpenter, had done work at the Yukon Motel and Restaurant, located in the community of Teslin, when the owner, an elderly German man, who was looking to sell, approached the Kremers. "He handpicked us to take it over," said Juanita Kremer, a member of the Teslin Tlingit Council. "And then he stuck around for a bit to help us manage it."

Years later, the work the Kremers have done with their business has earned them a national recognition award — Cando's 2018 Indigenous Private Sector Business.

"It's slightly overwhelming," Juanita Kremer said. "I didn't recognize the scope of this nomination." To be recognized nationally is mind-blowing. "I'm just a small business person in the Yukon running a small business," she added.

Despite some initial concerns, the Kremers have made their business a successful one. The previous owner had allowed the Kremers to pay him directly in instalments for the property. It took more than nine years, but they are now debt free, having paid off their $1.4 million loan for the business.

Juanita Kremer admits she had some concerns whether she was making the right decision to switch careers. "Fish and wildlife is a difficult job," she said. "And you work a lot of evenings and weekends. This was completely different for me, but it was a good fit."

One of the Kremers' accomplishments is turning their business into a 24/7 operation. The business, which was previously open 15 hours a day, includes a licensed restaurant with 63 seats and a motel with 10 rooms and two log homes. There's also a gas station offering gas, diesel, and propane, and an RV park with 65 hookup sites. The business also includes a wildlife gallery and gift shop, and a Canada Post depot.

The Yukon Motel & Restaurant is one of Teslin's largest employers. During the busy summer months, the business employs 22 people, and during the winter months there are 10–12 employees. All four of the Kremer children, whose ages range from 12–18, have worked at the business. The eldest is now away, studying at Toronto's Ryerson University.

The facility, about 60 years old, will soon need some renovations. "It's a beautiful business," Juanita Kremer said. "I don't want to change it so much that it changes the feel of the business." The Kremers are not rushing to a decision. They are waiting to see what the government will do with a nearby bridge that requires updating, which will impact their decision to renovate or to expand operations at the Yukon Motel & Restaurant.

"What they do will have a direct effect on our business," she said.

In addition to winning a national award, Juanita Kremer has made useful networking connections at the Cando Conference. She met various Indigenous people from across Canada who are involved in banking and expressed interest in working with her should the Kremers require funds to expand or renovate. She also met another individual who would be able to assist with Indigenous staffing requirements if need be.

Kremer had nothing but praise for the Cando Conference. "It was a great opportunity," she said. "It was very beneficial for First Nations people. And I'm very thankful for all those who put their time in to further First Nations people across Canada."

Understanding Manitoba's Growing Indigenous Economy

Ryan Johnson
LAW STUDENT, UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

AN OVERVIEW OF MANITOBA'S INDIGENOUS ECONOMY

Within the Canadian context, economic development stems from the broader sphere of community development. In order for one to achieve their desired economic goals, foundational elements of community are needed as a starting point for future success. Across Canada, each province has their own developmental goals pertaining to social, cultural, and economic motivations; they in turn serve as a microcosm of Canadian development as a whole. Ironically, however, not all opportunity is equal throughout Canada's multicultural land. A multitude of Indigenous communities, reserves, and individuals struggle to achieve economic success at the same rate as non-Indigenous peoples. However, conditions are improving for many Indigenous peoples across Canada, and many are presently achieving economic sustainability. The province of Manitoba's economy fosters opportunities for Indigenous economic success. Within this paper several instances of prosperity in Manitoba's Indigenous economy will be highlighted.

The history of Indigenous economic development in Canada highlights the importance of traditional forms of economic self-reliance and reliance on traditional lands. Hence, control over traditional lands allows Indigenous peoples to decide what economic endeavours are best suited to sustained success. At the provincial level, the process of developing lands within Manitoba has allowed Indigenous peoples to generate own-source revenues, which flow back into Indigenous communities across Manitoba. Today in Manitoba, Indigenous economic development practices concentrate on the development of own-source revenue because it serves as a needed platform for obtaining economic sustainability (Ashton, Coueslan, Flett, et Jimenez, 2019, p. 5).

Ryan Johnson is a first-year law student at the University of Manitoba. He is a recent graduate of the Faculty of Arts, with a minor in Native Studies.

The 53rd parallel separates the province of Manitoba into the north and south, and these two geographic regions will be used to highlight economic development across Manitoba. Infrastructure constitutes the "backbone of an economy; including, roads, airstrips, Internet connectivity, water and wastewater treatment, housing, education, health, and other community facilities and services" (Ashton et al., 2019, p. 65). In 2016, $420 million was spent on reserve infrastructure in Manitoba. Unfortunately, no data shows spending on off-reserve infrastructure. Arising out of this expenditure come direct and indirect employment, including the creation of 606 direct and 28 indirect jobs in the north, and 754 direct and 99 indirect jobs in the south. Furthermore, aside from the creation of jobs, this investment has induced opportunity for training in "trades, project management skills, and more" (Ashton et al., 2019, p. 68). On the whole, not only has infrastructure spending provided viable economic opportunities for Indigenous peoples across Manitoba, the developmental success of Indigenous economies constitutes a vital part of the larger Manitoba economy. A variety of successful initiatives will be reviewed in the following sections, beginning with profiles of two urban reserves.

URBAN RESERVES

"Urban reserves provide opportunities to expand and diversify revenue sources for First Nations" (Ashton et al., 2019, p. 102). An urban reserve is the addition of land that "has been transferred to a specific First Nation following a governmental process and fulfilling certain required conditions, such as the signing of a Municipal Development and Services Agreement" (Ashton et al., 2019, p. 103). Ultimately, urban reserves are designated as such due to their proximity to urban municipalities, which allows for a new stream of economic revenue for a community. Further, this allotment of land fulfills outstanding treaty obligations on behalf of the Government of Canada. Urban reserves provide Indigenous peoples with the opportunity to achieve their cultural, social, and economic goals, in addition to own-source revenue and economic self-reliance. Currently, there are 8 urban reserves throughout Manitoba, and 17 presently being evaluated through the Addition to Reserve process (ATR) (Ashton et al., 2019). An ATR is "a parcel of land that adds to the existing reserve or creates a new reserve", frequently leading to the creation of an urban reserve (Ashton et al., 2019, p. 105). Included amongst these 8 urban reserves are: Long Plain First Nation, Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation, Roseau River Anishinabe, Sapotaweyak Cree Nation, Swan Lake First Nation, and Opaskwayak Cree Nation. Despite each urban reserve having distinct characteristics and developmental goals, five common themes are present that interlink them in the end, highlighting how economic development goals extend throughout the entire Indigenous population of Canada (Ashton et al., 2019, p. 114):

1. Strong relationship with local governments and surrounding communities
2. Corporate structure and governance
3. Infrastructure
4. Land Development
5. Revenue Management

An analysis of two urban reserves in Manitoba will be provided for insight into how these Indigenous communities are working towards their economic goals. Overarching all

eight urban reserves is well-structured management of revenue. Revenue generated on an urban reserve is immediately "reinvested to improve the quality of life of First Nations' members and further the First Nations' economic development" (Ashton et al., 2019, p. 116). Likewise, revenue that is not reinvested is placed in a community trust fund, the reason being; applications for government funding will no longer be necessary when urban reserves set aside a "percentage of funding for programs that will socially benefit the community" (Ashton et al., 2019, p. 117). Overall, revenue that is generated throughout various Indigenous economies is used to better the community and its individual needs as a whole, in turn setting up success for future generations.

Long Plain First Nation

Long Plain First Nation has experienced exceptional economic success, starting with the initial land transfer of 45 acres in 1981 up until the completion of their urban reserve in 2013, progressing steadily so that social, cultural, and economic goals for the community are gradually achieved. In 2006, the purchase of 2.81 acres of prime property in central Winnipeg occurred, situated on Madison Street adjacent to Polo Park Shopping Centre. 2013 marked the official attainment of reserve status for the Madison Street property, which allowed Long Plain First Nation to develop new economic opportunities. Most notable was the development of a gas bar on Madison Street, renovation of Yellowquill College (Manitoba's first First Nations controlled post-secondary institution), and more revenue from "leasing space to commercial tenants" (Ashton et al., 2019, p. 128). The revenue generated from Long Plain First Nation's urban reserve has allowed children within the community to engage in several sports, together with providing social programming to 4,500 community members living on and off reserve. As a whole, Long Plain First Nation has reached a point of economic self-reliance. The future goal is to ensure a solid ability of self-reliance in five years. Long Plain First Nation aspires to have four urban reserves, a hotel and business centre at their main reserve in Portage la Prairie and their urban reserve in Winnipeg, a truck stop, and cannabis stores (Ashton et al., 2019). Furthermore, current and future development has allowed Long Plain First Nation to increase their sovereignty and develop into an autonomous nation, as "the main goal of the reserve is to generate revenue for the band to reinvest on the home community" (Bezamat-Mantes, 2014, p. 11). In particular, investing in reserve infrastructure leads to the creation of new job and economic opportunities. In keeping with this, Long Plain First Nation's urban reserve will accelerate growth and benefit other Indigenous peoples within Winnipeg, seen in potential "tax exemption on tobacco, gas and other products" (Bezamat-Mantes, 2014, p. 11). The revenue generated on the urban reserve will enhance Long Plain First Nation's economic independence, as the revenue is independent of government intervention, in turn strengthening their capacity for self-reliance. Equally, Long Plain First Nation's success benefits the entire Indigenous population of Winnipeg.

Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation

About 690 kilometres from Long Plain First Nation is Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation (NCN), which is based in Nelson House, Northern Manitoba. Starting in 2018, NCN embarked upon a mission to "assert sovereignty and to ensure there is accountability and transparency in the decision-making process" (Ashton et al., 2019, p. 156). One approach NCN has taken to develop their economic sector is through the process of developing urban

land in Thompson, Manitoba, only 88 kilometres away. Stemming from this is a joint effort to establish a Development Corporation that would funnel profit generated by NCN into "capital, business development, and NCN government run programs" (Ashton et al., 2019, p. 157). Within the confines of the 4.21 acreage, the urban reserve in Thompson has several streams of income that work towards establishing sustainable development for NCN and across Northern Manitoba. The Mystery Lake Hotel, Trappers Tavern, and gas station are the primary sources of revenue, supported by the training provided by NCN to community members in hospitality, management, and accounting (Ashton et al., 2019). Such strategies are vital in diversifying a community's economic interests.

THE WUSKWATIM PROJECT

Urban reserves in Manitoba have unlocked success for some of its Indigenous population; however, Northern Manitoba-based Indigenous communities face different challenges, such as the limited access to a central urban centre and lack of government funding. Some feel a common theme prevailing across northern Indigenous communities has been the failure to prioritize long-term planning, as short-term economic ventures that yield fast profit are given precedence (Freylejer, 2012). In 1997, George Erasmus, former National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, emphasized the importance of creating businesses that can compete profitably over the long run in the global economy. Fast forward 22 years, the statements he made still resonate (Anderson, 1997). Completion of the generating station on the Burntwood River occurred in 2012 for the Wuskwatim dam, with construction and negotiations commencing in 1997. The project addressed some of NCN's community need for self-reliance. NCN became a business partner with Manitoba Hydro. NCN community members were a part of the planning process, and had the option to provide suggestions/insight in prospective planning. Furthermore, the Hydro Northern Training Initiative (HNTI) was a vital aspect of this project, due to the provision of funding it provided. Nonetheless, the success produced by the HNTI would only become sustainable if NCN and additional Indigenous communities were able to successfully "transfer this funding to managerial and business related training" (Freylejer, 2012, p. 26). Community leaders could focus on providing projects for newly skilled community members thus minimizing dependence on outside private forces, a counter-intuitive result that would hinder the success of the Wuskwatim project (Freylejer, 2012).

There were opponents to the Wuskwatim project. In 2004, Dr. Peter Kulchyski highlighted the unjust underpinnings of the Wuskwatim project that could pose serious complications for NCN in the future. NCN's agreement with Manitoba Hydro outlined a "maximum of one-third ownership" (Kulchyski, 2004, p. 5). Furthermore, NCN's ability to raise revenue hinged upon loans from Manitoba Hydro. Overall, NCN ran the risk of perpetual debt if the project did not reach success (Kulchyski, 2004).

> It is not my position to determine whether the financial risk makes good business sense or not; it is my position to suggest that the principles underlying the SOU (*The Summary of Understanding between NCN and Manitoba Hydro with Respect to the Wuskwatim Project*) mean that NCN is making a significant concession to Manitoba Hydro, effectively surrendering the struggle for getting a better deal based on either of the two treaties it signed. Financial compensation for a project, in my view, should derive from NCN treaty and Aboriginal rights to their own traditional territories rather than from taking a significant financial risk. (Kulchyski, 2004, p. 6)

Kulchyski's comments carry weight, as they highlight vital considerations that Indigenous communities must take into account when engaging in any development project. Although today Wuskwatim provides clean renewable energy, jobs, training, and contracts for NCN, Kulchyski's arguments need consideration (Wuskwatim Power Limited Partnership, n.d.). In cases of development in Northern Manitoba, particularly hydro development, often the underlying motive for Indigenous peoples is financial gain to benefit their communities; and rightfully so, but future models structured in accordance with the Wuskwatim project have the possibility of producing a "legacy of distrust for the generations who will follow" (Kulchyski, 2004, p. 10).

"NCN's participation was coordinated through its Future Development Team that considered economic benefits to the NCN through jobs, training and business opportunities during construction, and long-term benefits through sustainable income from power sale" (Sajid, 2016, p. 3). Local economic benefits for NCN arose throughout the duration of the project and further materialized at its completion in 2012, and in subsequent years. Such benefits included $3 million provided annually to NCN for community programs. The retention of jobs and training following the project was important to ensuring that benefits would not travel south, a critical issue that had affected previous Indigenous hydroelectric projects.. Manitoba's Indigenous youth represent the future of the Indigenous economy in Manitoba, and NCN ensured that local and surrounding Indigenous youth would have the opportunity to further their own cultural, social, and economic development, as opposed to "inheriting the responsibility" of fixing community challenges (Sajid, 2016, p. 4). It has been well documented that the characteristics of a hydro development project often entail loss of control and self-reliance, in addition to damaged lands and broken promises. Nevertheless, success can result when Indigenous partnership is prioritized and valued. Once more, the statements made by George Erasmus are shown to be accurate, as the Wuskwatim project reflects an economic development undertaking centered on an individual First Nation. Moreover, Erasmus stressed the importance of creating a business that can compete profitably over the long run in the global economy and also assists in building the economy necessary to support self-government and improve socioeconomic conditions (Anderson, 1997). In my opinion, the success of the Wuskwatim project did prioritize NCN's long-term interests, leading to NCN establishing themselves as a model for "Indigenous communities as decision makers" (Sajid, 2016, p. 14).

THE LOOK NORTH INITIATIVE

Implementation of a framework is necessary for Indigenous communities, as action plans help nurture and imbue motivation within the collective community. Such an action plan is seen in the Look North initiative, primarily directed by Christian Sinclair, Chief of Opaskwayak Cree Nation. The Look North Initiative is a road map, "designed based on the dreams and aspirations of the people of Northern Manitoba" (*Look North*, 2017, p. 4). Stemming from this are three key goals (*Look North*, 2017, p. 7):

1. Inspiring an economic movement in Northern Manitoba,
2. Identifying sustainable and long-term solutions that lead to economic growth and diversification, and
3. Building understanding and collaboration across communities.

Starting in 2016, there has been considerable effort to generate direction from communities themselves, as they are the ones who understand their own needs and what is needed to achieve their future goals. Within this timeframe, meetings with several Indigenous communities occurred throughout 2017, including Oxford House First Nation, God's Lake First Nation, and St. Theresa Point First Nation. Engagement was also achieved through community members submitting ideas online through the Look North Initiative website. Common themes emerged:

Indigenous communities have stated that they are prepared to develop a framework that would allow them to enter into partnerships. Thus, partnerships hinge on the success of Indigenous cooperation between industries and government support. Infrastructure is critical, as it serves as a gateway into "northern prosperity" (*Look North*, 2017, p. 17). Here again, the need for sufficient infrastructure arises, as it is the backbone of an economy, while providing new economic opportunities. In addition, an Enterprise Eco-System of Support needs to be infused in school, which in turn will allow this perspective to become ingrained in youth, leading towards motivated youth who seek successful, responsible development for their community and Indigenous peoples of Manitoba (*Look North*, 2017).

Structural barriers play a large part in inhibiting Indigenous economic development, so in order to ensure success for the future, northern Indigenous communities must ask hard questions of internal, structural, policy and regulatory reform (*Look North*, 2017, p. 20). These questions could help in reducing government dependency, leading towards the infusion of initiative and an enterprise culture featuring new undertakings, ambition, and interest. As a result, "[this] behavioural challenge ... starts with raising awareness and increasing knowledge in order to change attitudes and behaviour to make enterprise the new 'business as usual' " (*Look North*, 2017, p. 22).

An action plan by the Look North Initiative suggests six issues that matter most to Northern Indigenous communities (Look North, 2017, p. 28):

1. Northern Mineral and Other Resource Potential
2. Indigenous Engagement and Partnerships
3. Strategic Infrastructure Investment
4. Housing Challenges and Opportunities
5. Enterprise Eco-System of Support
6. Education, Training and Workforce Development

Each action area will require identifying suitable strategies to achieve success in each sector. In my opinion, future Indigenous economic development in Northern Manitoba is destined for prolonged success, as the implementation of an Action Plan allows Indigenous peoples to focus on specific issues supported by a framework for action that could unlock the North.

The Métis Economic Development Organization

Within Manitoba, Indigenous economic development is demonstrated in the Métis Economic Development Organization (MEDO), which focuses on the goal of sustainable economic growth. MEDO is a for-benefit enterprise, meaning they "generate earned income but give top priority to an explicit social mission": in this case, the social mission being sustainable economic growth (Sabeti, 2011, p. 99). Blake Russell, CEO of MEDO, states that the

goal of MEDO is "to generate economic returns for the Métis government and a long-term sustainability model" (Collective Spark Communications, 2014). David Chartrand, President of the Manitoba Métis Federation (MMF), stressed the importance of the Manitoba Métis body having the ability to "raise their own capital and own revenue (...) but more importantly having the ability to raise the ability of our Métis entrepreneurs to advance their businesses and grow their businesses" (Collective Spark Communications, 2014). MEDO is a facilitator for accomplishing both goals. Such goals reach fulfillment through MEDO subsidiary initiatives seen in the Métis Generation Fund, MEDO Developments LTD., and ESGS Marketing Group. In particular, the Métis Generation Fund allows Métis entrepreneurs to have the necessary capital and financial liquidity to participate in new economic and business ventures, particularly in "resource sectors such as mining, oil and gas, forestry, fishing, and renewable energy sectors", together with "major infrastructure projects" (MEDO, n.d.c). Additionally, MEDO Developments LTD. is a construction and land development organization that specializes in redevelopment opportunities, with participation from local community members at the forefront (MEDO, n.d.b). ESGS Marketing Group "provides clients with the communication, branding, marketing, sales, service, business development and procurement expertise required to provide sustained financial growth" (MEDO, n.d.a). Provision of services extends to Métis across Canada, accentuating MEDO's goal of creating economic opportunity for the entire Métis population on a national scale. In 2008, when the MMF was finalizing the implementation of the MEDO, it stressed the importance of "positioning Métis to seize economic opportunities when they are available; building networks, relationships, and partnerships among Métis, Métis businesses and the broader business community" (Hobbs & von Sicard, 2008, p. 13). Truly, MEDO has exceeded these goals; for instance, as noted by their $15 million real estate portfolio, which has allowed them to "create economic development through income earning properties, while at the same time the long-term strategies to actually create neighborhood development" (Collective Spark Communications, 2014). Indeed, MEDO has had resounding success that in all likelihood will bring about long-term economic sustainability.

Aki Energy, & Social Enterprise

The community of North Point Douglas hosts a social enterprise centre, containing several social enterprises, in particular the Indigenous social enterprise Aki Energy. Aki Energy seeks to provide employment for Indigenous communities in Winnipeg, while at the same time sustaining Indigenous economies (Policy Alternatives, 2018). For instance, Aki Energy worked with Garden Hill First Nation (GHFN) to build economic capacity and "sustainable business units" (Aki Energy, n.d.). Aki Energy worked with community members of GHFN to embark upon a new social enterprise: Meechim Inc. The proposed goal was to increase the production of food in GHFN. "Instead of planting a small batch of potatoes in the front yard, what if GHFN community members were planting 5 or 10 acres of potatoes, squash, and beans?" (Wood, Loney, et Taylor, 2015, p. 33). The revenue generated from the sale of this product on a larger scale would certainly add to their goal of prosperity and an independent economic stream of own-source revenue. Above all, supporting locally grown food allows for cyclical development of revenue that will continuously build up over time. Aki Energy and GHFN's efforts came to fruition in 2014, as 13 acres of land were devoted to this project, and spring of 2015 marked the commencement of their first growing season and new job opportunities for community members. Indeed, Meechim Inc. is a first-rate example

of a successful social enterprise, as its overarching goal works towards increasing GHFN sovereignty and sustainable economic development, in which case Meechim Inc. is an elemental factor in achieving this goal (Wood et al., 2015.).

Aki Energy addresses a concept called the *Leaky Bucket Economy*. "A place where money that comes into the community flows right back out again — creating no local jobs or economic benefit" (Wood et al., p. 10). In order to maintain the circulation of money within a community, Indigenous communities across Manitoba must train and educate community members, as well as supporting local business development. As a result, dependency is drastically diminished, and self-determination and reliance are achieved. Aki Energy uses the social enterprise approach, an approach that prioritizes positive community outcomes over the generation of profit. Increased revenue and job generation also occurs through energy reduction in Indigenous communities — that is, reduction through green energy. In addition, Indigenous peoples' use of green energy creates job opportunities and increases money retention. Geothermal energy is an example of green energy, and it provides heat and air conditioning through "the stable temperature of the ground just a few feet beneath the earth's surface" (Wood et al., p. 22). Aki Energy has worked with Indigenous communities across Manitoba in upstarting green energy projects, above all else, avoiding substantial up-front payments through Manitoba Hydro's Pay as You Save Program (PAYS). The *Energy Savings Act* was introduced in 2012 by the Government of Manitoba, connecting itself with PAYS, which enabled Indigenous communities to invest in green energy; Manitoba Hydro thereby pays the up-front cost and

> [collects] its money back over 20 years through small monthly charges on the utility bill. That monthly charge — and this is key — is guaranteed by the Manitoba Energy Savings Act to be lower than the monthly bill savings associated with the green energy. In other words, even though you are paying back the upfront cost, your overall bill is still guaranteed by Manitoba Hydro to be lower than when you started. (Wood et al., p. 22)

Implementation of PAYS occurred in 2013, with Peguis First Nation and Fisher River Cree Nation each installed 260 geothermal units respectively, amounting to $50, 000 a year in savings. In addition, this project created local job opportunities for Peguis First Nation and Fisher River Cree Nation, as 15 individuals from each community became certified geothermal energy installers and operators. More importantly, construction for both projects was completed using the local level of support, thus implicitly instilling initiative and social enterprise (Wood et al., 2015).

Cannabis Industry

While Winnipeg's social enterprise centre provides opportunities for Winnipeg's Indigenous peoples to engage in economic development initiatives, increased funding is still needed in order to provide equal opportunities for the entire Indigenous population of Winnipeg. "There is a need for resources to be made available at the neighbourhood level to enable people to develop and realize their ideas" (Loxley, 2010, p. 185). As a result, this will induce the mobilization of Winnipeg's Indigenous community to "draw on its inner strengths and abilities which will determine the paces of Aboriginal development in Winnipeg" (Loxley, 2010, p. 188). However, in the face of limited funding, social enterprises continue to nurture the development of Indigenous communities, in turn allowing for

exploration into new business ventures, as a result of the reinvestment of revenue into Indigenous communities. A contemporary commercial operation that has recently emerged is the cannabis market. Bill C-45, introduced in 2017 and became law in 2018, "enacts the *Cannabis Act* to provide legal access to cannabis, and to control and regulate its production, distribution, and sale" (Wilson-Raybould, 2017). In return, a new economy for Indigenous peoples is opened up, with significant economic implications. Cannabis has become an extremely profitable industry, with more than 10 licensed cannabis shops currently operating in Winnipeg. The National Indigenous Cannabis and Hemp committee has underscored the economic benefits that will affect "our communities for generations to come" (Doherty, 2018). Recently, the National Indigenous Cannabis and Hemp Conference occurred in February of 2019 in Toronto, Ontario. Invitees were leaders of Indigenous communities seeking to "create economic diversification, promote harm reduction, drive revenues, and generate job opportunities" (3rd National, n.d.).

A goal of Long Plain First Nation's urban reserve was achieved in the opening of Winnipeg's first urban reserve cannabis shop, Meta Cannabis Store. More importantly, all employed staff are from Long Plain First Nation's urban reserve, which underscores the importance of this economic endeavour (CBC News, 2018). In a similar manner, in July of 2018, Opaskwayak Cree Nation loaned $35 million to the National Access Cannabis Corporation in an effort to construct 50–70 cannabis shops across Western Canada. Chief Christian Sinclair considered the partnership to be a result of OCN seeing cannabis investment as "potentially more margin in retail than in any other parts of the industry value chain" (Opaskwayak, 2018). Indigenous communities across Manitoba have begun to capitalize on the economic returns of the thriving cannabis industry; Peguis First Nation makes no exception. One of the primary reasons Peguis First Nation has invested in cannabis is the opportunity to create sustainable development and long-term employment. Employment opportunities will be created through one of Manitoba's largest cultivation centres located in Winnipeg, owned and operated by Peguis First Nation. "These jobs will allow for careers for First Nations people in the cannabis industry" (Monkman, 2018). Chief Glenn Hudson makes note of this investment as a way to maintain and build their sovereignty through the generation of own-source revenue projected between $10 and $16 million annually (Monkman, 2018). Despite the cannabis controversy, the cannabis industry has opened up new employment opportunities for Indigenous peoples in Manitoba and across Canada. Having the opportunity to expand their respective economies through cannabis investment has produced new jobs and has placed Indigenous communities in a position for sustainable economic success.

Aboriginal Chamber of Commerce & The Indigenous Procurement Initiative

As stated by the National Aboriginal Economic Development Board, "there is a $2.8 billion gain available when First Nations achieve the same economic status of living as other Canadians" (Aboriginal Chamber of Commerce, 2018, p. 1). However, more important than the economic gain, this statistic highlights the persistent inequity in the Canadian economy, explicitly showing the structural barriers that continue to limit Indigenous people's participation in economic development. Originating in 2004, the Aboriginal Chamber of Commerce strives to improve Indigenous businesses and their growth, in addition to assisting in the development of new businesses. Recently, in conjunction with the Government of Manitoba,

the Aboriginal Chamber of Commerce developed the Indigenous Procurement Initiative (IPI). The IPI has several positive benefits, including: "stimulation of Indigenous business development and use of procurement practices to assist in the development of Indigenous businesses" (Aboriginal Chamber of Commerce, 2018, p. 2). Structural barriers still exist, inhibiting the full potential of the IPI. Procurement of major commodities in Manitoba is exempt from the IPI, such as "construction related procurement, construction of capital projects (i.e. buildings) and capital works programs (i.e. winter roads)" (Aboriginal Chamber of Commerce, 2018, p. 3). Thus, until the development of a more effective IPI, the realization of its full benefits will be limited. Of note, on April 11, 2019, the Procurement Opportunities for Indigenous Business event, sponsored by the Aboriginal Chamber of Commerce and Western Diversification Canada, took place in Winnipeg and provided procurement opportunities for Indigenous businesses. Each registered business had the opportunity to meet with several procurement officers in 15-minute segments (Aboriginal Chamber of Commerce, n.d.). This event marked a positive step forward for the economic development of Indigenous businesses in Manitoba.

LOOKING FORWARD

Indigenous economic development throughout Manitoba has reached a tipping point; that is, the current positive progress is moving to a threshold of achieving Indigenous economic prosperity through (1) Own-Source Revenue, (2) Curtailed Dependency, and (3) Sustainable Economic Practices. The impact of social enterprise cannot be forgotten; although not an explicit goal, it is an important vehicle in achieving self-determination. Development within Manitoba represents an opportunity for Indigenous peoples across Canada to consider current practices and make adjustments for their particular contexts. Ultimately, when one considers economic development, thoughts of profit, financial acquisition, and increased market share come to mind. Indigenous economic development embraces these aspects, but emphasis and priority are most commonly placed on community based perspectives, social missions, and increased self-determination. Economic development enables Indigenous peoples to achieve these goals, as their approach often captures traditional Indigenous foundations of honour, caring, sharing, and respect (Anderson, Dana, & Dana, 2006, p. 52). Indigenous economic development separates itself in its more holistic approach to achieving success, prioritizing social objectives over financial ones.

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Leadership and Followership

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LEADERSHIP AND FOLLOWERSHIP

While the focus of understanding leadership has typically been understanding who a leader is, what characteristics are possessed by the leader, what a leader does, and the match between leadership behaviour and the situation, a more recent trend in the leadership literature is to understand that leadership does not function in isolation — rather, it is part of a dyadic relationship with followership. This understanding highlights the fact that there is no leadership without followership — if nobody is following, nobody is leading.

FOLLOWERSHIP

So what constitutes followership? What sets the stage for individuals in organizations and in communities to be willing to ascribe leadership to a person, and to be willing to be a follower of that leader? To understand this, it is important to place the focus on the follower side of the dyad — to understand follower expectations of leaders, and to learn how leaders should be and what they should do to earn the trust of others and the willingness of others to follow where the leader may lead.

These expectations of leaders have roots in many places — an individual's personality, the values a person holds, and exemplars of both good and bad leadership a person may have been exposed to in the past. Personality affects leadership preferences to the extent that individuals may prefer to leave decision making to others (directive leadership) or may prefer to be consulted (participative leadership). Beyond personality, the social environment of a person has a two-fold effect on leadership expectations — through explicit teaching and learning, and also through implicit learning from experiences. Societal culture molds a social environment by transmitting values from one generation to another. Within a societal culture, people are exposed to examples of what leadership attributes are accepted and work and what attributes have unsatisfactory outcomes. Children are taught what is important, what is honourable, what is valuable by their parents, grandparents, and others in the community. These values in turn are brought to bear in expectations of leaders. When extensive consultation and community discussion before decisions are made are valued in a culture,

participative leadership becomes valued and directive leadership devalued. When societal culture highlights the use of power as desirable and appropriate, more directive leadership is seen as more valuable, and participative leadership may be viewed as weak leadership. Similarly, social environments provide exemplars that teach what effective leadership does and does not look like. When directive leaders do not earn followership, members of the social environment are provided with a clear example that directive leadership is not effective and, as a result, a clear expectation that participative leadership is most effective can, in turn, follow.

Within a social environment, leadership expectations are perpetuated through the self-fulfilling prophecy phenomenon. When a leader behaves in a way that is expected, followers in turn support the leader, creating successful leadership. This cycle is reinforced by the social exchange that is put into place between leaders and followers — those who support the leader are often given extra attention, and maybe even extra resources. The leader comes to rely on those who provide this support, which in turn can provide a positive exchange for both leader and follower. Thus, followership can actually direct leadership through its expectations and can also, in part, explain leadership behaviours and effectiveness (Wang, Van Iddekinge, Zhang, & Bishoff, 2018).

Leadership is relational (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995), and the type of interactions a leader and follower have is important for understanding leadership effectiveness. Leaders have a variety of bases of power available to them. Although it is a theory of leadership and power rather than of followership, French and Raven (1959) suggest that leaders can influence others through several methods. The first is simply by holding a leadership position in an organization or community. When someone in an organization holds a position of authority due to her or his place on the organizational chart, that person has a degree of influence, or leadership, in directing activities related to organizational activities — in other words, legitimate leadership. Leaders may also exert influence due to followers' perceptions that they hold a certain amount of knowledge; and in turn, that perceived expertise may influence others to follow their lead. Similarly, followers may bestow leadership on someone they like — they follow because they have an affinity with the leader, and in turn give power to that person to lead. Sometimes leadership is given based on an expectation that there will be a reward provided for following a particular individual; or alternatively, in some cases, leadership is given through fear that there will be punishment or retribution if followership is not provided. Thus, expectations inherent in particular situations can impact who is chosen to be a leader and the extent to which others are willing to follow that individual.

Through these mechanisms, individuals develop implicit leadership prototypes (Lord, Foti, & de Vader, 1984). These prototypes are implicit, meaning that they are often not stated or described or examined, but nevertheless impact perceptions of leaders. Implicit leadership prototypes are ideas regarding what a "real" leader is, or what a "real" leader does. They incorporate ideas of how successful and effective leaders behave and how they relate to those who would follow them. Implicit leadership theory also suggests that individuals hold real leaders up for comparison to these implicit leadership prototypes, and are, in turn, judged by the extent to which they match the prototype. When a person who aspires to be a leader matches the prototype, he or she is more likely to be followed than if there is little match to the prototype. An understanding of implicit prototypes, and of how social environments shape those prototypes, are therefore important to understanding leadership.

LEARNING ABOUT LEADERSHIP AND FOLLOWERSHIP

While every individual holds implicit ideas of what leadership is and is not, and what makes leadership a success or a failure, examining leadership through the lens of research helps to establish more generalized views of leadership, and can also aid in understanding how followership develops, and the role of followership in developing leadership. The topic of leadership has a very long history of research, from early explorations into what traits make a leader to understanding how leaders behave, to looking for matches between what situations call for and what traits leaders should exhibit to be successful, to looking at followership as determining leadership.

Research can be either qualitative or quantitative — that is, asking people to respond in their own words, or asking people to indicate on a sliding scale (for example, from 1 to 7) the extent to which they agree with statements. Each has its own place in furthering an understanding of a topic. Qualitative research, when individuals respond using their own words, gives rich insight into how respondents think about a topic, and allows for unique perspectives to emerge. Researchers do not put boundaries on responses; often, researchers are looking to understand a topic from the point of view of the respondents, rather than starting the research with a preconceived idea of how a topic may be framed or defined. Quantitative research, on the other hand, asks participants to respond to specific statements that researchers believe represent — or even define — a particular issue or topic. This approach allows for comparisons. For example, researchers may find that men generally respond differently than women to a set of questions, or that members of a particular ethnic group differ from members of another in the way they respond to the items.

While each approach has its benefits and its limitations, using both approaches together can move a field ahead in attempts to understand leadership. Qualitative approaches, asking people to describe leadership in their own terms, allows for new understandings to emerge about leadership in general, and also provides a way to understand how a specific group of individuals describes leadership. Indigenous people may or may not describe leadership similarly to members of other ethnic groups. Each group of people is likely to describe some commonalities, but also to describe aspects of leadership that are unique to a specific people, place, or time. On the other hand, a survey approach where everyone responds to the same questions allows for the development of theories regarding what is the same, what differs, and why. The key understanding about research is that no one research project ever provides definitive answers that can be assumed to represent universal truth. Rather, each research project contributes to a growing body of knowledge that can guide understanding and can provide suggestions for when and how the findings may apply, as well as when the findings may not apply.

FOLLOWERSHIP AND LEADERSHIP IN THE INDIGENOUS CONTEXT

Indigenous peoples in Canada have a long history of strong leadership traditions. As peoples who have been colonized, however, current ideas about leadership may be mixed, as ideas come from that heritage but are also often informed by leadership norms and examples in the colonizing, or dominant, cultures. As such, the type of leadership prototype that any sin-

gle indigenous person holds is likely to be affected by the extent to which that individual feels connected to her/his heritage culture and the dominant culture. Recently published work (Stonefish & Kwantes, 2017) suggests that Indigenous peoples in Canada generally subscribe to four different strategies of navigating and combining heritage and dominant cultures. Some Indigenous individuals forge strong ties with both cultures, effectively becoming members of a group that Stonefish and Kwantes called "Attached" individuals. Some have ties with both cultures but stronger ties with the heritage culture than the dominant culture ("Heritage Positive"), and some with ties to both but stronger ties with the dominant culture ("Mainstream Positive"). Some individuals may rely less on attachments to a cultural group and focus on individual uniqueness, representing members of a "Detached" group. Understanding what implicit leadership prototypes are for members of each of these groups is important for understanding how members of each group expect a leader to behave — which, in turn, affects the extent to which these individuals are willing to grant someone a leadership role and to follow.

Elsewhere in this volume, Kwantes and Stonefish report on a research project undertaken to learn more about what implicit leadership prototypes may exist for Indigenous people, depending on their orientation towards their heritage culture rather than a dominant Anglo-Canadian culture. This represents a more nuanced approach than has previously been undertaken to understand leadership within a colonized context. Participants were asked to rate leadership characteristics according to the extent to which each characteristic strongly supported or strongly inhibited outstanding leadership. While this quantitative approach allows for a direct comparison of the four different groups, it has the limitation of asking for assessments of characteristics without allowing participants to provide characteristics in their own voice. Nevertheless, the findings that members of the Detached group view effective leadership behaviours very differently than members who have stronger cultural attachments to one or both cultures provides a platform for asking new questions and to develop another building block in the search to understand leadership from a multifaceted Indigenous perspective.

LESSONS FOR LEADERSHIP FROM A FOLLOWERSHIP PERSPECTIVE

If leadership is viewed as the result of followership, rather than as the result of something a leader is or does, then the expectations of followers become important to understand. Culture impacts these expectations, and effective leadership is dependent to a large extent on a match between what is expected and valued within a culture (implicit leadership theories) and what a leader exhibits (House et al, 2002). While this is true in all arenas, and while leadership is always critical for organizations, the link between leaders and followers is closer in some circumstances than in others. For example, it may be even more pertinent in efforts where leadership is more direct and hands-on, such as in entrepreneurial organizations (Cogliser & Brigham, 2004) and organizations that emphasize corporate entrepreneurship (*cf* Chang, Chang, & Chen, 2017).

A recent review of leadership and entrepreneurship, in fact, highlighted the importance of a follower-centric view of leaders in entrepreneurial organizations, inasmuch as these leaders "are characterized by an attentiveness to their followers, the empathy shown to followers, and the nurturing of followers towards their full potential" (Reid et al, 2018, p. 159).

Leadership development, then, especially in entrepreneurial contexts, should explicitly incorporate an understanding of followership. Relationship building is a key component of leadership development (Kwok et al, 2018). Leaders cannot lead if they are not in touch with follower expectations, as the true power of leadership rests in the willingness of followers to grant it.

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Introduction

David Newhouse

Indigenous economies do not develop in isolation from the economies and cultures that surround them and with which they are interwoven. In this issue we present four articles that deal with different aspects arising from this interweaving. Sean Meades, Deb Pine, and Gayle Broad analyze the emerging labour market demand for Anishinaabe language skills and the need for education institutions to improve their Indigenous language offerings. Lyle Benson and Rickard Enström describe a process of collaboration between the Alberta Sport Council and local Indigenous communities to offer a Future Leaders program. Jason Mika and Betty Ross examine the interplay between the principles of commerce and culture in creating firms that are both profitable and operate consistently with Indigenous cultural understandings. Catherine Kwantes and Twiladawn Stonefish examine leadership characteristics preferred by Indigenous peoples working in cross-cultural environments.

The Emerging Indigenous Language Economy: Labour Market Demand for Indigenous Language Skills in the Upper Great Lakes

Sean Meades

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ALGOMA UNIVERSITY AND NORDIK INSTITUTE

ABSTRACT

Language revitalization is necessarily intertwined with economic spheres, as Grenoble and Whaley have expressed that the economic wellbeing of a community influences its ability to engage in such efforts (2006, p. 44). Conversely, health researchers assert that cultural continuity, in which language is inextricably linked, is a prerequisite to self-sufficiency and community sustainability (Oster, Grier, Lightning, Mayan, & Troth, 2014). Nonetheless, the place of Indigenous language(s) within labour market research has often focused on the need for greater access to dominant-language education (MacIsaac & Patrinos, 1995) or the impact on wage differentials (Chiswick, Patrinos, & Hurst, 2000) while research on Indigenous language revitalization in Canada has been largely silent on the relationship to economic spheres, and community economic development literature has engaged with notions of culture more broadly. Drawing on interviews and focus groups from a selection of Anishinaabe communities in Northern Ontario, Canada, this research identifies existing needs for Anishinaabe language speakers within the regional labour market, showcasing the oft-overlooked economic demand for Indigenous language skills. Support for this project was provided by the Ontario Human Capital Research and Innovation Fund from the Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities.

INTRODUCTION

In 2016, The Shingwauk Education Trust, in preparation for program development associated with the Anishinaabemowin (Ojibway language) B.A. program that it offers in association with Algoma University, pursued a labour market survey to investigate demand for speakers of Indigenous languages in a variety of employment sectors. The research additionally sought to identify trends among the skills or training requirements that the same prospective employers seek from would-be employees in order to better tailor the program to meet the dynamic needs of speakers of Anishinaabemowin as a second language. To that end, we asked: In which industries and labour markets is there demand for fluent Anishinaabemowin (or other Indigenous language) speakers? And what specialized skills do graduates require for these occupations?

The research team conducted interviews and focus groups with employers in a variety of industry sectors in Indigenous (primarily Anishinaabe) communities or those serving Indigenous populations in the Upper Great Lakes region corresponding with the judicial districts of Thunder Bay, Algoma, Manitoulin, and Sudbury.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Anishinaabe territory and population have undergone cataclysmic changes due to disease, starvation, and war tied to European colonization of the Americas. Anishinaabe language vitality has consequently also suffered, particularly due to policies of forced assimilation, such as those exemplified in the Canadian Indian Residential School system, where children were prohibited from speaking their Indigenous languages throughout much of the 20th century.

While statistical data about Indigenous language knowledge and use are less reliable due to a number of First Nations opting to not take part in the census or National Household Survey (AANDC, 2013), it's nonetheless worth noting the number of self-identified speakers of Indigenous languages. Statistics Canada distinguishes Ojibway, Oji-Cree and Algonquin as distinct languages; however, speakers largely consider all of the categories as varieties of Anishinaabemowin. Likewise, there were a handful of individuals who identified as speakers of languages classified as "Algonquian not included elsewhere." Given the location of these individuals on Manitoulin Island, it is likely that they identify their spoken language as either Odawa or Potawatomi, which are also considered varieties of Anishinaabemowin (Valentine, 2001, 14–17). Cree speakers were also of interest to this study, given a relatively significant population in the region's urban centres.

Table 1 identifies the number of individuals who report either Anishinaabemowin or Cree as their mother tongue. Thunder Bay and Manitoulin Districts have the highest number of individuals reporting Anishinaabemowin as their mother tongue, each with approximately 1500 mother tongue speakers. The Algoma District follows, with 535 mother tongue speakers, while Sudbury has the fewest at 65. Thunder Bay and Algoma report the highest number of mother tongue Cree speakers at approximately 100 each, while Sudbury reported 20 speakers, and Manitoulin only 10.

Predictably, given the hegemonic pressure of English and French within the catchment area, the number of individuals reporting Anishinaabemowin as their language spoken most often at home was considerably lower than those reporting it as their mother tongue. Manitoulin reported the highest number at 555, followed closely by Thunder Bay at 505.

TABLE 1
Mother Tongue

District	Anishinaabemowin	Cree
Thunder Bay	1530	110
Algoma	535	100
Sudbury	65	20
Manitoulin	1330	10
Total	3460	240

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 97-555-XCB2006016.

The Algoma District followed with 140, while Sudbury included only 15 individuals. Numbers were significantly lower for Cree.

Language revitalization is necessarily intertwined with economic spheres, inasmuch as the economic well being of a community influences its ability to engage in such efforts (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, p. 44). Similarly, Spolsky has highlighted the business domain as a unique sphere of language management, examining the dynamics of workplace language policies and noting that global economic trends have supported a shift to English that has perpetuated a state of inertia in some circumstances, where companies have ignored or overlooked the multilingual needs of their customers (2009: 55–64). While the pressures of globalization have contributed to the dominance of English in many spheres of international (or internationally integrated) business, such circumstances should not be equated with being prototypical for economic activity, particularly in Indigenous communities.

Turning to Indigenous economies and languages specifically, Loxley has emphasized the importance that Indigenous communities typically place on economic development progressing in congruence with local cultures and tradition. While explicit references to language are absent from his description of the revival of "Native art, poetry, music, oral history, and religion," it is central to nearly all of these dimensions of culture (2010 [1986], 66). Much of the existing literature emphasizes a negative relationship between Indigenous language fluency and economic well-being. Smith (1994) has identified a number of occasions where Indigenous language proficiency could be an asset in the labour market; however, Staples (2015) demonstrated a negative correlation between Indigenous language fluency and income level. Numerous factors influence this correlation, however, including the greater likelihood that fluent Indigenous language speakers will be older, above the habitual retirement age, and live in more isolated communities with less access to the conventional labour market.

Studies focused on Latin American labour markets have similarly noted that monolingual speakers of Indigenous languages have average lower incomes than monolingual speakers of dominant languages (Chiswick, Patrinos, & Hurst, 2000; Patrinos, Velez, & Psacharopoulos, 1994; MacIsaac & Patrinos, 1995). Equalizing access to equivalent human capital resources (MacIsaac & Patrinos, 1995, p. 231) and to dominant-language or bilingual education in particular have been proposed as solutions for mitigating such inequality (Chiswick, Patrinos, & Hurst, 2000, p. 365; Patrinos, 1997, p. 817). Ultimately, however, no

labour market survey has been completed to date that investigates the specific employment opportunities open to speakers of Indigenous languages.

Health researchers, however, have identified the use of traditional languages within Indigenous communities (included within the broader definition of 'cultural continuity') as a key factor in promoting both individual and community health and well-being, particularly within First Nations in Canada (Oster et al., 2014; Chandler & Lalonde, 1998, p. 191). A healthy workforce is, of course, a key component of successful economic development, and research participants link cultural continuity and its health impacts as contributing factors to First Nation self sufficiency and sustainability (Oster et al., 2014).

Underscoring the need for Indigenous language education, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has highlighted the need for Post-Secondary Education Institutions to take a leading role in revitalizing Indigenous languages, echoing earlier calls, including the Assembly of First Nations *National First Nations Language Strategy* (TRC, 2015a, p. 2; AFN, 2007, p. 8). The AFN Strategy also identified "Increas[ing] the opportunities to use First Nations languages by increasing the number of circumstances and situations where First Nations languages can be used" among the five major goals of the strategy, foreshadowing the need for a more secure place for language speakers within the labour market, particularly in fields such as telecommunications (AFN, 2007, pp. 9, 15).

METHODS

Employers and specialists from a cross-sample in Indigenous communities or serving Indigenous populations within the districts of Thunder Bay, Algoma, Sudbury, and Manitoulin were consulted from such sectors as education services; law and social, community and government services; health occupations; arts, entertainment and recreation; and translation services. Consultations included 5 focus groups or group interviews and 23 in-person semi-structured interviews for a total of 37 participants. Questions focused on identifying (i) the needs within respective sectors for speakers of Indigenous languages; (ii) other skills required in those occupations where speaking an Indigenous language is an asset or necessity; and (iii) complementary disciplines or training that increase the employability of Indigenous language speakers. Results were coded for thematic analysis using NVivo.

The region was chosen given it is the source of most of SKG and AU's Indigenous students, and many continue to reside within this geographic catchment area after graduation. Furthermore, the area lies within traditional Anishinaabe territories, where varieties of the Anishinaabe language, particularly those taught in the program, are the dominant Indigenous language.

RESULTS

Demand for fluent Anishinaabe Speakers in the regional labour market has been grouped into 10 thematic categories, the most significant being *Education*, *Health Services* and *Court-Justice Services*, each exerting demand in another sector, that of *Translation or Interpreting Services*. Other themes included *Community and Social Services*; *Media and Arts*; and smaller themes such as *Natural Resources* and *Research and Development*.

Education

The demand for language teachers was universal among those consulted. As communities across Anishinaabe territory devote more attention and effort to fighting the prospect of language loss, demand grows for language teachers at all ages and all proficiency levels. A growing pool of adult learners, for instance, is seeking Indigenous language education from community service providers or post-secondary education institutions.

Participants spoke of a number of complicating factors to Indigenous language instruction, whether it be in classroom or community settings. Urban Indigenous populations face unique challenges, including disconnection from home communities and the specific cultural and linguistic practices that may be different from the norm in urban centres. Recognizing the plight of the 'sandwich generation,' or those beyond school age but who did not acquire Anishinaabemowin as their first language, has also underscored the need for language acquisition opportunities in a variety of settings beyond elementary and secondary schooling. In many communities, particularly urban areas, Indigenous Friendship Centres have fulfilled this role.

Language education goals also included the cultural context of language use, as a number of participants spoke of the need for students to reconnect with the land and to work directly with elders.

Kenjgewin-Teg Educational Institute (KTEI), an Anishinaabe Education Institute in M'Chigeeng, has been a leader among Anishinaabe post-secondary education institutions for integrating Anishinaabemowin within its administration. KTEI promotes Anishinaabemowin acquisition and use among its entire staff through its Anishinaabe Odziiwin passport, which encourages students and staff to monitor their own efforts and progress in acquiring the language. The organization sets minimum hours for language work, which are logged in the passport and are integrated in employee performance appraisals (KTEI, 2014a).

While mainstream universities and colleges in Ontario function primarily in English, there exist a number of post-secondary programs in Indigenous languages or Indigenous language instruction. These programs too, like any others, require instructors and support staff. Other areas of need included Anishinaabe language expertise in marketing and communications offices of the universities or as curriculum developers.

Considerable emphasis is placed on elementary and early-years education within language revitalization circles, particularly following the success of early childhood interventions, such as the Maori language nests of Aotearoa (New Zealand).

To address this growing need, KTEI is launching an Early Childhood Education (ECE) program with a specialization in Anishinaabemowin. The two-year diploma provides advanced adult learners with the opportunity to further their own oral proficiency while acquiring ECE skills. In 2013, KTEI, with the support of the United Chiefs and Councils of Mnidoo Mnising, launched the Mnidoo Mnising Anishinaabek Kinoomauge Gamig (MMAK), an Anishinaabemowin immersion Kindergarten (2014b). While provincially determined institutional and certification requirements have made it difficult for many Indigenous communities to implement similar formal schooling programs, to say nothing of scarce funding, one participant emphasized the flexibility of the language nest model and its adaptability to a number of environments: "Language nests can mean many, many things. Language nests could be at the ballpark on every Saturday. We come and do cheers in the language while so and so plays, you know?" This flexibility of the approach has contributed to its popularity for early childhood Indigenous language acquisition and its utility in developing the foundations for Indigenous language education prior to acquiring institutional sup-

port. It also demonstrates the importance of indigenous language speakers, be they first-language or second-language speakers, in taking active roles in cultivating such initiatives from which more stable interventions can grow.

Health Services

Health occupations ranked among the most significant needs for Indigenous language speakers. With the Anishinaabemowin speaking population being generally older, and thereby more prone to require health care interventions, there is a higher demand for Anishinaabe language services to respond to the needs of these clients and patients. This need was identified for home care, in hospitals and clinics, and in long-term care facilities.

While both doctors and patients often rely on family members to provide interpretation, such ad hoc solutions can compromise patient care. As one participant explained:

> Doctors and medical staff really rely a lot on family to translate, and sometimes family are not the best people to translate either, because of their level of English. Like with me, I feel like I had a good handle on English but I'm often times misunderstood because of the way I say things

Today many hospitals in Northern Ontario are aware of the need for linguistic accommodations and pursuing interventions with varying success and resources. Multilingualism was of significant concern in Thunder Bay, where the hospital has implemented signage in Cree and Anishinaabe syllabics, the dominant orthography in most fly-in First Nation communities throughout Northwestern Ontario that are largely served by the Thunder Bay hospital. Such measures require translation services that some institutions contract out, while others rely on the skills of Aboriginal Patient Navigators (APNs). APNs at Thunder Bay Regional Health Sciences Centre and Health Sciences North in Sudbury are tasked with providing some level of language and cultural accommodation, as well as advocacy and support. The Sault Area Hospital, however, in addition to several smaller local hospitals, do not currently offer such services. Even where APNs are available, the demand for their services exceeds their supply. While Thunder Bay has APNs for diabetes or renal care, cancer care, and its emergency department, there remain gaps in maternity, mental health, and other departments. One participant noted the need for longer hours of service, explaining "... in the hospital, especially at night time when the elders come in, there's nobody there after five". Other participants aspired to see more Indigenous people entering health professions and providing services in their own languages.

The need for services in Anishinaabemowin was particularly evident among those speakers living with dementia. Describing the impact of Anishinaabe language use in this context, one participant explained:

> [W]hen they hear the language, it again reconnects them back to a point in time when they were younger and it helps bring them to a calmer level, so they can sit there and take on any kind of instruction when it's done in the language.

For those health centres that offer connections to traditional healing for their patients, language skills were seen as essential to such services. One health centre administrator noted:

> [T]he communities are demanding it, the communities expect us to have language speakers so there are a number of our programs including the traditional program that we have, we expect the individuals to be speakers [...] the traditional program, it really would not make sense if the person did not speak the language.

Some participants also remarked on the demand for traditional end of life ceremonies, which in many practices must be carried out in the ancestral language. One participant expressed a desire for "an elder in residence" at the hospital to assist in providing such care, as she noted the person that had been assisting in this capacity was operating on a volunteer basis.

The availability of Anishinaabemowin speakers played a significant role within health services in many parts of the research area, whether provided by paid staff or on a volunteer basis by friends and family of those requiring health or long term care services. With the majority of language speakers approaching advanced age, there is a risk that without conscious planning or robust language revitalization efforts that future generations of patients and clients may not benefit from the services that the generation preceding them experienced, however haphazardly.

Justice Services

The importance of interpreters and general linguistic accessibility was also a consistent and stark theme within the justice system. This need is particularly significant in Manitoulin Island and in the Northwestern areas around Thunder Bay, given the higher number of Indigenous language speakers in these areas.

According to the Ontario Government, the Ministry of the Attorney General's Court Services Division provides accredited freelance court interpreters (Ministry of the Attorney General, 2015). Among these, the Ministry distinguishes 6 Indigenous languages, including Cree (West Coast Swampy), Mohawk, Ojibway (Kenora), Ojibway (Manitoulin), Ojibway (Sioux Lookout), Ojibway, and Oji-Cree. Court interpreters, however, are employed on a freelance basis, and are not necessarily available or accessed through the entirety of the legal process outside of the courtroom.

Court Worker programs typically assist any Indigenous person involved in the justice system with navigating the bureaucracy, understanding their rights, and providing cross-cultural interpretation. Court Worker programs are offered by a variety of Indigenous Friendship Centres and Indigenous Legal Services in Ontario.

Stemming from the Supreme Court of Canada *R. v. Gladue* and *R. v. Ipeelee* decisions, Canadian courts must consider the "unique circumstances of Aboriginal people when passing sentences on Aboriginal offenders" and during bail hearings (NALS, 2016). Consequent to these Supreme Court decisions, Gladue Court Workers compile reports stipulating those unique circumstances at the bail and sentencing stage and recommend alternative sentencing, each based on an interview with the defendant pertaining to their background and family history (NALS, 2016). One such worker described the significance of Anishinaabemowin in their work, explaining the crucial role they play for Indigenous defendants:

> [P]eople come in all the time speaking the language, asking about language and other cultural aspects, right? They're asking for smudge, they're asking for the feather, they're asking for these things and nobody knows how to respond to them.

Despite the occasional availability of courtroom interpreting in Anishinaabemowin today, there remain issues of access stemming from the pressure of living within a hegemonically English society. One participant expressed concern that those who need services in Anishinaabemowin may be so accustomed to the service being unavailable that they don't know how or if they can request it:

> What I know is that the clients are not coming in requesting their language. Which, is for me, different than needing it because they might indeed need to speak their mother tongue, their language, in order to receive the service, the proper service.

Many participants working in the justice system noted that knowledge of Anishinaabemowin was particularly useful or necessary when interacting with speakers who are in crisis, working among older Anishinaabe populations in the Manitoulin area, who predominantly speak Anishinaabemowin as their first language, providing courtroom interpreting, and developing rehabilitative programming. Recognition of Anishinaabe language skills thus facilitates equitable access to justice and is a potentially powerful mitigating factor in the over-representation of Indigenous peoples among incarcerated populations. The absence or insufficiency of such services places many Indigenous peoples whose dominant language of communication remains their Indigenous language at risk of inadequate representation in situations of great personal and legal consequence.

Translation and Interpreting Services

The previous discussions of health and justice services demonstrate a significant need for simultaneous or consecutive interpretation between English and Indigenous languages. Service providers in larger urban centres or near the overlap of distinct language groups, however, must also be mindful of Indigenous language diversity. The Thunder Bay Regional Health Sciences Centre, for instance, contracts interpreting services from the local Indigenous Friendship Centre; however, the Centre only provides interpreting in Anishinaabemowin, while many of the patients at the hospital require services in Cree, whether they are from the local urban Indigenous population or patients flown in from communities across Northwestern Ontario.

Several agencies and private companies provide written translation services, such as Wawatay Native Communications Society, who offer services for several varieties of Anishinaabemowin and Cree. These organizations have a significant need for fluent speakers who are proficient in a number of the common orthographies of their respective languages and knowledgeable with respect to sometimes very specific vocabularies.

Despite the existence of such services, however, one participant noted the benefit of having local speakers "in-house," to verify that, even if translations need to be contracted out, that the work can be verified quickly to ensure that the translator understood the context of a text.

Demand in Other Sectors

Indigenous media is growing throughout Canada, both through independent local productions made possible due to the low cost of online platforms, as well as in larger companies and agencies, many of whom benefit from such programs as the National Aboriginal Broadcasting program, other forms of arts funding, and private advertising, sponsorship, or fees for service.

One such example is the previously referenced Wawatay Native Communications Society, which runs radio stations out of Sioux Lookout and Timmins with programming in Anishinaabemowin, Cree, and English, as well as a newspaper and online news. The service is looking to develop an additional radio station in the Thunder Bay area in the future, requiring the hiring of additional Anishinaabemowin speakers with broadcasting skills. "For

us," one participant connected to the company noted, "the language is our bread and butter and we have an aging workforce."

Creative industries provide many opportunities for speakers and aspiring speakers of Indigenous languages, inasmuch as many of the few grants available to fund Indigenous language programming are offered by Heritage Canada or other arts organizations, such as the Aboriginal Languages through the Arts stream of the Aboriginal Artists in Communities program offered by the Ontario Arts Council

Numerous community service agencies were identified as having a need for more Anishinaabemowin speakers in their workforce, particularly in the Thunder Bay and Manitoulin Districts. One participant described the breadth of need as follows:

> In Thunder Bay we have a very high Aboriginal population and there are a number of Aboriginal organizations that are doing work in various fields, from employment and training to addictions counselling. A lot of those organizations are trying to strengthen the cultural basis of their work, so the language has to be central to that.

One child and family services agency reported conducting a 'cultural audit' that emphasized the need to promote the Anishinaabe language in the workplace as a means of contributing to the cultural revitalization to which the agency wanted to contribute. Likewise, Kina Gbezhgomi Child and Family Services on Manitoulin Island instituted language 'lunch and learn' sessions in the workplace that have been facilitated by staff at KTEI.

Gaps in Demand and Research Limitations

As the literature review revealed, there is a strong connection between the health and well-being of both individuals and communities and Indigenous language use, yet a healthy workforce was not identified by study participants as a crucial factor to consider in hiring language speakers. Additionally, despite significant cultural tourism in the region (e.g., Great Spirit Circle Trail), this sector did not report a strong need for Anishinaabemowin speakers.

While a number of other sectors did not report a significant demand for Anishinaabemowin speakers, the demand that was discussed is nonetheless noteworthy. Language skills bring an important lens to work in natural resources sectors, and provide crucial access to 'inside information' for many researchers, and cultural tourism is an increasingly lucrative area for development. Given the limited research that we were able to conduct into these sectors, little can be concluded. Nonetheless, as businesses and service providers catch up with the demand for Indigenous language skills in their respective sectors, and especially if education interventions are successful in cultivating new generations of speakers, the value and recognition of Indigenous languages across all sectors will continue to grow.

DISCUSSION

The systematic devaluation of language skills and the need for language accommodation was a recurring theme throughout the research. While some of those interviewed were able to meet their workplace needs for Indigenous language speakers themselves or by hiring other fluent speakers, many others expressed that translation or interpreting services were

seen as a "nice to have," or an "add-on" that could easily be done by any speaker in addition to their regular work duties or on a volunteer basis. Such approaches devalue the time and labour that is necessary to offer quality translation or interpreting services, negate the mental energy exerted in transforming the mental concepts of one worldview into those of another, and further marginalize Anishinaabe people in the workforce.

An additional concern is that *all* of the participants who spoke of insufficient or no resources for translation or interpreting services were referring to public sector workplaces (such as universities, courts, school boards) or not-for-profit organizations that receive the bulk of their funding from government sources. Adequate interpreting services can prevent misdiagnoses in health professions and avoid wrongful convictions in courts. While public funds are often understandably lean, such frugality should not come by denying quality services to predominantly elder speakers of Anishinaabemowin and other Indigenous languages. Reflecting on the Federal government's record of restitution for the language loss provoked by the Indian Residential School System, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission concluded the following:

> [T]he Government of Canada must abandon its tightly controlled model of program-based heritage subsidies, and instead provide sustainable resources to recognize that the Indigenous peoples of Canada have language rights tied to their protected Aboriginal rights, including their rights to self-determination. (TRC, 2015b, p. 117)

The Commission also noted the disparity of funding offered for Official Languages and Indigenous languages, noting that the government spends 25 times as much in protecting official-language minorities alone (TRC, 2015b, p. 117).

While there exists demand for Anishinaabemowin, Cree, and other Indigenous language speakers in a number of occupations across traditional territories, the effort to preserve and promote Indigenous languages necessitates creating economic opportunities for younger language speakers and learners. Such opportunities grow when we value Indigenous language skills for the effort, time, and momentous expertise they entail, and when these language skills are valued on par with those languages that carry significant symbolic capital, such as French.

The value of cultural continuity in creating a healthy and vibrant Indigenous workforce and supporting the self sufficiency of communities has been clearly demonstrated by health researchers, yet language proficiency has rarely, if ever, been considered as part of an economic development strategy. More research into the relationship between cultural continuity, including language usage, and successful economic initiatives in Indigenous communities needs to be undertaken to shed greater light on the potential value of this linkage.

Many communities have expressed significant support for language initiatives, ranging from communities with few speakers, such as Batchewana First Nation, to communities with a comparatively significant number of speakers, such as those on Manitoulin Island. The United Chiefs and Councils of Mnidoo Mnising, for instance, passed the Anishinabek Language Declaration in 2012, which asserted that "UCCMM will take effective measures to ensure that this right [to language] is protected, and will ensure that individuals employed in the UCCMM First Nation territory perform and provide all work and service functions in their ancestral language by the year 2030" (UCCMM, 2013). While participants offered differing accounts as to whether the declaration had been followed up with sufficient action, the goal speaks to a strong need to increase the number of fluent speakers within the workforce.

CONCLUSION

The research highlighted the overlooked labour market demands stemming from the needs of speakers and communities wishing to revitalize their Indigenous language(s), and revealed a significant demand for fluent Indigenous language speakers, particularly in fields such as education, health services, justice services, translation and interpreting services, as well as in media and the arts, community and social services, among others.

While this research is ultimately unable to assess any quantitative evaluation of the degree to which demand for Anishinaabemowin skills are being met within the labour market, the general impression conveyed by participants was that the demand far exceeded the supply. This was particularly expressed within the education sector, where there was considerable anxiety about the fluency of many teachers. Consequently, there is a significant onus on institutions that offer or aspire to offer Anishinaabemowin or other Indigenous language education.

While the needs of Indigenous language speakers have been overlooked in the past, largely due to colonial and racial bias that denied the legitimacy of Indigenous peoples as a population worth accommodating, meeting the needs of elder speakers is now not only a moral imperative but one of cultural survival for Indigenous peoples. Indeed, meeting such needs is congruent with the economic development goals of many Indigenous communities — if not explicitly in development planning, at least in the aspirations of many community members. Many communities have begun to take steps to provide that accommodation for elder speakers and/or to implement measures to foster new generations of Indigenous language speakers. Yet given the devaluation of linguistic labour and of Indigenous languages in particular, learners are often left wondering if their efforts will be rewarded or punished economically. This research helps to affirm that there are numerous occupations where Indigenous language proficiency is either a necessity or a strong asset in addition to other skills. Still, more support is necessary from private, public, and social economy sectors to meet the challenge posed by language shift and to offer future generations local economies that can promote and maintain Indigenous language vitality.

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Indigenous Collaboration for Leadership Development: A Canadian Example

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to describe how a Canadian provincial government department (Alberta Sport Council) collaborated with Indigenous communities, other government inter-agencies, corporate sponsors, and private business contractors in the creation, implementation, and measurement of the impact of an Indigenous youth leadership development program (also known as the Alberta's Future Leaders program or AFL). Based on the analysis of provincial government departments reports, input by government staff in previous reports, Indigenous youth leadership development program evaluations, reviews by the youth leadership development program creators and facilitators, and university research reports on the program, a collaborative consultative process emerged. The Dynamic Facilitating Process Model evolved to systematically describe the collaborative process that took place that recognized and promoted Indigenous consultation, consent, and involvement supporting Indigenous communities' priorities and protocols. The six phases in the Dynamic Facilitating Process that emerged are (1) Defining, (2) Designing, (3) Implementing, (4) Measuring, (5) Maintaining, and (6) Refining. Each of the phases in the model is clearly described with supporting collaborative examples with the different partners. Special attention was given to measure the impact of the youth leadership development program on Indigenous youth participants and to describe the impact of the youth leadership development program in Indigenous communities. This applied research and resulting model can serve as a guide for other governments and their inter-agencies, businesses, or other organizations that wish to engage in a positive collaborative process with Indigenous communities.

INTRODUCTION

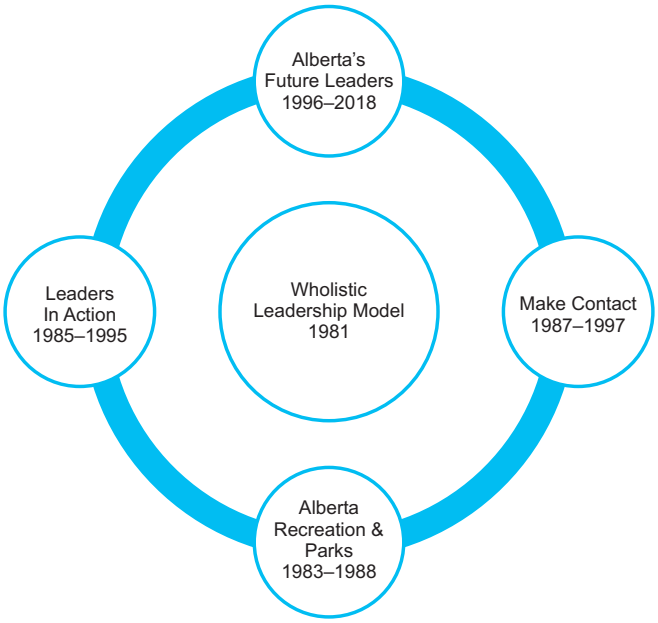
In existence for over 20 years, the (AFL) is a unique leadership development program for Indigenous youth created through collaboration between Indigenous communities, the Alberta Government, and industry parties. At the National Recreation Roundtable for Indigenous People, it was noted that the Alberta's Future Leaders (AFL) program is the only program in Canada that co-ordinates partnerships between Indigenous communities, government, and sponsors for youth development programming. Since 2000, the AFL program has received several distinguished honours, including the Award of Innovation from the Canadian Parks and Recreation Association and the Alberta Government's Premier's Bronze Award of Excellence ("Encouraging Alberta's Future Leaders", 2013). Having been delivered in 42 different Indigenous communities with over 300,000 participants, the AFL program rests on a unique three-way interaction between the Alberta Provincial Government, several Indigenous communities, and local business sponsors. In its current form, the AFL program is provided through the Alberta Sport, Recreation, Parks, and Wildlife foundation via the Alberta Sport Council.

The purpose of this paper is to provide a discourse into how the Alberta Sport Council collaborated and partnered with the various community groups to design, deliver, and sustain the AFL program. In doing so, the paper takes its starting point in the historical evolution of youth leadership development programming provided in the Province of Alberta, Canada. With its six phases, the Dynamic Facilitation Process consisting of Defining, Designing, Implementing, Measuring, Maintaining, and Refining is then presented through narratives on how the Alberta Sport Council collaborated with Indigenous communities, government inter-agencies, corporate sponsors, and business contractors to develop the vision and scope of the AFL program and establish trust among all stakeholders through the three-way collaboration. Particular attention is being paid to an in-depth description of how the Alberta Sport Council measured the impact of the AFL program based on government reports, business contractors' program evaluations, and university research reports. This impact is assessed on both the Indigenous AFL youth participants and on the AFL summer programming in Indigenous Communities throughout Alberta and Canada. The conclusion provides suggestions for application of the Dynamic Facilitating Process Model with Indigenous communities.

YOUTH LEADERSHIP PROGRAMMING IN ALBERTA

The Province of Alberta has sponsored youth leadership development programs from 1983 and onwards. These efforts eventually culminated in the creation and implementation of the Alberta's Future Leaders (AFL) program in 1996 (Benson & Enström, 2013, 2014, 2015). As their philosophical foundation and pedagogical model, in 1983, the Alberta Provincial Government, through its administrative departments, adopted the Wholistic Leadership Development Model (Benson, 1991). Developed in 1981, the model was formally adopted by the Alberta Government departments of Recreation and Parks as its model for leadership and recreation development and was included as a philosophical underpinning to the 120 courses taught at the Blue Lake Centre Provincial Leadership and Recreation Training Centre site in Hinton, Alberta. In 1988 the model was chosen as the foundation for the Alberta Provincial Government Department's Leadership Development Strategy. Figure 1 presents the different youth leadership programs in Alberta.

FIGURE 1
Youth Leadership Programming in Alberta



Leaders in Action Program: 1985–1996

The United Nations proclaimed the year 1985 the International Youth Year (IYY). It was held to focus attention on issues of concern relating to youth, with youth activities taking place around the world. In Canada, to celebrate the year, the Alberta Provincial Government, through the Alberta Sport, Recreation, Parks and Wildlife Foundation, again employed the Wholistic Leadership Development Model (Benson, 1991) as the foundation for the creation of the Leaders in Action program. The program brought together youth from all Alberta Youth Associations: the 4-H, YMCA, YWCA, Scouts, Girl Guides, Junior Forest Wardens, Boys and Girls Clubs, and many others. The specific emphasis of this program was teaching youth a variety of leadership skills, including listening, personality, conflict resolution, problem solving, creating a positive attitude, values, building people up, and team work. The in-class modules would then be followed by sessions in the afternoons where they practised these skills in outdoor activities like climbing, canoeing, kayaking, and orienteering. In the evening, they debriefed the day and made plans for how to use the skills the next day. This youth leadership training program was delivered for 10 years, 1985–1996, and had over 500 participants.

Make Contact Program: 1987–1997

The Alberta Provincial Government also recognized the need to provide rural youth, ages 14–17, with opportunities to learn leadership skills. Based on the Wholistic Leadership

Development Model and the positive experiences from the Leaders in Action program, the Make Contact program was created. In this Friday evening and all-day Saturday program, rural youth were taught a variety of leadership skills, including listening, personality, conflict resolution, problem solving, creating a positive attitude, values, building people up, and team work in classroom and experiential sessions. One of the unique components of the program was that the participating youth did some of the facilitation of the program content and activities. With a 10-year continuance, the program had over 40 workshops conferences in over 30 rural communities in Alberta with over 4000 youths participating in the program.

Alberta's Future Leaders Program: 1996–2018

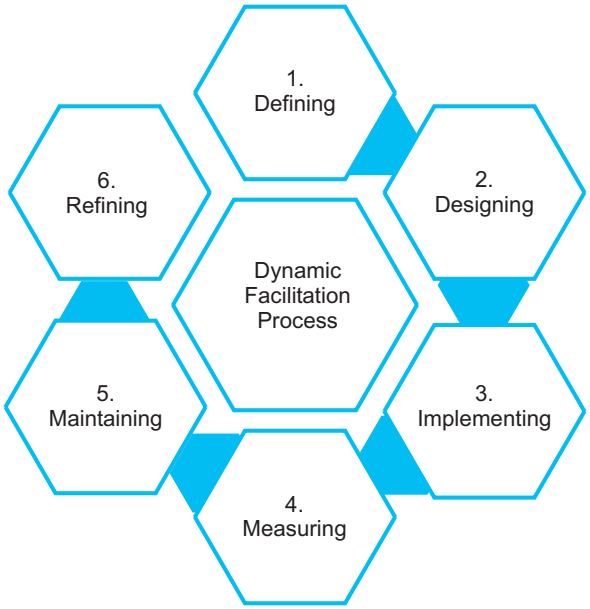
Following the success of the Make Contact Program, the Alberta Provincial Government acknowledged the need to provide Indigenous youth with new experiences, positive role models, and opportunities to build confidence, overcome barriers, and realize their full potential. The outcome of this deliberation was the AFL program, which started in 1996. Up until 2019, the AFL program has had created over one million participant hours of programming ("Alberta's Future Leaders Program", n.d.). In defining 'Indigenous peoples', it is important to note that it refers to a collective name for the original peoples of North America and their descendants, and the term Indigenous is now often used instead of First Nation, Métis, Inuit, or Aboriginal. In Canada, the Canadian *Constitution Act 1982* recognizes the following three Indigenous groups:

1. Indian (First Nation): The term 'First Nation' came into common usage in the 1970s to replace the term 'Indian', but the term is lacking a legal definition. In its usage, First Nation peoples refer to Indian people of Canada, both status and non-status. Some communities have adopted the term First Nation to replace the word 'band'. In the province of Alberta, there are 45 First Nations living on 140 reserves (First Nations in Alberta, 2014).
2. Métis: This term defines a person of mixed blood, First Nation and European. Most Métis are of mixed Scottish, French, Ojibway, and Cree origin. In Alberta there are eight Métis settlements ("Métis Settlements Land Registry", n.d.).
3. Inuit: This term refers to people who live in Nunavut, Northern West Territories, Northern Quebec, and Northern Labrador.

THE DYNAMIC FACILITATION PROCESS

In setting up the AFL program, the Alberta Sport Council provided three key facilitating processes to the involved parties to enable these partners to join forces so that they could build trust and confidence amongst each other to cooperate and work well together. This meant leadership and guidance to provide direction, advice throughout the design process, and basic project management services. The project management services encompassed interaction and integration to provide contacts, communications, and the management of team relations among partners within and among the phases. An important consideration was the support and encouragement to maintain the momentum throughout the phases by providing assistance, reassurance, inspiration, and praise. The dynamic facilitation process then embraced the six stages of (1) *defining* the mission, vision, goals, and objectives (MVGO)

FIGURE 2
Six Stages of the Dynamic Facilitation Process



for each of the programs and activities; (2) *designing*, based on the MVGO, by planning the programs and activities, followed by (3) *implementation* by executing the action plan. The (4) *measuring* phase entailed an evaluation of the extent to which the goals and objectives in each of the programs and activities were met and surpassed. Critical issues were the (5) *maintenance* of the program, activities, and relationships with Indigenous communities, government inter-agencies, corporate sponsors, and business contractors. All programs, activities, and relationships were also exposed to a continuous (6) *refining* process. The phases of the process are displayed in Figure 2.

Defining

In its mission to provide youth leadership development opportunities in Alberta, the Alberta Provincial Government recognized the need to provide Indigenous youth with opportunities to learn personal development and leadership skills. Between 1994 and 1996, the Alberta Provincial Government therefore consulted with various groups, including the Native Justice Initiatives Unit, Indigenous groups, including the Métis Nation of Alberta, Yellowhead Tribal Council, Yellowhead Tribal Corrections Society, and the Indigenous Sport Council of Alberta. Discussions were also held with contacts from the Tsuu T'ina, Samson, Ermineskin, and Saddle Lake First Nations. The 'Together with Youth: Planning Recreation Services for Youth-At-Risk Report' (Parks and Recreation Ontario, 1999) was extensively reviewed to identify the needs of the Indigenous youth. It was estimated that

some 7% of the Alberta population could be defined as Indigenous. Some of the key areas of concern identified included the fact that 21% of the community correction youth cases were Indigenous, 65% of the youth in custody in central and northern Alberta were Indigenous, 46% of child welfare cases in Alberta involved Indigenous children, and the suicide rate was found to be more than 5 times the national average in the 15–24 years of age group for Indigenous people. In addition to these concerns, there were also mounting needs to mend high rates of unemployment, lack of community cohesion, family breakdown, boredom, lack of positive role models, and a lack of pride and hope by young people in Indigenous communities.

Numerous studies showed that sport and recreation were excellent ways to create a positive impact on youth at risk. The AFL Program benefits reflect the findings of these studies, including improved self-esteem, self-confidence and self-image; provision of positive role models; teaching teamwork, cooperation, leadership, conflict resolution and other social life skills; providing a sense of belonging and enhancing a sense of community; reducing risk factors for disease and promoting wellness; providing a constructive way to release anger and stress and reduce boredom; promoting positive values, a sense of fair play and respect for rules; improving thinking skills; developing motivation in other aspects of life; enhancing cultural awareness; promoting family and community support; and decreasing youth crime and vandalism rates.

Altogether, the consultation process led to the belief that the Alberta Provincial Government, through the Alberta Sport, Recreation, Parks and Wildlife Foundation (ASRPW Foundation) and the Alberta Sport Council, could act as a catalyst for the establishment of sport, recreation, and cultural programs, which could have a positive impact on Indigenous youths' lives. It is based on the shared belief that sport, recreation, the arts, and leadership skills training not only can be used holistically to further youth and community development but also can serve as prevention and intervention tools in Indigenous communities. Building on the extensive and positive experiences learned from both the Leaders in Action program (1985–1995) and the Make Contact (1987–1997) program, the AFL program was created in 1996. After extensive consultation with Indigenous groups, the Alberta Sport, Recreation, Parks, and Wildlife Foundation met with business contractors (Inroads Mountain Sports and Benson Training) to clarify the purpose of the AFL program and provide the principles of the framework for the AFL summer program in Indigenous communities and the AFL summer retreat in the Rocky Mountains. Inroads Mountain Sports and Benson Training created and delivered these youth leadership development programs on behalf of the Alberta Sport, Recreation, Parks, and Wildlife Foundation under the direction and support of Alberta Sport Council staff.

The AFL program is based on the Wholistic Leadership Development Model (Benson, 1991), and the defined purpose of the AFL Summer Leadership Retreat is to:

1. Develop the *Whole Person*, including the person's values, attitudes, and self-skills.
2. Enable the person to experience success, self-understanding, and awareness of others.
3. Begin building the tools for a person to transfer knowledge, skills, and information learned during the retreat into their community.
4. Improve self-esteem, self-confidence and self-image; teachg teamwork, cooperation, leadership, conflict resolution and other communication and social life skills.

5. Provide positive role models by having the Indigenous youth participants return to their communities.

Designing

In the design phase, based on consultation with the AFL Provincial Support Committee, prospective corporate sponsors as well as Alberta Indigenous host communities were reviewed and new Indigenous communities were chosen. To partner in the AFL program, the Indigenous communities have to be willing to assume several responsibilities:

- A three-year commitment to the AFL Program.
- Community leadership and ownership of the AFL program.
- Financial contribution to the AFL program budget.
- Identify a community contact that will supervise, support, and direct the Youth Mentors (summer students who are hired to deliver the AFL program in the community).
- Provide accommodations for the Youth Mentors at the community's expense.
- Provide appropriate office space and equipment at the community's expense.
- Ensure accessibility of facilities, resources, and equipment.

Subsequently, the ASRPW Foundation via the Alberta Sport Council then seeks the support of the Indigenous communities' decision-makers in acting as a catalyst in addressing the needs of Indigenous youth through sport, recreation, arts, and cultural programming. In doing so, an inter-agency (municipal, provincial, and federal) community-based framework is used within the AFL program. This effectively means that support from the community's leadership, elders, youth, school, RCMP, social service inter-agencies, and corporate sponsors is sought and applied in the development and delivery of youth programs within each community. Partner communities host two trained Youth Mentors, who design and implement youth-focused activities, events, and trips based on the community's expressed needs and interests. Private and corporate sponsor organizations are then approached to form funding partnerships in support of each specific AFL summer program in each specific community. Each corporate sponsor partner signs an agreement for a three-year funding commitment.

Implementing

For the AFL summer program in Indigenous communities, university students are hired in May as Youth Mentors. The Youth Mentors can come from any background; however, they are typically non-Indigenous and are from outside the participating host communities. Whenever possible, however, Indigenous Youth Mentors are hired. All Youth Mentors are provided with an extensive week-long leadership and Indigenous cultural training program. In the program they learn from elders, community members, and past AFL workers (staff and Mentors) about the histories, cultures, and communities they will be working in. Two Youth Mentors are then paired and assigned to live and work the four-month period of May to August in a First Nations reserve or Métis settlement, organizing and delivering sport, recreation, art, and cultural opportunities for youth. One of the two AFL mentors has a background in sports and recreation and will take the lead in planning and implementing these

types of activities. They organize everything from campfires and rafting trips to hockey tournaments. The second AFL Mentor has a background in the visual arts and performing arts and will take the lead in planning and implementing arts-related activities. This includes music, theatre, or other art forms, and coordinating a Senior Artist's visit for Arts Week. The Art Mentors facilitate and encourage young Indigenous people to express themselves through a variety of performing and visual arts activities. Arts Mentors are skilled artists who strive to develop Alberta's future artists by showcasing the artwork of young people in each community. Young people are encouraged to get in touch with their individual creative energies and abilities, thereby learning new skills, developing personal strength, and building self-esteem and self-confidence that can be used throughout their lives. The primary role of the Youth Mentors is to seek and develop support for program initiatives with community leaders, parents, and young adults. When doing this, they also act as positive role models for the community's youth to inspire them to be at their best ("Alberta's Future Leaders", n.d.). Indigenous communities that have hosted AFL Mentors have found their level of commitment and enthusiasm to be exceptional. Youth Mentors work extremely hard to create "happy smiling faces" among the young people they serve and have often remarked that their summer's work has been a key life-changing experience. Since 1996, the AFL summer program has created over one million participant hours of programming ("Alberta's Future Leaders Program", n.d.).

The AFL summer retreats in the Rocky Mountains are organized so that in July, the Youth Mentors select and bring 2–3 youths of age 18–24 from their community to attend the AFL summer retreat in the Rocky Mountains. During this 7-day summer program, youth are taught several leadership skills. In the morning classroom sessions, youth are taught listening, conflict resolution, creating positive attitudes, decision making, and team-building. In the afternoon, youth practise these skills in outdoor adventure activities, such as climbing, canoeing, and adventure hiking. In the evening, a debriefing is held of the morning sessions and the afternoon's activities. Significant planning is done on how to use the leadership skills and learning lessons they have reflected upon the following day. The AFL summer retreat helps to build teamwork skills, self-confidence, and self-esteem ("Alberta's Future Leaders", n.d.). An central component of the AFL summer program is the Indigenous cultural and historical perspective, which is integrated throughout and includes such things as youths using resource information provided to research and present a five-minute talk about an Indigenous leader; an internationally renowned Métis singer sharing her cultural perspective through song and storytelling; a trapper sharing his background; and an Indigenous elder teaching drumming, sharing his wisdom, and leading the community in smudges. Upon their return home, these AFL youths assist their AFL Youth Mentors organizing and delivering sport, recreational, arts, and cultural activities for other youth in their communities. To date, there have been about 35 AFL programs with 800 AFL youth and Youth Mentors participating.

Measuring

Throughout the existence of the AFL program, the Alberta Sport Council has measured the impact of the AFL program, and this assessment has been made based on a triangulation of government reports, business contractors' program evaluations, and academic research reports. In terms of the data sources, the assessment of this impact is based on responses from both the Youth Mentors and Indigenous youth participants in the AFL summer retreat

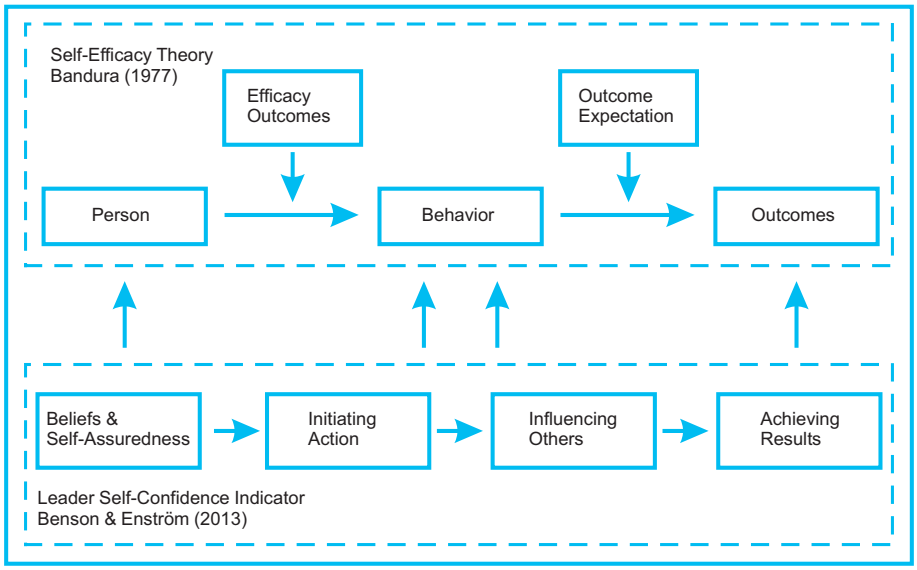
programming in the Rocky Mountains. During the Designing Phase of the Dynamic Facilitation Process, and based on the critical issues that were identified, the measurement of self-esteem and self-confidence was deemed central to the AFL program, as the self-confidence and self-image of youth participants was one of the goals of the AFL program.

Battle's Culture-Free Self-Esteem Inventory, CFSEI, was selected due to its culture-free properties and the ease by which it could be administered and scored (Battle, 1990, 1992). This scale specifically measures participants' self-esteem across the four dimensions of General, Social, Personal, and Lie. The General dimension taps the overall feeling of self-worth, whereas Social captures the perception of peer relationship quality. The Personal dimension, in turn, quantifies the intimate perception of self-worth, and Lie reflects the degree of defensiveness. During the past 50 years, self-esteem has become recognized as an important element in a leader's development. Self-esteem differs from self-efficacy and self-confidence in that self-esteem deals with a generalized evaluation of the self and feelings of self-worth across most situations, whereas self-efficacy and self-confidence are a belief in one's abilities to cope with specific situations (Gist & Mitchell, 1992). Battle (1990) defines self-esteem as the perception an individual has of his/her own worth. Furthermore, according to Battle (1990), an individual's perception of self will develop gradually and become increasingly differentiated as the person matures and interacts with significant others. Moreover, perceptions of self-worth, once established, tend to be fairly stable and resistant to change. In Coopersmith's view (1962), self-esteem consists of an evaluation the individual makes and customarily maintains about himself. Consequently, it expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval and indicates the extent to which the individual believes himself to be capable, significant, successful, and worthy. Branden (1971) stated that "self-esteem refers to two interrelated aspects. It entails a sense of personal efficacy and a sense of personal worth. It is the integrated sum of self-confidence and self-respect. It is the conviction that one is competent to live and worthy of living". In his view, "self-confidence is confidence in one's mind — its reliability as a tool of conviction ... and this type of confidence must be distinguished from other more superficial and localized types of self-confidence which reflect a person's sense of efficacy at particular tasks or in particular areas." Therefore, it must be noted that Branden's definition and construct of self-confidence of the mind differs from the leader's self-confidence definition and construct used in this study.

Few attempts have been made to develop a cross-situational self-confidence scale. In measuring the impact of the AFL program upon participants' self-confidence, the Leader Self-Confidence Scale (LSCI) developed by Benson and Enström (2013) was used. This scale is based on Bandura's Self-Efficacy Theory (1977), the assertion that a person's outcome expectancy, the estimate that a behaviour will lead to a certain outcome, and efficacy expectation, a personal conviction that the behaviour required to achieve an outcome can be performed, are necessary to be confident decision makers. In the scale, the term self-confidence is used instead of the term self-efficacy because the former is more vernacular and the latter is more academic. Figure 3 exhibits Bandura's (1977) efficacy expectation proposition together with the Leader Self-Confidence Scale. As shown, the scale assesses the person through four items measuring Beliefs & Self-Assuredness, behaviours through four items measuring Initiating Action, behaviours through four items measuring Influencing Others, and the outcomes through three items measuring Achieving Results.

An implication of Bandura's Self-Efficacy is that a person may know that certain behaviours will result in desirable outcomes but might still not carry out those behaviours because he does not think he is capable of doing so. Other implications of Bandura's Self-

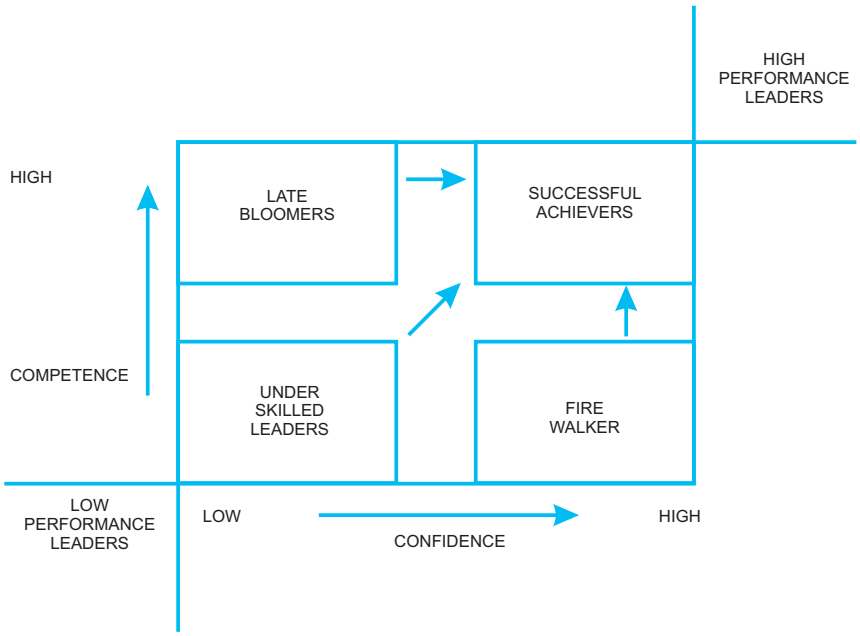
FIGURE 3
Bandura's Self-Efficacy Theory and the Leader Self-Confidence Indicator



Efficacy Theory are that although self-efficacy is context-specific, it may be transferable across different contexts, and that self-efficacy alone will not produce the desired performance if the task-specific competencies are lacking. In general, Bandura's assertion is that the self-efficacy expectations will influence the magnitude, generality, and strength of a person's efforts to achieve outcomes. Other researchers defining self-efficacy have echoed similar sentiments: a belief that one is capable of successfully performing a task (Sherer et al., 1982), the belief that one can perform a novel task, and the beliefs that one can cope with adversity (Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995). Situational self-efficacy refers to the individual's perceived ability to perform a specific task in each situation, a perception that might change depending on the circumstances (Popper et al., 2004) and affirmation of ability and strength of belief (Cramer, Neal, & Bodsky, 2009). Several researchers have asserted that for practical purposes, the concepts of self-efficacy and self-confidence could be considered synonymous constructs (Hannah et al., 2008).

In their seminal work, Bass and Bass (2009) noted that almost all authors were consistent in showing the positive direction of their data findings on the relationship of self-confidence to leadership. They noted that in 11 studies, the general trend suggested that leaders rated higher than followers in self-confidence. Bass and Bass (2009) also reported several studies that indicated that in late adolescence males have higher self-confidence than females. In females this lower self-confidence was also correlated with lower self-esteem and less willingness to take risks because of a fear of failure. Benson (1991) focused on the Confidence–Competence Leadership Development Relationship. Leaders who are low performers are incompetent and lack confidence in their ability to influence the behaviours, atti-

FIGURE 4
The Confidence–Competence Relationship (Benson, 1991)



tudes, and values of themselves, other individuals, groups, and organizations. Leaders who are high performers are competent and confident in their ability to influence the behaviours, attitudes, and values of themselves, other individuals, groups, and organizations. Leadership training and development, therefore, involves improving the competence and the confidence of leaders, enabling them to move from low performance to high performance by developing both their competence and confidence. Figure 4 presents the Confidence–Competence relationship from Benson (1991).

Data were collected on participants' self-confidence and self-esteem during the AFL Summer Leadership Retreats. To assess the effects of the AFL Summer Retreat Programs on participants, a pre-then-post design was used, involving the two groups Youth Mentors and AFL youth participants. The Leader Self-Confidence Indicator (LSCI) (Benson & Enström, 2013) was administered to the participants using a pre-then-post design. Each participant provided a pre-test assessment, a retrospective assessment of their negotiation self-confidence before completing the negotiating course through a then-test, and a post-test assessment of their current negotiating self-confidence after finishing the negotiating course. Each of the 15 scale items was responded to through a 5-point Likert scale (responses ranging from 5-strongly agree to 1-strongly disagree). In administrating the leader self-confidence scale, the guidelines of Howard et al. (1979) for the post/then instructions were followed. Battle's Culture-Free Self-Esteem Inventory (CFSEI) (1990) was administered to

the participants using a pre-post design. Each participant provided a pre-test assessment, plus a post-test assessment of their self-esteem at the end of the summer leadership retreat. Each of the 40 scale items was responded to through a yes or no response.

The James Battle Self-Esteem Inventory was analyzed through a Matched Pairs *t*-test for the 40 participants, 12 Youth Mentors (SW) and 28 Alberta's Future Leaders (AFL). Each of the four self-esteem dimensions — General, Social, Personal, and Lie — was measured before (pre) and after (post) the Alberta's Future Leaders program. Looking at the development of these four self-esteem dimensions from before to after the completion of the program, it is clear the participants experienced a significant improvement in two out of the four self-esteem dimensions. Participants had significant improvements in the social dimension, perception of peer relationship quality, and the lie dimension, degree of defensiveness. This seems logical, inasmuch as the program is highly experiential, involves a lot of cooperative education, and participants work in teams to complete activities. For the other two dimensions, general and personal, the results reveal an improvement sample-wise, but this improvement is not statistically significant. With regard to the general domain, this can most likely be attributed to the fact that participants entered the AFL program with high levels of self-esteem in these areas. The results are presented in Table 1.

For participants' development of the leader self-confidence, a matched pair *t*-test and a multiple linear regression model were employed to analyze the results. The matched pair t-test is presented in Table 2. As shown, the participants had significant increases in leader self-confidence irrespectively of whether it was measured by post-pre or post-then.

A regression model was also estimated to assess the separate development according to gender and category of program participant. As seen in Table 3, females increased their leader self-confidence significantly more than males. Also, Alberta's Future Leaders participants increased their leader self-confidence significantly more than Youth Mentors.

Altogether, the results point to the conclusion that the AFL Summer Retreat was a success with regard to increasing participants' self-esteem and leader self-confidence. Participants had a significant improvement in the lie and social self-esteem dimensions, which can be explained by the experiential team building aspect of the program. Most importantly, participants increased their leader self-confidence, which is one of the goals of the AFL program.

Maintaining

To maintain the AFL summer programs, the Alberta Sport Council staff visit all the Indigenous communities and meet with community representatives on a regular basis. Staff members are also on call to address any issues that develop within the communities and attend and participate in the AFL summer retreat in the Rocky Mountains. Mentors meet during the summer and after the program to discuss best practices, address current challenges, and share ideas across communities (Alberta's Future Leaders, 2018). Each year in the fall the ASRPW Foundation via the Alberta Sport Council hosts a day to acknowledge and thank the corporate sponsors for their contributions to the AFL program. Youth Mentors and some of their AFL participants give a slide presentation where they showcase the activities they did in each community. During the acknowledgment day, community representatives, elders, and business contractors are also acknowledged. Last, the Youth Mentors are thanked for their work.

TABLE 1
Matched Pairs *t*-Test: Self-Esteem

Dimension	Mean (post-pre)	SE	*t*	*p*-value
General	.475	.42	1.13	
Social	.525	.21	2.50	<1%
Personal	.35	.28	1.25	
Lie	–.8	.27	–2.96	<1%

n = 40
39 DF

TABLE 2
Matched Pairs *t*-Test: Leader Self-Confidence

Dimension	Mean	SE	*t*	*p*-value
Post-Pre	.75	.06	10.71	<1%
Post-Then	1.48	.12	12.33	<1%

n = 40
39 DF

TABLE 3
Regression Results — Leader Self-Confidence

	Coefficient	SE	*t*	*p*-value
Constant	.256	.152	1.68	.097
Female	.377	.128	2.95	.004
AFL	.416	.139	2.99	.004
Post-Then	.732	.127	5.75	.000

R-squared = .394
F = 16.49
p = .000

Refining

The Alberta Sport Council refined the collaborative process in all previous phases of the AFL program with Indigenous communities, government inter-agencies, corporate sponsors, and business contractors. Based on Phase 4, Measuring the impact on the Indigenous youth participants and the summer AFL programming in Indigenous communities and the AFL summer retreat program in the Rocky Mountains through the annual reports, the Alberta Sport Council met with Indigenous communities, government inter-agencies, corporate sponsors, and business contractors to review the program evaluations and then through discussion annually revised the AFL program. Business contractors gathered data on the

AFL summer retreat program in the Rocky Mountains. Each annual report included names of facilitators, guests, and participants; purpose and expected results of the AFL program; and the agenda, with specific details of modules and lessons taught. An important centre piece is the assessment of how the program went, including specific challenges and successes, and changes and recommendations for the following year. The Alberta Sport Council has also instituted the AFL Provincial Support Committee, which provides guidance on the AFL program. Table 4 presents a summary of the collaborations, which took place throughout the six phases of the dynamic facilitation process.

CONCLUSION

As previously stated, at the National Recreation Roundtable for Indigenous People it was noted that the Alberta's Future Leaders (AFL) program is the only program in Canada that co-ordinates partnerships between Indigenous communities, government, and sponsors for youth development programming. The purpose of this paper was to describe how a Canadian provincial government department (the Alberta Sport Council) collaborated with Indigenous communities, other government inter-agencies, corporate sponsors, and private business contractors in the creation, implementation, and measurement of the impact of an Indigenous youth leadership development program. Based on the analysis of provincial government departments reports, Indigenous youth leadership development program evaluations, reviews by the youth leadership development program creators and facilitators, and university research reports on the program, a collaborative consultative process emerged. This Dynamic Facilitating Process evolved to systematically describe the collaborative process that took place, which recognized and promoted Indigenous consultation, consent, and involvement supporting Indigenous communities' priorities and protocols. The six phases in the Dynamic Facilitating Process that emerged are (1) Defining, (2) Designing, (3) Implementing, (4) Measuring, (5) Maintaining, and (6) Refining. Each of the phases in the model is clearly described with supporting collaborative examples with the different partners. Special attention was given to measure the impact of the youth leadership development program on Indigenous youth participants and to describe the impact of the youth leadership development program in Indigenous communities. Although there are specifics related to the Canadian context, the generic aspects of how the program was developed and maintained can serve as both a guide and an inspiration in how governments, inter-agencies, business, and community organizations could set up a collaborative framework together with Indigenous communities to develop similar leadership programs.

Based upon the problems that some of the Indigenous communities are facing, the AFL summer program alone will not solve the underlying issues, but it is making a difference in youths' lives.

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TABLE 4
Summary of Involved Parties across Six Phases of Dynamic Facilitation Process

	Indigenous Communities	Government Inter-agencies	Contractors
1. Defining	Métis Nation of Alberta Yellowhead Tribal Council Yellowhead Tribal Corrections Society Tsuu T'ina First Nation Samson First Nation Ermineskin First Nation	Native Justice Initiatives Unit Indigenous Sport Council of Alberta	Inroads Mountain Sports Benson Training
2. Designing		School, RCMP, Social Service AFL Provincial Support Committee	Inroads Mountain Sports Benson Training
3. Implementing		School, RCMP, Social Service	Inroads Mountain Sports Benson Training
4. Measuring		Alberta Sport Council MacEwan University	Inroads Mountain Sports Benson Training
5. Maintaining		School, RCMP, Social Service Indigenous Sport Council of Alberta	Inroads Mountain Sports Benson Training
6. Revising		School, RCMP, Social Service Indigenous Sport Council of Alberta AFL Provincial Support Committee	Inroads Mountain Sports Benson Training

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International Indigenous Business and Trade and the Role of Culture: A Comparison between Aotearoa Māori and Alaska Native Enterprises

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ABSTRACT

Indigenous enterprises are increasingly engaging in international business and trade, mainly in agriculture, forestry, fishing, and tourism, to grow Indigenous economies. The experiences of the Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand (the Māori) and of Alaska provide a context and case through which to explore cross-cultural exchanges in business. In this conceptual paper, we review literature on the role of culture in international business and trade, focusing on indigeneity in international Indigenous business. We find that when commonality and mutual respect are established in cross-cultural exchanges in business, there is said to be cultural congruity. When material cultural differences inhibit cross-cultural business, there is cultural discordance. Specific examples are used to show how Indigenous firms in Aotearoa New Zealand and in Alaska compare. This paper provides scope for other Indigenous peoples to explore how their cultures influence firm-level performance and international trade.

INTRODUCTION

Indigenous business and trade is occurring within an international business environment beset by uncertainty (World Trade Organisation, 2019). Yet, cross-border trade remains an important means of sustaining domestic economies, including Indigenous economies, with the value of world merchandise trade at US$19 trillion and US$5 trillion trade in commercial services in 2018 (World Trade Organisation, 2019). With the 10 leading trading nations accounting for half the value of world trade, the distribution of wealth from trade is uneven. Global value chains with integrated production systems and technological advances in products, services and trading platforms present opportunities and challenges for trading nations, agencies and firms — small and large (International Chamber of Commerce, 2013). Resistance to globalisation because of concerns over wealth imbalances, environmental degradation, weak labour standards, and incursions in state sovereignty is shifting attention from a rules-based multilateral trading system to bilateral and regional trade (Klemm Verbos, Henry, & Peredo, 2017). A progressive trade agenda in Aotearoa New Zealand, entitled 'trade for all,' is precipitating citizen-centred thinking on the role of trade (D. Parker, 2018, 2019). Meanwhile, the United States is advancing a trade agenda of its own, which is challenging unfair trade practices, renegotiating agreements in which the United States has endured trade deficits, and pressuring trading partners to improve labour and environmental standards (Lighthizer, 2019).

Increasing consideration is given to Indigenous perspectives on trade. For its part, the Ardern government in Aotearoa New Zealand has consulted Māori on trade policy as treaty partners and because Indigenous rights are one of the principles of 'trade for all' (D. Parker, 2018). The results indicate strong support among Māori for the role of trade in the Māori economy through reducing trade barriers, capacity building and Māori participation in trade policy (Public Voice, 2018). Explicit protection of treaty settlements and intellectual property was raised, as was the potential for inter-Indigenous trade (Public Voice, 2018). A similarly wide consultation in the United States with Alaska Native communities on trade is not evident. Some provision for Indigenous interests is, however, apparent in trade agreements such as the United States–Mexico–Canada Agreement (USMCA) (Office of the United States Trade Representative, 2019), though not the separate Indigenous chapter that the Canadian government was promoting (Barrera, 2018). Despite the limited provision for Indigenous rights and interests in trade policy, Alaska Native and Aotearoa Māori enterprises are continuing to engage in trade as a way to enhance the wellbeing of their respective peoples. A confluence of cultural and commercial imperatives within Indigenous economies appears to be driving this growth, and alongside this, the potential for inter-Indigenous trade is emerging (Mika, Fahey, & Bensemann, 2019).

In this paper, we explore Indigenous participation in trade and compare Māori enterprises of Aotearoa New Zealand and Alaska Native enterprises of the United States. Our analysis focuses on addressing this research question: what is the role of culture in international Indigenous business and trade? It is a conceptual paper, which reviews existing literature on how culture influences Indigenous business and trade. We hope it prompts empirical enquiry into Indigenous trade. The remainder of the paper is organised as follows. First, we discuss Māori involvement in international business and trade and the role of Māori culture in this. Second, we canvas Alaska Native culture and how this features in their trade activity. Third, we review literature on the influence of culture on international trade. Finally, we discuss elements of indigeneity — Indigenous culture and values — in terms of how this affects business and trade among Aotearoa Māori and Alaska Native enterprises.

MĀORI INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS AND TRADE

Interest in the Māori International Economy Grows

Māori are the Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, with a population of 734,200 in 2017, comprising around 15 per cent of total population of 4.79 million (Stats NZ, 2017). While there are at least 116 iwi (tribes) and many more hapū (subtribes) (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a, 2013b), all speak the same language — te reo Māori (the Māori language) — and share similar cultural values and origins (Buck, 1958; Higgins, Rewi, & Olsen-Reeder, 2014; Houkamau & Sibley, 2019).

Much has been written about the Māori economy from a domestic standpoint (see for example, Davies, 2011; MEDP, 2012b; Mika & Tahi, 2012; Nana, Stokes, & Molano, 2011a, 2011b; NZIER, 2003; Sanderson, Stokes, & Slack, 2009). Less, however, has been published about the Māori economy's international dimensions (Nana, 2013; Schulze & Stokes, 2013). Attempts to address this imbalance are confronted by an absence of data on Māori international trade and investment (Allen, 2011). Economists have had to be somewhat creative with what data exists, relying on a range of sources and assumptions to estimate the nature and scope of the Māori economy (Butterworth, 1967; Nana et al., 2011a; NZIER, 2003; Rose, 1997). The Māori international economy, comprising Māori trade (exports and imports) and investment (inward and outward), therefore remains an understudied phenomenon, partly because of gaps in data and attendant preoccupation with the domestic Māori economy in public policy (MEDP, 2012b; MET, 2010; Mika, 2010). Moreover, not all Māori are universally enamoured with trade. International trade polarises Māori opinion into two camps: first are Māori who fervently support international trade because of the benefits it affords the Māori economy and Māori people (R.N. Love, 1998; Mika, 2012); and second are Māori who vehemently oppose international trade because it has hitherto obviated Indigenous rights, worker rights and human rights (Bargh, 2007; Melbourne, 1995). At this juncture, the debate about the merits of trade from an Indigenous perspective in Aotearoa relies on values-based arguments without the benefit of empirics (Allen, 2011).

A Precolonial History of Māori International Trade

Māori were engaged in international trade before Aotearoa New Zealand was annexed by the British Monarchy in 1840 (Orange, 1987; Petrie, 2002, 2006). This included supplying Australian and Pacific Island markets with surplus goods using Māori owned ships, flourmills and tribal productive capacities (Petrie, 2002, 2006). In particular, between 1769 and 1850 tribal economic development accelerated through the entrepreneurial zeal of tribal chiefs who recognised the value of and seized upon European technologies and foods to sustain their peoples (Davis, 2006; M. Love & Waa, 1997; Mika & O'Sullivan, 2012; Petrie, 2006; Schaniel, 1985). Māori economic activity and international trade imploded, however, between 1850 and 1900 (Hawkins, 1999; Petrie, 2006). This is attributed to the effects of large scale land-loss during the New Zealand land wars, forcing Māori into the wage economy, now the main source of Māori incomes (Belich, 1998; Hawkins, 1999; NZIER, 2003; Walker, 1990). More recently, Māori international business and trade seems to be regaining momentum on the strength of Māori commodities and cultural tourism, the value of which, while growing, is comparatively modest (Henare, 1998; NZIER, 2003).

Estimating the Value of Māori Exports Is Problematic

In 2008, New Zealand's exports generated around NZ$26.9 billion in foreign exchange, representing about 30% of New Zealand's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which was 10% below the Government's target of exports at 40% of GDP (Allen, 2011). How much of this was generated by Māori is unknown, as official statistics delineating Māori exports are not available for this period (Allen, 2011; B. Parker, 2000). Some attempts have, however, been made to estimate the value of Māori exports. For instance, Māori export revenues outside of agriculture, fishing, and forestry were estimated in 1998/1999 to be worth NZ$225 million (B. Parker, 2000), while Māori exports from agriculture, fisheries, and tourism were estimated in 1999/2000 to be NZ$650 million (NZIER, 2003). A conservative estimate, therefore, suggests Māori exports in 1999/2000 were in the vicinity of NZ$875 million. This would represent about 3% of New Zealand's exports by value in 2008. Subsequent estimates of the value of Māori exports put the figure at $2.9 billion in the year to March 2010 (about 5.5 per cent of New Zealand's total exports) (Nana, 2013). Yet this estimate is plagued by the same lack of statistics on Māori business as earlier efforts. Consequently, estimates of Māori exports are underpinned by assumptions not considered statistically robust but necessary in the absence of adequate data. Māori have much ground to make up if they are to achieve parity with non-Māori exporters in industries and sectors in which Māori are predominant and to capture a share of knowledge-based exports (Nana et al., 2011b).

Māori Economy Is Export-Dependent

The Māori economy has a preponderance in commodities (about 60.1% compared with 31.4% for the New Zealand economy as a whole) (MEDC, 1999). As a consequence, the Māori economy is export-dependent and is disproportionately affected by trade barriers and adverse international market conditions (McCabe, 1999; NZIER, 2003). To alleviate this circumstance, the Māori Economic Development Commission (MEDC) recommended three strategies: (i) stronger advocacy by Māori for trade liberalisation; (ii) changing to less discriminatory markets and products, or less price sensitive consumers; and (iii) broadening the Māori asset base beyond commodities (MEDC, 1999). Evidence suggests New Zealand's Māori development, business, and trade agencies are actively supporting Māori enterprises to diversify their products, services, and markets, including producing higher value goods and services (MEDP, 2012a; NZTE, 2012; Te Puni Kkōiri, 2007).

Strengthening Māori International Trade

Māori enterprises are encouraged to participate in international trade, and it appears they are increasingly willing to do so (Allen, 2011; Henare, 1998; R.N. Love, 1998; Mika, 2012). Trade missions led by a former Minister of Māori Affairs to China and Malaysia lent Māori entrepreneurs political support (Office of the Minister of Māori Affairs, 2012a, 2012b; Xinhua, 2014). The success of these delegations is attributed to the cultural affinity between Māori and Asian counterparts and the use of *waiata*, *haka* (traditional song and dance) and *kai* (food) as a cultural prelude to formal talks (MET, 2011a). The warm reception of Māori traditions during trade missions to China is linked to cultural similarities between Māori and Chinese peoples (MET, 2011b). These include the importance of values and relationships in business, an intergenerational view of investment, and common ancestry, albeit distant (MET, 2011a; NZTE & MFAT, 2012). Māori cultural elements, such as

kaitiakitanga (stewardship), *kotahitanga* (unity), and *whanaungatanga* (relationships), differentiate Māori goods and services and Māori ways of doing business, adding value to New Zealand's brand internationally (Comer, cited in Harmsworth & Tahi, 2008a; NZTE & MFAT, 2012).

Earlier efforts by Te Puni Kōkiri and Trade New Zealand (now part of New Zealand Trade and Enterprise) were directed at facilitating inter-Indigenous trade between Māori and Canada's First Nations and American Indian tribes on the basis of their indigeneity, cultural empathy, and mutual development goals (Stephens, 1997). Indigenous cultural affinities did not, however, translate into enduring commercial success. Further research is required to understand inter-Indigenous trade efforts and the more recent focus by Māori and non-Māori enterprises on China, Japan, and Malaysia (Ihi Research, 2019).

ALASKA NATIVE INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS AND TRADE

Alaska Native Culture and Business

There is little literature on the role of Alaskan values in Alaska business. Alaska is a young state, yet its culture goes back thousands of years and has a proud history. Alaska Natives pride themselves on not having been subjugated by the Russian or U.S. government. There are eleven distinct cultures, speaking eleven languages and twenty-two dialects (Alaska Native Heritage Center, 2019). The main cultural groups are Aleut, Alutiiq, Athabaskan, Eyak, Haida, Inupiat, Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Yup'ik (Krauss, 1980). There are 229 officially recognised Alaska Native tribes (Office of the Federal Register, 2018). Traditional customs are influenced by ethnicity, origin, language, religious and spiritual beliefs, socioeconomic status, gender, sexual orientation, age, marital status, ancestry, history, gender identity, geography, and so forth (G.H. Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005; Sumner, 1959). A variety of traditions, traditional spiritual practices, and mainstream beliefs, assumptions, and faiths can blend and coexist. Many American Indian (AI) and Alaska Native (AN) spiritual beliefs and practices are considered sacred and are not to be shared publicly or with outsiders. Until passage of the *American Indian Religious Freedom Act* in 1978, many traditional AI/AN practices were illegal and kept secret (U.S. Indian Health Service, 2015; Powell & Jensen, 1976; Zotigh, 2018).

Alaska Native Corporations, Land Claims, and Engagement in Business

In the early 1970s, the Alaska Natives filed a land-claim lawsuit against the United States Government, and legislation passed on December 18, 1971, formed the state into 13 regional corporations, 12 in state with land rights, and the 13th for non-resident Alaska Natives living outside Alaska. The *Settlement Act* recognised Alaska Natives' sovereignty, granting not only land titles but also economic compensation. It created around 200 village corporations (Cheney, 2014) known as Alaska Native corporations (ANCs). The *Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act* (ANCSA) provided opportunities for Indigenous groups of Alaska to have preferential treatment in government contracting and much more. The sheer

TABLE 1
Alaska Export Destinations (2012 and 2017)

Alaska's Total World Exports 2012		Alaska's Total World Exports 2017	
China	29.00%	China	26.80%
Japan	17.00%	Japan	16.40%
South Korea	15.00%	Canada	14.30%
Canada	10.00%	South Korea	13.70%
Germany	6.00%	Germany	3.70%
Spain	3.00%	Netherlands	3.70%
Singapore	3.00%	Spain	3.30%
Netherlands	3.00%	Australia	3.20%
Australia	3.00%	Malaysia	1.80%
Belgium	1.00%	France	1.40%
Other	10.00%	Other	11.70%

size of Alaska and its location in the far north make for unique problems and situations when conducting business. The ANCSA administrative structure reflects "a tension between the goal of assimilating Alaska Natives and the goal of safeguarding the ancestral lands and culture of Alaska Natives' (London, 1989, p. 201). According to Simpson (2007), "ANCs are unique business institutions that present an interesting array of opportunities for U.S. and international transactions" (para. 1). ANCs have distinctive characteristics that open many opportunities for doing business with them.

According to Greg Wolf, executive director of the World Trade Center Alaska,

> ... what's needed is greater diversification of our economy, in terms of business activity, and also diversification of our revenue base, in terms of additional tax payers beyond a handful of oil producers. Exports, and other international business, can play a role in fostering such diversification. Already a $5 billion annual contributor to the Alaska economy, there is room for [considerably] more growth leading to a more balanced economy. (Alaska Business, 2017, p. 7)

Alaska's Expanding Trade Economy

Indeed, the remarkable expansion of Alaskan exports to China has been the dominant story for the state's international trade economy. As a result, China has become Alaska's number one trading partner. In 2012 Alaska's exports totalled $4.6 billion;, and within five years, exports increased by another $0.4 billion. Table 1 shows the top recipients of Alaskan exports (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019).

These numbers are only growing as China responds to climate change pressure by investing in LNG (liquefied natural gas), a more sustainable resource that is richly found in Alaska. An example is the Alaska Gasline Development Corporation (AGDC), signed as a joint agreement with Chinese public enterprises, Sinopec, the China Investment Corporation, and the Bank of China. The project is committed to creating 12,000 jobs and bringing an investment of $34 billion (Feng & Saha, 2018).

Alaska Native Corporations Delivering Benefits for Indigenous Communities

ANCSA is primarily made up of small businesses, meaning that virtually all shareholders are Indigenous peoples. Examples of ANCSA for-profit corporations are Sealaska, with 15,819 shareholders, the largest in terms of number of shareholders, and Doyon Ltd., which holds 12.5 million acres of land and is the largest landholder among the group (Anders & Anders, 1986). ANCSA corporations have been successfully partnering with national and international companies. Its companies represent a merging of economic and socio-cultural interests. Because there is social commitment involved in these enterprises, their services and products have cultural value, thus tending to attract loyal customers, for they offer not only a diversity of supplies with asset allocation in different sectors but also employ a diversity of workers drawing on the richness of the region's distinct cultures (Simpson, 2007).

According to the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO), Alaska Natives enrich their business dealings with their sense of cultural pride. ANCSA corporations can deliver a diversity of benefits to their shareholders as well as to other Alaska Natives. These can be classed as monetary and nonmonetary benefits. The first includes "shareholder dividends, elder benefits, scholarships, memorial benefits, shareholders' equity, and charitable donations" (U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2012, p. 1). The latter, generally accessible through partnerships with tribal organisations, village corporations, and regional nonprofit organisations, "include employment opportunities, cultural preservation, land management, economic development, and advocacy on behalf of Alaska Natives and their communities" (U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2012, p. 1).

Despite incredible diversity with each Indigenous nation having their own set of values, cultural commonalities across different tribes or communities can be found. This paper's next section looks at the role culture plays in international business and trade.

PRINCIPLES OF CULTURE IN INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS AND TRADE

The Role of Culture in International Business

Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) define culture as "a set of shared experiences, understandings, and meanings among members of a group, an organization, a community, or a nation" (cited in Ozorhon, Arditi, Dikmen, & Birgonul, 2008, p. 361). These shared understandings are represented in human knowledge, outlooks, attitudes, customs, and behaviours of a given society (Low & Leong, 2000). Organisational culture is the commonly understood meanings that separate members of one organisation from another (G.H. Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005). While culture seems impervious to a singular definition, this has not dampened scholarly enthusiasm for examining the impact of culture on international business (Gan, 2008; Ozorhon et al., 2008; Sirmon & Lane, 2004).

International trade and investment manifests in the relations and agreements reached by entrepreneurs and enterprises operating outside their country of origin. Enterprises enter international markets in different ways. While the sequencing has been challenged, the 'stages' theory of internationalisation suggests this includes exporting via agents, establishing an overseas subsidiary and overseas production (Geringer, 1988; Warriner, 2009).

Although economic reasons primarily drive international business, culture also plays some part (Ozorhon et al., 2008). Culture has the potential to influence international business and trade in three main ways: first, as a determinant where a causal relationship is assumed between entrepreneurial culture, entrepreneurial activity, and enterprise performance; second, as a catalyst where culture exerts a moderating influence on international business; and third, as an intangible effect, enhancing satisfaction and confidence between the parties (Urban, 2010).

Culture and Firm-Level and Alliance Performance

A sample of research on the role of culture in international business and trade from multiple countries and sectors is provided in Table 2. The studies have different research objectives and methodologies, with most producing empirical data on how firms behave and perform in international settings. The research indicates that culture influences product design, branding, and provenance (origin stories) in international business in obvious sectors such as tourism, but also less apparent sectors like construction and investment. Cultural adaptation is important for improving interpersonal relations and organisational effectiveness, but evidence on culture and its link to firm and alliance performance requires further study.

Despite their popularity, international joint ventures are frequently affected by instability (Gan, 2008; Parkhe, 1991, cited in Ozorhon et al., 2008). Some argue that culture, and in particular the absence of cultural compatibility, is a leading cause of such instability (Kabiraj, Lee, & Marjit, 2005; Sirmon & Lane, 2004). Ozorhon et al. (2008) adapt Hofstede's (1980, 1991) classifications of culture to assess cultural similarity between international joint venture partners in construction projects and culture's effect on enterprise performance. Ozorhon and colleagues use a mix of subjective measures (e.g., partner satisfaction) and objective measures (e.g., project performance) to quantify the impact of culture on international joint ventures (Ozorhon et al., 2008). They find that organisational level cultural similarities correlate with international joint venture performance, whereas national culture and host country culture have no discernible influence (Ozorhon et al., 2008). The conclusion drawn from this literature is that culture matters in international joint ventures involving business partners with distinct national and organisational cultures. The question is, to what extent and how?

Cultural Congruity an Enabler in International Business and Trade

We propose that cultural congruity — defined here as peoples of different national origin sharing material cultural similarities — facilitates cross-cultural business relations and alliance performance. An alliance means any business arrangement in which two or more parties from different countries are members (e.g., joint venture, agent, supplier). We suggest the opposite of cultural congruity is cultural discordance, where material cultural differences inhibit international business and trade. Cultural congruity is different from ethnocentrism, in which judgements about another's culture are made solely by reference to one's own cultural markers (e.g., language, dialect, physical features, and religion) and which connotes in-group favouritism (Hammond & Axelrod, 2006; Sumner, 1959). Neither is cultural discordance the same thing as xenophobia, which is hostility to other groups with different cultural

TABLE 2
The Influence of Culture on International Business

Author	Title	Finding	Country/(evidence)
G. Hofstede (1994)	International business is culture	Managers in international firms must be familiar with aspects of cross-border organisational life so that management practice is culturally relative.	Multiple countries (empirical)
Barnett (2001)	Manaakitanga: Māori hospitality	Māori culture provides an important means of attracting overseas visitors, reflected in national tourism marketing.	New Zealand (empirical)
Lin (2004)	Determinations of cultural adaptation	Cultural differences can lead to misunderstanding. Improved cultural adaptation may improve financial performance and interpersonal relationships.	China (empirical)
Ozorhon et al. (2008)	Implications of culture	Although economic reasons primarily drive international business, culture also plays some part.	USA and Tukey (empirical)
Harmsworth and Tahi (2008b)	Indigenous branding	Māori culture influences outward trade by Māori enterprises in several cases (p. 11).	New Zealand (empirical)
Gan (2008b)	Professional culture compatibility	Cultural adaptation in China extends beyond adapting business practice to understanding others from a cultural perspective.	China (empirical)
Urban (2010)	Frontiers in entrepreneurship	Culture has the potential to influence international business and trade as a determinant or a catalyst, or indirectly	South Africa (conceptual and empirical)
Kalhor, Shahi, and Horri (2014)	Effect of culture on international trade	Culture is recognised as one of the main factors of successful marketing and promotes local production.	Iran (empirical)
Apetrei, Kureshi, and Horodnic (2015)	When culture shapes international business	National culture influences international management in large firms, but this is hard to identify in small firms.	Europe (empirical)

features from one's own (Hammond & Axelrod, 2006). Cultural congruity is premised on a commitment to overcome cultural difference in pursuit of shared business goals. Cultural congruity is concerned with alignment of business interests through cross-cultural exchanges; cultural congruity being an enabler, cultural discordance being a constraint. The goal is cultural fit or cultural compatibility despite cultural differences, where, paradoxically, commonality is to be found within diversity (Gan, 2008a).

CASE STUDIES OF AOTEAROA MĀORI AND ALASKA NATIVE ENTERPRISES

Indigenous Values Influence Enterprise and Product Authenticity

Most literature on the role of Māori values in Māori business is internally oriented (i.e., how values affect what firms do and how firms behave) rather than externally oriented (i.e., how one firm relates to another) (Best & Love, 2011; Harmsworth, 2005; M. Kawharu, Tapsell, & Woods, 2012; Tinirau & Gillies, 2010). The question, is what is the role of Māori culture in Māori international business and trade? Several authors explore this question in relation to Māori branding, exporting, tourism, and investment (Cairns, 2013; Harmsworth & Tahi, 2008b; Jones, Gilbert, & Morrison-Briars, 2004, 2005; Warriner, 1999). For example, Jones et al. (2004) find that being Māori does not provide Māori tourism enterprises with a competitive advantage. Instead, Māori culture adds value in terms of product and service authenticity; less certain are they about the impact of Māori values on enterprise performance. Barnett (2001) is more emphatic that Māori culture provides an important means of attracting overseas visitors, which is endorsed by the marketing efforts of New Zealand's tourism promotion agency (Tourism New Zealand, 2013).

Commitment to Community Distinguishes Indigenous Enterprises

Bunten (2010) completed a comparative study between Alaska Natives and Māori in terms of their successful engagement with the tourism industry. She argues that both cases are examples of "ethically sound businesses" capable of being "responsive to local value systems" (p. 287). This means that these enterprises are, at the same time, Indigenous owned and commercially oriented, following cultural protocols as they attend to tourist expectations, and finding congruity between commercial enterprise and cultural integrity. Thus, the main difference between Indigenous and non-Indigenous-owned tourism are their principles and commitment to community. As such, a successful enterprise is not only limited to profit, but also empowers the community, particularly through the rise in long-term employment. Indigenous tourism in these two countries also has in common "collective leadership, stewardship of land and natural resources, cultural perpetuation", and a purpose of bringing environmental and cultural consciousness through education (Bunten, 2010, p. 301).

Indigenous Values Influence Branding and Business Practice

In the specific case of Aotearoa New Zealand, Harmsworth and Tahi (2008b) find that Māori and non-Māori enterprises are using elements of Māori culture in the branding of their products and services in local and overseas markets. The risks of misuse and misappropriation of *tohu* Māori (symbols of Māori culture) by non-Māori enterprises locally and internationally are increasing, yet protection mechanisms have not kept pace (Harmsworth & Tahi, 2008b; Mead, 1994). Harmsworth and Tahi (2008b) identify a number of Māori enterprises that incorporate Māori values into their products, services, and business operations.

One in particular is *kono*, which means food basket in Māori (Ngata, 1993). Kono is a diversified food-based subsidiary of Wakatū Incorporation based in Nelson at the top of the South Island (Kono NZ, 2014). Kono was established in 2011 from the consolidation of different enterprises into three divisions: Kono Horticulture; Kono Seafood; and Kono Beverages (Kono NZ, 2012). Kono collectively employs 250 staff and farms around 500 hectares of land and sea (Kono NZ, 2014). Kono infuses Māori values into its branding — the way it does business and how it relates to its principal export customers, particularly China (Kono NZ, 2012). Kono identifies with four main values: (i) *kaitiakitanga* (custodians of land and sea); (ii) *whanaungatanga* (respectful relationships); (iii) *manaakitanga* (hosting and caring for others); and (iv) *rangatiratanga* (self-determination) (Palmer, cited in Kono NZ, 2012). These values, they argue, are fundamental to building a sustainable business, with intergenerational impact, and enduring international relationships (Kono NZ, 2012). Precisely how these values play out in international business relations and deal-making for Kono and other similar Māori enterprises is not widely known and warrants further research.

Indigenous Values Influence Domestic Social Ties

Warriner (2009) finds that Māori culture is not a strong factor in the branding of Māori exports in the creative sector. Instead, Māori exporters are motivated by demand for their products and services rather than the prospect of an intercultural exchange. Māori exporters rate in-country compliance costs and finding suitable agents and distributors as challenges ahead of cultural differences in overseas markets (Warriner, 2009). While *tikanga* (Māori values and customs) is important for some Māori exporters in terms of business strategy and organisational processes, this needs to be balanced against Western principles of business. Warriner (2009) gives little comment on the role of Māori culture in relationships with overseas business partners (e.g., agents, distributors, investors) and deal-making. Rather, Māori culture is discussed as a catalyst to cementing domestic ties between entrepreneurs and their support network of family, friends, and associates.

Indigenous Values Influence Intercultural Firm-Level Commitment

Harmsworth and Tahi (2008b) give examples of Māori culture influencing outward trade by Māori enterprises in other countries. The same principles, it is argued, apply with equal facility to inward trade and investment by overseas business partners in Māori enterprises within Aotearoa New Zealand. Two examples illustrate this: first, Te Arawa Group Holdings Limited (TAGH) of Rotorua; and second, Whitau Limited and the Red8 Group in the nearby Mataatua tribal district (Mika, 2014). TAGH was established in March 2007 as an investment company of Te Pūmautanga o Te Arawa, a trust comprising eleven affiliated Te Arawa *iwi* (tribes) and *hapū* (subtribes). TAGH's primary purpose is to grow its treaty settlement cash assets of NZ$34 million on behalf of affiliated tribes (Mika, 2011). When engaging with overseas business partners, TAGH focuses on establishing enduring business relationships based on *tikanga* Māori (Mika, 2015). As a sign of good faith, TAGH and its business partners, including multinational corporations from China and Japan, entered into a *kawenata* (agreement). This is a formal, yet non-binding, pact that signifies mutual understanding and respect. The acculturation process implicit within the kawenata and associated customs has been favourably received by TAGH's overseas partners (Mika, 2014).

In the Mataatua district a consortium of Māori enterprises were formulating plans with Chinese business partners to invest in agribusiness projects. The Māori consortium instituted the Whitau Sovereign Agreement as a mechanism to facilitate cross-cultural understanding with overseas business partners (Mika, 2016). *Whitau* means flax fibre and is a metaphor for quality (Moorfield, 2011). The sovereignty component represents Māori as self-determining Indigenous peoples with customary rights affirmed in the Treaty of Waitangi (I.H. Kawharu, 1989; Orange, 1987). In practical terms the Whitau Sovereign Agreement first involves a number of cross-cultural exchanges overseen and directed by *kaumātua* (esteemed elders), in which Chinese business partners engage in Māori culture with Māori people, then Māori commerce proceeds (Mika, 2016).

Indigenous Culture Can Strengthen Cross-Cultural Business and Trade

In the case of Native Alaskans, Cheney (2014) builds on the ideas of Anders and Anders (1986), which hold that Indigenous traditional values typically conflict with corporate goals. Cheney (2014) looks at Sealaska Corporation's ongoing efforts to promote Native culture and language as well as community development and political empowerment. He argues that rather than being an obstacle, culture can strengthen native businesses by assisting them, for example, in maintaining effective leadership and operating in cross-cultural environments. Dealing effectively with international partners has been a key skill for Native Alaskan entrepreneurs, as it has with Māori. Official figures show the important role played by exports in Alaska's economy, with the state having exported $4.9 billion in made-in-America goods in 2017, which translates to around US$6,700 for every resident, given Alaska's population of 739,795 people (Workman, 2018). The largest trading partner was China, which expends $1.3 billion in goods imports from Alaska (Workman, 2018). Other partners were Japan ($812 million), Canada ($707 million), South Korea ($675 million), and Germany ($182 million). International trade also played a fundamental role in creating jobs, inasmuch as it sustained approximately 37,000 jobs that same year (Workman, 2018).

CONCLUSION

There are several reasons why culture and cultural congruity in international business should matter to Indigenous entrepreneurs, researchers, and policy makers. First, cross-cultural dynamics of managing enterprises in multiple host nations is a long-term prospect — mastery of this is essential for managerial and enterprise success. Second, cultural congruity may reduce the risks and transaction costs of international business. Third, as the Māori and Native Alaskan economies are export-dependent, Indigenous enterprises are increasingly looking overseas for consumers, business partners, investors, and suppliers. In this scenario, cultural congruity may serve as one criterion when assessing internationalisation options. There is some acknowledgement, however, of the need for balance between commercial and cultural imperatives. This implies caution against over-playing the role of culture at the expense of fundamental principles of commerce (that is, enterprise profitability and survival). Fourth, by incorporating their culture in respectful ways, Indigenous enterprises are legitimising an alternative approach to doing business internationally, which honours the cultural origins and practices of the parties.

Aotearoa New Zealand and Alaska both have astonishing natural environments and strong Indigenous cultures, as well as similar histories of collective land management systems that respect harvesting cycles and the rights to fish and hunt of traditional groups. With Māori and Alaska Native people firmly set on expanding trade with China and other Asian countries, Indigenous culture offers a point of difference not only in product and service quality and authenticity, but also in the authenticity of relationships with international business partners. There is more to learn about the value and nature of this point of difference, presenting interesting lines of enquiry for Indigenous and non-Indigenous management scholars alike.

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Discovering the Meaning of Leadership: A Canadian First Nations Exploration[1]

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ABSTRACT

First Nations Canadians are in a unique cultural context, with values resulting from both traditional, heritage influences and Eurocentric Canadian influences. Different patterns of endorsing heritage versus mainstream values have resulted. This research examined leadership preferences in First Nations individuals. Linking acculturation patterns to descriptors of leadership attributes that enhance or inhibit outstanding leadership, characteristics of leadership prototypes were developed for members of four acculturative strategy groups. These leadership prototypes were then compared with existing academic leadership theories.

[1] In an effort to be sensitive to the derogatory effects of colloquial language and prescribed Indigenous terminology, the following terms are used throughout this work when referring to Indigenous Canadians, without reference to their specific origins and identities: Native Canadian(s), First Nation(s), and First Peoples. Terms such as Aboriginal or Indian are only used only if they are part of a quotation or material referenced from another source or are used in legislation or policy and only in the context of discussion of that legislation or policy. Likewise, Native Canadian is used explicitly in place of Native American unless the latter term is part of a quotation from another source. Native 'Canadian' is used to clearly identify this work as set in the context of the larger Canadian society, as opposed to other parts of North America.

While the important contributions to Canadian history and present society by the nations of the Métis and Inuit peoples are not discounted, this work focuses strictly on First Nations people and their conceptions of leadership.

INTRODUCTION

The pluralistic nature of Canadian society creates an interesting dynamic in terms of leadership research. Native Canadians are in a unique situation compared to others who might be termed visible minorities in Canada. As an Indigenous minority people, their experiences with leadership are founded on strong values and traditions, but layered with history and leadership experiences based on values and expectations of the culture(s) of those who came later as colonizers. History is marred by multiple examples of European autocratic leadership that made formal attempts to exterminate First Nations peoples. When these attempts ultimately failed, religious and national leadership tried to influence the assimilation of the surviving First Nations individuals into the now dominant Canadian society. Reserve systems, Indian agents, and residential school systems sought, through leadership, to exemplify North American ideals of hierarchy, bureaucracy, meritocracy, and power.

PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

The purpose of this research was to examine the relationship between acculturation strategies and implicit leadership preferences. The relationship between these constructs was examined from a Native Canadian context — one not typically explored in leadership research, but a relationship that should be examined due to the unique positioning of First Nations Canadians as a subculture within a dominant Eurocentric culture.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Historically researchers have focused on the role of the leader as directing the activities of others, and have often ignored the role the followers or subordinates play in actually receiving and complying with this leadership direction (Lord, Brown, & Freiberg, 1999). Contrary to the perspective of followers as passive receivers of leadership, there is a growing body of research that views leadership through a follower-centric lens (Baker, 2007), with followers identified as active participants in the leadership process. Two areas are of particular importance to this perspective. First is an understanding of the effect of follower ideology (e.g. Uhl-Bien, Marion, & McKelvery, 2007), and the second is the idea of implicit leadership theories (e.g., Lord, Foti, & DeVader, 1984), which highlights the importance of realizing that followers come to leadership situations with preformed schemas of prototypical leadership examples to fit each specific context.

Followership Ideology

Meindl and his colleagues (1985) used theory and research to develop a follower-centred perspective on leadership, demonstrating that the leadership process is constructed by followers, not leaders (Meindl, 1995; Meindl, Ehrlich, & Dukerich, 1985). According to this research stream, leadership emergence and effectiveness is heavily influenced by the cognitive processes of followers, as well as the social processes between followers (Day Gronn, & Sales, 2004; Maroosis, 2008). Both personalities and values of followers impact preferences for leadership style (Thoroughgood & Sawyer, 2018). This, in conjunction with

the social dynamics of the group, sets the stage for how leaders are perceived and to some extent dictate the willingness of followers to comply with directives.

Lord (2008) also refers to leadership as a mutual influence process, whereby a leader's behaviour is reflective of both subordinate performance and the attributions the leader makes with respect to that performance. Likewise, follower performance and the ability of the leader to motivate performance is indicative of the credit given by the follower to the social power of the leader and the degree to which the leader fits the leadership schemas possessed by the follower (Lord, 2008). Followers interpret "social processes ... based on their own internal cognitive and affective schema, and followers' responses are guided by self-regulatory structures that are closely tied to their active self-identity" (Lord, 2008, p. 256). Leadership receptiveness and effectiveness is therefore determined by follower schemas.

Uhl-Bien and Pillai (2007) contend that leadership is socially constructed at both the individual and the group levels. At the group level, follower perceptions are aggregated and transformed through the social processes that define the group, resulting in informal social structures that also exert influence over the leadership process (Lord, 2008). Leaders, therefore, have the ability to effect change in followers' self-regulatory structures, but at the same time are constrained by the social structures that have emerged as part of the dynamics of the followers' group (Lord, 2008; Uhl-Bien & Pillai, 2007). The leadership relationship is based on influence whereby followers participate actively, lending their support to those leaders who reflect their mutual purposes. In this sense then "followership is not a part of leadership — leadership is a part of followership" (Adair, 2008, p. 138).

Implicit Leadership

A more recent development guided by the follower-centric approach is the conception of underlying individual level ideals regarding leadership (Lord et al., 1984). This line of research suggests that followers use implicit, preconceived notions regarding what constitutes a leader in order to determine whether or not a particular individual fits the proposed leadership role. Moreover, these preconceived ideals are used to determine whether the person will have the ability to exert influence over the follower and to what degree.

Implicit leadership theories go beyond social exchange. In other words, in order for an individual to be deemed a leader, it must be perceived, and then accepted, that the individual has the required behaviours and traits to be an effective leader within a specific context (Lord & Maher, 1991). In this manner, the process of leadership lies not solely in the social exchange of influence and coercion (as in transactional leadership; Bass, 1990; or paternalistic leadership; Aycan et al., 2000), but rather in the recognition of the "fit between an observed person's characteristics with the perceiver's implicit ideas of what 'leaders' are" (Den Hartog, House, Hanges, & Ruiz-Quintanilla, 1999, p. 225).

Implicit leadership theories are categorization systems that are relied upon during information processing to encode, interpret, process, and recall specific events and behaviours, which ultimately develop into heuristics that people rely on in order to interpret new experiences (Shaw, 1990). For example, an individual who has had multiple experiences with various leaders will begin to develop schemas consistent with the positive and negative outcomes associated with those previous experiences. Faced with a similar circumstance, the individual will draw on this prototype (collection of characteristics and traits) to assess the fit between the characteristics and behaviours of an emerging leader to determine his or her potential effectiveness in this scenario (Den Hartog et al., 1999). In this regard, followers are

instrumental in the development of the leadership process, by virtue of their perceptions of what it means to be a leader (Baker, 2007; Lord et al., 1999).

Culture

Leadership preferences and prototypes are impacted by follower values, including salient cultural values (Thiagarajan & Lukas, 1971; House Javidan, Hanges, & Dorfman, 2002). Lord and Maher (1991) argue that culture actually plays a significant role in the formation of leadership prototypes (see also, Den Hartog et al., 1999; Kriger & Seng, 2005; and Shafer, Vieregge, & Youngsoo, 2005). Specifically, they argue that leadership perceptions can be derived from either inference or recognition. Leadership can be attributed (i.e., inferred) as a result of outcomes of a specific event or sequence of events. Alternatively, leadership can be recognized based on the perceived "fit" between a person's personal characteristics and behaviours, and the context — leadership is perceived in accordance with implicit assumptions regarding how a leader behaves in a given situation. Attribution tendencies and implicit assumptions are derivative of cultural norms and artifacts (Den Hartog et al., 1999; Lord & Maher, 1991). As such, it is important to consider the nature of culture as it pertains to the development of leadership prototypes and the distinction between prototypes that arise in different cultural contexts. Specifically, in the context of this research, culture was examined by addressing the issue of acculturation and the plausibility that the degree of acculturation to the mainstream culture may in fact influence leadership preferences.

Acculturation

Acculturation occurs when two or more groups with different cultures come into first-hand contact with one another on a continuous basis, and where that contact results in changes or adaptations in individuals from one or more of the groups (Berry, 1997). Acculturation can be voluntary, in the sense that one group actively pursues contact with another group by freely choosing to make the move to another cultural environment; it can also be involuntary — for example, refugees, who make a move under duress to escape extreme social or political hardships that gravely affect personal safety. Alternately, acculturation can be both involuntary and imposed, as in the case of conquered nations (e.g., colonialism and Indigenous people).

In today's multicultural society, and as a direct effect of culture as well as acculturation, many individuals are faced with interpreting social interactions through more than one cultural lens. Recent immigrants interpret situations with schemata (categorization systems shaped by values, beliefs, and attitudes) that may differ from those possessed by those who have been in a new culture for a longer period of time. These schemata are influenced by individuals' home culture as well as by their acquired level of acculturation within the mainstream society. Similarly, it is plausible to consider that Indigenous minority groups (i.e., First Peoples) may also possess schemas that may lead to conceptualizations of social processes that differ from those found in the mainstream culture. The extent of this difference may be relative to the degree of change that has occurred as a function of their level of acculturation. According to Berry (1997), in deciding *how* to acculturate, individuals and groups have to resolve two issues: "Is it considered to be of value to maintain one's identity and characteristics? Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with larger soci-

ety?" In the context of this research, different acculturative strategies indicate the degree to which First Nations individuals adhere to their heritage worldviews or to those of the mainstream Anglo-Canadian culture. Research suggests that First Nations individuals in Canada generally resolve these issues by conforming to one of four patterns of acculturation (Stonefish & Kwantes, 2017). The first is maintaining identification with both mainstream and heritage acculturation ("Attached"), while others maintain lower attachment to both ("Detached"). The third is to have attachment to both cultures but slightly stronger attachment to heritage ("Heritage Positive"), and the fourth is to have attachments to both but with stronger attachment to mainstream culture ("Mainstream Positive"). Drawing on existing leadership theories from academic literature, the current research examined characteristics of leadership prototypes for members of each of these groups and compared these with existing (mainstream) leadership theories and prototypes.

METHODOLOGY

Participants

Participants were recruited using the snowball technique, and the final sample comprised 73 female and 30 male adults between the ages of 22 and 70 (M = 46.21, SD = 13.49, median 47) who self-identified as Native Canadian. Participants represented 11 First Nations from across Canada. The majority of participants had lived at some point on reserve (range 0–69 years), with 75% of participants meeting the original five year residency requirement. Nearly 69% of participants had a college diploma or higher, and 81.6% were employed at the time of completing the survey. With respect to employment history, 45.6% of participants indicated that their previous employment had been predominantly on reserve.

Survey and Measures

The survey invitation received by email invited participants to complete the survey online or to request a paper-and-pencil copy be mailed to them. Fifty-eight participants completed the survey online; 37 requested and returned paper-and-pencil versions. These methods have been found to be largely congruent (De Beuckelaer & Lievens, 2009; Davidov & Depner, 2011), and statistical analysis of the data for the current research also reviewed no significant differences.

Vancouver Index of Acculturation

Acculturation was measured using the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). This measure consists of 20 items rated on a 9 point Likert-type scale, where 1 indicates *strongly disagree* and 9 indicates *strongly agree*. Items indicating attachment to heritage culture include *I often participate in my heritage cultural traditions*, while items indicating attachment to mainstream culture include *I often participate in mainstream North American cultural traditions*. Based on the pattern of attachment to the two cultures, participants were grouped into the four categories identified by Stonefish and Kwantes (2017): Detached (low on both heritage and mainstream), Attached (high on both heritage and mainstream), Mainstream Positive (higher on mainstream than heritage), and Heritage Positive (higher on heritage than mainstream).

Leadership Behaviours

Behaviours and characteristics associated with leadership were derived from the GLOBE studies (Hanges & Dickson, 2004). Participants were asked to rate seventy leadership characteristics on a Likert scale from 1–7, according to the extent to which they believed that the particular behaviour or characteristic (1) *greatly inhibits a person from being an outstanding leader* to (7) *contributes greatly to a person being an outstanding leader*, with (4) indicating that the item *has no impact on whether a person is an outstanding leader.* Example items of behaviours and characteristics include: *Domineering* (*Inclined to dominate others*) and *Trustworthy* (*Deserves trust, can be believed and relied upon to keep his or her word*).

RESULTS

Mean levels of endorsement of each of the behaviours or characteristics were calculated separately for each acculturation group. An examination of the responses for each behaviour or characteristic individually indicated that there were several significant differences in the level of endorsement for many of the items. One-way ANOVA with Scheffe post hoc analyses suggest that the Detached group in particular has a significantly different level of endorsement of a number of the leadership behaviours and characteristics when taken one at a time (see Table 1).

TABLE 1
Mean Levels of Attribute Endorsement by Group

Leader Attributes	Detached	Attached	Mainstream Positive	Heritage Positive
Administratively skilled[1]	5.43	6.51	6.29	6.10
Anticipatory[1]	4.79	5.86	5.85	5.96
Arrogant[1]	2.14	1.41	1.86	1.70
Asocial[1]	2.07	1.54	1.86	1.50
Autocratic[1]	2.57	1.83	2.64	2.25
Autonomous[1]	3.86	3.61	3.43	3.10
Bossy[1]	2.79	1.83	1.93	1.85
Calm	4.64	6.24	6.07	5.65
Clear	5.43	6.46	6.64	6.50
Collaborative[1]	5.36	6.44	6.07	6.25
Compassionate	4.79	6.02	5.89	5.80
Consultative	4.93	6.15	5.96	6.00
Convincing[1]	4.29	5.20	5.36	5.45
Decisive[1]	5.07	5.63	5.50	5.55
Dependable[3]	5.57	6.54	6.32	6.65
Dictatorial	2.64	1.39	1.71	1.55
Diplomatic[2]	4.43	6.61	6.61	6.40
Dishonest[1]	1.71	1.22	1.36	1.20
Distant[1]	2.21	1.63	2.04	1.50

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Table 1 continued.

Leader Attributes	Detached	Attached	Mainstream Positive	Heritage Positive
Domineering[1]	2.14	1.41	1.68	1.50
Egocentric[1]	2.29	1.34	1.71	1.55
Egotistical[1]	2.21	1.51	1.50	1.55
Encouraging[2]	4.79	6.54	6.43	6.65
Enthusiastic	5.00	6.37	5.93	5.90
Evasive[1]	2.86	3.73	3.86	3.60
Formal[3]	4.36	5.73	5.57	5.95
Fraternal	3.57	4.02	4.30	5.07
Generous[1]	4.71	5.85	5.68	5.20
Honest[2]	4.86	6.51	6.39	6.75
Improvement-oriented[1]	4.71	5.83	5.86	5.50
Independent[1]	3.79	4.05	3.64	4.45
Inspirational[2]	5.07	6.63	6.43	6.40
Integrator[1]	4.21	5.54	5.54	4.80
Intellectually Stimulating[2]	4.43	6.34	6.21	6.20
Intelligent[3]	5.29	6.71	6.29	6.40
Intra-group Competitor[1]	2.86	2.73	3.11	2.95
Intra-group Conflict Avoider[1]	3.64	3.37	3.71	3.70
Irritable[1]	1.86	1.56	1.86	1.50
Just2	4.36	6.39	6.07	6.40
Loner[1]	2.14	1.73	2.21	1.75
Loyal[1]	4.93	6.10	5.61	5.55
Mediator[2]	4.43	6.51	5.89	6.35
Modest[3]	4.29	6.10	5.36	6.35
Morale Booster[2]	4.93	6.44	6.32	6.65
Motivational[2]	5.07	6.54	6.39	6.35
Motive Arouser[2]	4.71	6.15	6.29	6.30
Non-egalitarian[1]	2.36	1.61	1.64	1.20
Non-explicit[1]	2.43	2.59	2.79	2.20
Orderly[1]	4.93	5.41	5.54	5.55
Positive[2]	4.64	6.71	6.46	5.90
Prepared	5.36	6.39	6.07	5.85
Provocateur[1]	2.71	2.32	2.71	4.00
Risk Averse[1]	2.86	3.02	3.89	3.30
Risk Taker[1]	3.43	4.32	3.46	4.10
Ruthless[1]	2.21	1.51	1.71	1.65
Secretive[1]	2.29	1.80	2.04	1.45
Self-effacing[2]	3.93	5.83	5.75	5.45
Self-interested[1]	3.50	2.12	2.39	3.60
Self-sacrificial[2]	4.29	5.85	5.79	5.45
Sensitive[1]	4.07	5.12	5.46	5.60
Sincere[2]	4.64	6.56	6.39	6.25
Subdued[1]	2.64	3.15	2.96	3.25
Tender[1]	2.29	2.34	2.71	2.70
Trustworthy[2]	4.36	6.80	6.50	6.55
Tyrannical[1]	2.29	1.41	1.64	1.45
Unique[1]	4.86	5.22	4.89	5.10
Vindictive[1]	1.93	1.46	1.50	1.20
Visionary[3]	5.43	6.61	6.36	6.70
Win/Win Problem-solver[2]	4.50	6.39	6.25	6.05
Worldly[2]	4.29	5.71	5.86	5.65

Notes: 1. No significant differences between groups; 2. Detached group is significantly different than others; 3. No single group was statistically significantly different from all other groups.

TABLE 2
Characteristics That Enhance and Inhibit Outstanding Leadership by Acculturation Group

Detached	Attached	Mainstream Positive	Heritage Positive
Attributes Enhancing Outstanding Leadership			
Dependable	Trustworthy	Clear	Honest
Administratively Skilled	Positive	Diplomatic	Visionary
Clear	Intelligent	Trustworthy	Encouraging
Visionary	Inspirational	Positive	Morale Booster
Collaborative	Diplomatic	Inspirational	Dependable
Attributes Inhibiting Outstanding Leadership			
Domineering	Arrogant	Tyrannical	Tyrannical
Asocial	Domineering	Non-egalitarian	Secretive
Vindictive	Dictatorial	Vindictive	Vindictive
Irritable	Egocentric	Egotistical	Non-egalitarian
Dishonest	Dishonest	Dishonest	Dishonest

When the level of endorsement of the various leadership behaviours and characteristics are rank ordered within acculturation groups, some interesting patterns emerge. Table 2 presents the top five behaviours or characteristics indicated as contributing to outstanding leadership as well as the five that are viewed as most strongly inhibiting outstanding leadership in each acculturation group.

DISCUSSION

At the specific item level, there were few items that were viewed as significantly different by members of the four acculturation groups. However, when examining the rank ordering of the items, some intriguing patterns emerged in how individuals in the four acculturation groups view the behaviours and characteristics that relate to outstanding leadership and those that most strongly inhibit outstanding leadership. With respect to endorsement of characteristics that lead to successful leadership, the Attached and Mainstream Positive groups had a great deal of similarity, in that four of the five top characteristics were shared (Trustworthy, Positive, Diplomatic, Inspirational), while the Heritage Positive and Detached groups shared two of the top five characteristics (Visionary and Dependable).The most noteworthy finding was that, regardless of acculturation strategies of the group, all groups were unanimous in identifying "Dishonest — fraudulent, insincere" as being the characteristic that most inhibits an individual from being an outstanding leader. Interestingly, this is not one of the leadership attributes that the GLOBE project reported as a characteristic universally rejected as a descriptor of an outstanding leader in their multinational research (House & Javidan, 2004). The Mainstream Positive and the Heritage Positive groups both reported "Tyrannical" and "Non-Egalitarian" as the characteristics that most strongly inhibit outstanding leadership.

Detached

The detached acculturation strategy shares similarities with marginalization (Berry, 1997). This strategy results in individuals who are, to an extent, disconnected from both the mainstream culture and their heritage culture. Stonefish and Kwantes (2017) suggest that individuals who adopt this acculturation strategy may adopt a more individualistic worldview, and focus on their own individual uniqueness rather than their group membership. Their research found that this strategy was related to placing a relatively high emphasis on the value of power — that is, control over resources and control over people. Interestingly, in this research, the group that comprised individuals who report a detached acculturative strategy was the only group to endorse "Administratively Skilled" as one of the top five leadership characteristics that lead to success. They also had the only emphasis on relationships as important to leadership, in that they endorsed "Collaborative" as a skill leading to success, and "Asocial" as a skill inhibiting leadership success. Further, "Irritable" was one of the five characteristics most strongly and negatively related to leadership success.

For those who indicated a Detached strategy of acculturation, the characteristics and behaviours most related to successful leadership were Dependable, Administrative Skill, Clear, Visionary, and Collaborative. Those that most inhibited leadership success were Dishonest, Irritable, Vindictive, Asocial, and Domineering. This pattern of leadership preferences ties in most closely with descriptions of transactional leadership. Transactional leadership is an exchange-based relationship, focusing on transactions where followers' needs are met by the leader in accordance with their performance, or "the proper exchange of resources" (Judge & Piccolo, 2004, p. 755). Transactional leaders focus on administrative tasks, ensure that subordinates have role and task clarity, and reward efforts with pay and recognition (Bass, 1985). While many leadership types identified by theorists have characteristics in common, it was thought that behaviours that members of this group considered important to leadership were most strongly related to transactional-type leadership due to the high level of importance placed on both "dependable" and "administratively skilled" as the top two characteristics of a good leader.

Attached

Individuals who indicated that they had a high degree of attachment with both cultures comprised the "Attached" group. These individuals place a high emphasis on their ties with both their heritage culture and the mainstream Canadian culture. They tend to place little value on power, either over things or people, and have a strong endorsement of social equality with a commitment to justice and tolerance (Stonefish & Kwantes, 2017). The leadership attributes most closely related to leadership success for this group were: Trustworthy, Positive, Intelligent, Inspirational, and Diplomatic, while the attributes least related to success were Arrogant, Domineering, Dictatorial, Egocentric, and Dishonest.

This pattern of responses is very reminiscent of charismatic leadership. According to Avolio and colleagues (2009) a charismatic leader transforms the "needs, values, and aspirations of followers from individual to collective interests" (p. 286). Charismatic leaders articulate clear and appealing visions, are skilled at motivating subordinates, inspiring activity and creativity, and are trustworthy and honest. The style of leadership is positive, encouraging, and enthusiastic, characteristics which support morale boosting and being able to easily persuade people to a certain point of view. One of the key characteristics of charismatic leadership is the affective nature of the leader–follower relationship (Lang, 1991), and an emphasis on a collective identity (Yukl, 1999). Shamir, House, and Arthur (1993) theorized

that situational keys to successful charismatic leadership include opportunities for connecting values to actions, when it is not clear what performance goals are, and when there are high levels of uncertainty. It may not be surprising, therefore, that this type of leader is preferred by those who are simultaneously attached to both mainstream and heritage cultures.

Mainstream Positive

While members of this group have some attachment to both mainstream and heritage cultures, the attachment to the mainstream culture is stronger. They maintain heritage values, to an extent, but are motivated to fit in with mainstream culture. While valuing power, those who opt for this acculturative strategy also value equality and justice and have lower tolerance for individual differences (Stonefish & Kwantes, 2017). The leadership attributes most strongly tied to success were almost identical to those indicated by the Attached group: Diplomatic, Trustworthy, Positive, and Inspirational. Rather than "Intelligent" however, the Mainstream Positive indicated "Clear" (easily understood) as the fifth attribute associated with outstanding leadership. With respect to the attributes deemed to most strongly inhibit outstanding leadership, there was less overlap with the Attached group — only "Dishonest" was indicated by both. The Mainstream Positive group reported Egotistical, Vindictive, Non-egalitarian, and Tyrannical as the attributes that most strongly inhibited leadership success.

This pattern of leadership characteristics is consistent with definitions of team oriented leadership; Team-oriented leadership has a core focus of organizing people toward a goal (House & Javidan, 2004). Team-oriented leadership emphasizes "effective team building and implementation of a common purpose or goal among team members" (House & Javidan, 2004, p. 24). This style of leadership facilitates autonomy and actively supports individual diversity in order to meet the desired goals of the group. It is not surprising to find these perceptions of leadership qualities as leading to or inhibiting success, as this perception in some way reflects Native worldviews of collectivist decision making and to some degree decentralized leadership, in that the team-oriented leader acts to facilitate group activity by removing the hierarchical structure of leadership and working on an even plane with subordinates to coordinate activity and collaborate with the team. This pattern of attribute endorsement also has echoes of Eurocentric culture, in that mainstream Canadian culture has been described as individualistic, therefore emphasizing autonomy, as well as valuing collective goals (House & Javidan, 2004).

Heritage Positive

Individuals who form this group have attachments to both mainstream and heritage cultures, but stronger ties to the heritage culture. Consistent with this, members of this group often make efforts to contribute to their heritage culture groups and to cultivate traditions (Stonefish & Kwantes, 2017). Given that there are ties to both cultures, however, it is important to note that individuals in this group, while endorsing a connection to tradition and heritage cultures, still maintain some level of connection with the more mainstream Eurocentric culture of Canada. Thus, some level of individualistic motivation may persist, even while pursuing a connection to heritage groups and traditions. Consistent with this, the attributes most strongly related to outstanding leadership endorsed by this group were Honest, Visionary, Encouraging, Morale Booster, and Dependable. The leadership attributes viewed as most inhibitive of successful leadership were Dishonest, Non-egalitarian, Vindictive, Secretive, and Tyrannical.

Not surprisingly, the pattern of attitudes endorsed by this group is suggestive of servant leadership. Servant leadership represents a style of leading that honours equality, integrity, empowerment, empathy, and humility. Individuals employing this leadership style are service motivated and endorse fairness, shared responsibility, creativity and a future orientation. They foster teamwork, collaboration, and connectedness within the group. Moreover, they forego personal gains in favour of the greater good, exhibiting characteristics of compassion and modesty (Mittal & Dorfman, 2012). Servant leadership traits have much in common with Native worldviews. For example, the recognition of the reciprocal nature of learning and influence results in promoting an equal distribution of power and resources and acknowledges that each member of the team makes a valid contribution to the group. This leadership style emphasizes behaving with integrity and fairness; trustworthiness and dependability are a natural result.

A servant leader will position himself or herself to benefit intrinsically from the knowledge that the follower can impart and then redistribute that knowledge for the benefit of the whole. Understanding that this relationship is reciprocal, the servant leader will motivate and inspire rather than restrict and direct so that the group may benefit beyond the sum of its parts. Moreover, servant leadership has a collective component whereby the greater good is always being served (Mittal & Dorfman, 2012). Equal rights and privileges for all, collaboration, intellectual stimulation, compassion, and self-sacrifice all serve to enhance the collective. When the collective goes beyond the work team, sports team, or other micro-social system, to the larger social network, heritage culture will not only be endorsed, but maintained.

Summary

Using rank-ordering of the extent to which leadership attributes foster or inhibit outstanding leadership provided a picture of what ideal leadership looks like for First Nations individuals who fit into one of four different acculturative strategy groups. The relative importance of the various leadership attributes in each group suggested similarities with extant leadership descriptions and theories. Given the small number of respondents in each group, as well as the fact that only the five most strongly endorsed attributes of outstanding leadership in conjunction with the five most strongly endorsed attributes that inhibit outstanding leadership were used to develop the descriptions, the suggestion of similarities with current leadership theories from the literature is intended only as a bridge between native views and implicit leadership theories. By linking Indigenous worldviews with leadership prototypes from the larger, global literature on leadership, it is possible to develop and test hypotheses that can lead to better understandings of opportunities and challenges for First Nations and non-Indigenous individuals interacting within the larger Eurocentric Canadian society.

Limitations

Some potential confounds in the current research include sample size, selection bias, generalizability, and measurement error. The small sample size in this research means that the findings should be interpreted with caution, as they may not generalize. Additionally, although participants voluntarily elected to participate in this study, they most likely differed in important ways from those who chose not to participate. Research can be a contentious

issue in many Native communities and for many individual First Nations members; as such, recruitment, retention, and selection bias posed challenges. Snowball sampling techniques may have compounded the selection bias concerns, inasmuch as representativeness of the sample cannot be guaranteed. However, given the uniqueness of the sample, the under-representativeness of leadership research with First Nations people, and the general skepticism of this population towards being "researched to death" (Schnarch, 2004), the sampling technique can be justified as a means to initiate research in this field using First Nations participants. Snowball sampling relies on "friends of friends" to pass the recruiting information along and move the research beyond possibly limiting constraints (for example, a university participant pool where unique populations may not constitute a large enough portion of the sample). Additionally, word of mouth has the benefit of generating positive reactions to the research and interest in the results.

Moreover, a self-report questionnaire poses its own set of potential confounds. Participants may answer each question randomly without seriously considering the meaning of the questions or the implications of his or her responses. Conversely, social desirability may lead participants to attempt to "read into" the desires of the researcher and answer questions in ways they perceive best fit the goals of the researcher or the project. This error component of the research process cannot be entirely controlled for. In this instance the personal contacts and snowball sampling technique counteracted some of this potential confound by enlisting participants who had a genuine interest in the outcome of the research.

These findings have several conceptual and practical implications. This research, like the GLOBE project, reveals leadership preference; that is, this research paints a picture of what ideal leadership looks like, and how acculturation may impact that picture. Identification of preferences does not immediately lead to answers; however, identifying leadership preferences that would increase employee retention and commitment has benefits beyond the scope of this project.

As businesses tend to become more diverse, much more emphasis has been placed on diversity management and its effects on overall organizational commitment. Diversity management in the workplace needs to be about more than simply the mix of differences within the workforce and the efforts to have that mix work together smoothly. In fact, diversity management needs to move toward a deeper understanding of what constitutes cultural uniqueness and how this differentially affects employment outcomes. For example, organizations such as Indigenous Works actively engage in organizational development programs to assist in highlighting strengths and uniqueness in order to overcome barriers to Indigenous employment at the organizational level and to establish and maintain a culture of inclusion. This research has the potential to encourage future projects aimed at exploring barriers to inclusion in other cultural contexts.

Gelfand, Erez, and Aycan (2007), in their review of research on cross-cultural organizational behaviour, draw the following conclusions (among others): future research needs to address critical questions regarding the dynamics of intercultural encounters (the "cultural interface"); and, Indigenous perspectives need to be prioritized. Consistent with this direction, this research sought to examine the cultural interface between First Nation and Anglo-Canadian cultures in terms of values and leadership style preferences. Additionally, this research gave voice to a population that will become heavily relied upon to address the skilled labour shortages as the Anglo-Canadian population continues to age and approach retirement, yet one that remains grossly under-represented in industrial/organizational literature. Gelfand et al. (2007) contend that Indigenous perspectives "contribute to the develop-

ment of more universal knowledge and more sustainable and appropriate strategies for fostering human resource development and productivity in other cultures" (p. 498).

Given the small sample size, this research represents an initial attempt at empirically documenting Native worldviews and mental pictures of leadership — thus answering Gelfand and colleagues' call for prioritizing Indigenous perspectives. Highlighting similarities, capitalizing on strengths, and actively searching for ways to address the disconnect between what First Peoples envision in a leader and what mainstream society and organizations assume everyone desires will prove beneficial to the larger social network.

Businesses are becoming increasingly diverse, even within our own national borders. Social culture exerts significant influence over individuals, and in a multicultural society there exist multiple social cultures that influence individuals differently, depending on the context. As Canada's Indigenous population is growing at six times the rate of the non-Indigenous population, the influence Native Canadians will have at all levels of organizations will only increase (Indigenous Works, n.d.). Developing research projects to continue this line of exploration will foster deeper understandings of what constitutes cultural differences and similarities, and how these may affect employment outcomes and organizational culture, in addition to providing the foundation for the development of leadership training and development programs to engage leaders in organizational change and follower development.

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Introduction

Robert Oppenheimer

The State of the Aboriginal Economy has continued to improve in 2018. Aboriginal employment and wage rates increased, and unemployment rates decreased. The unemployment rate for both Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals was at its lowest level in 2018, going back to 2007, which is the period for which the data is reported. In the following article, employment-related rates are examined for Métis, First Nations, and Inuit, and by gender, age, province, economic sector, and education level. Historically, these rates have been better for non-Aboriginals than for Aboriginals, and this is still the case in 2018. However, as in previous years, employment and wage rates are similar for non-Aboriginals and Aboriginals when measured by the education level completed. Thus, there appears to be a clear relationship between the education level completed and wage rates, as well as employment rates. A reasonable conclusion is that adopting strategies that increase education levels of Aboriginals would improve the state of the Aboriginal economy.

Unemployment, Employment, and Wage Rates Continued to Improve for Aboriginals in 2018

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ABSTRACT

Employment, unemployment and wage rates improved for Aboriginals in Canada in 2018, while their participation rate decreased. For non-Aboriginals unemployment and wage rates also improved; however, their employment rate was unchanged, and their participation rate decreased. All four of these employment measures, which are employment, unemployment, participation, and wages, rates are and historically have been more favourable for non-Aboriginals than for Aboriginals. The differences in employment and wage rates are partially explained by the education level completed. The measures of employment are examined by gender, age, province, economic sector, education, and for Métis, First Nations, and Inuit.

INTRODUCTION

Employment data for Aboriginals 15 years and older living off Reserves and for non-Aboriginals is presented for 2007 through 2018 to enable the reader to assess the changes over time. The focus will be on the changes between 2017 and 2018. The next section presents an overview of employment measures.

EMPLOYMENT, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND PARTICIPATION RATES

The employment rate is the percent of those working in the total population who are over the age of 15. The participation rate is the percent of those employed and those seeking to be employed over the same total population of those over 15 years old. The higher these rates, in general, the better the economy is thought to be doing. In contrast, the lower the unemployment rate, the better the economy is considered to be doing. The unemployment rate is the percent of those seeking employment divided by those employed and those seeking employment. The combination of those employed and those unemployed (that is, those seeking employment) is considered the labour force. Therefore, another way of defining the unemployment rate is the percent of those unemployed in the labour force. Similarly, another way of defining the participation rate is the percent of the labour force in the population over 15 years old. It may be helpful to note that the employment and unemployment rates are not directly related as they are measured in different ways.

The unemployment rate for Aboriginals in 2018 was 10.1 versus 11.3 in 2017, which was an improvement (decrease) of 8.9%. The non-Aboriginal unemployment rate of 5.7 improved from 6.2, which was a decrease of 8.1% for the same time period.

The participation rate for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals declined by close to the same amounts of 0.5% and 0.6%, respectively, in 2018 from 2017.

The employment rate of 57.6 for Aboriginals increased by 0.9% in 2018, while for non-Aboriginals it remained the same at 61.7.

In summary, the employment and unemployment rates improved more for Aboriginals than non-Aboriginals in 2018, and the participation rates decreased for both by about the same percentage. Please see Table 1.

COMPARING RATES FOR FIRST NATIONS, MÉTIS, AND INUIT

In 2018 the unemployment rate for First Nations was 11.2, which is 28.7% higher than the 8.7 rate for Métis. First Nations have consistently had higher unemployment rates than Métis. The First Nations unemployment rate decreased 17% in 2018 from 2017, which compares to the 4.4% decrease for Métis.

Participation rates decreased for First Nations and Métis, while it increased for Inuit in 2018. Employment rates increased for First Nations and Inuit, but marginally declined for Métis in 2018. The Métis employment and participation rates have consistently been higher than for First Nations and in most years were higher than for Inuit. The participation rate was 66.7 for Métis and 61.8 for First Nations, and for Inuit it was 61.1 in 2018. Thus the partici-

TABLE 1
Employment, Participation and Unemployment Rates
Aboriginals Living Off of the Reserves and Non-Aboriginals
15 Years and Older

	Aboriginals												
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**	**% Change 2018/2017**
Unemployment rate	10.7	10.2	13.7	14.1	13.1	12.9	11.7	11.2	12.4	12.4	11.3	**10.1**	–10.6
Participation rate	65.0	66.3	65.7	62.2	63.4	64.7	64.1	64.2	63.0	64.4	64.4	**64.1**	–0.5
Employment rate	58.1	59.6	56.7	53.5	55.1	56.4	56.6	57.0	55.2	56.5	57.1	**57.6**	0.9
	Non-Aboriginals												
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**	**% Change 2018/2017**
Unemployment rate	5.9	6.0	8.2	7.9	7.4	7.2	6.9	6.8	6.8	6.8	6.2	**5.7**	–8.1
Participation rate	67.5	67.6	67.1	67.0	66.8	66.5	66.5	66.0	65.9	65.7	65.8	**65.4**	–0.6
Employment rate	63.5	63.5	61.6	61.7	61.8	61.8	61.9	61.5	61.4	61.2	61.7	**61.7**	0.0

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, 4ctl_abo_main_AN.ivt

pation rates were 7.3% lower for First Nations and 8.4% lower for Inuit than for Métis. The employment rate for Métis was 60.9, for First Nations it was 54.9, and for Inuit it was 52.6 in 2018. This is 9.9% lower for First Nations, and 13.6% lower for Inuit than for Métis. The fourth category on Table 2, "Other", includes Inuit and multiple identities. Please see Table 2.

EMPLOYMENT RATES BY AGE AND GENDER

In 2018 employment rates improved for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal men and women 25–54 years and older and for Aboriginal men over 55. It declined for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal men and women for those 15–24 and for non-Aboriginal men 55 years and over. The largest percentage increase in the employment rate in 2018 was 10.2, which was for Aboriginal men 55 and over. The highest employment rates are for those in the 25–54 year range. This is the case for both men and women, as well as for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals.

For Aboriginal men and women in the 15–24 and the 25–54 age categories, their employment rates have been consistently lower than non-Aboriginal men. The largest difference in employment rates for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals is in the 25–54 age range. For non-Aboriginal men it is 86.7, and for Aboriginal men 74.4, while for women it is 79.5 for non-Aboriginals and 68.5 for Aboriginals. Some may argue that this is the most critical age group, because of the large number of people in this category. The employment rate for Aboriginal women 55 and over has been higher than for non-Aboriginals since 2013. For Aboriginal men 55 and over it has been the opposite. Their employment rate has been lower than for non-Aboriginal men since 2013. Please see Table 3.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY AGE AND GENDER

Unemployment rates declined for men and women in all three age categories for both Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals in 2018, except for Aboriginal women 15–24, which increased by 2.1%. Otherwise, unemployment rates for Aboriginals decreased from 1.5% for women 55 years and over to as much as 36.5% for men 55 years and over. For non-Aboriginals, unemployment rates decreased by as little as 3.1% for women 15–24 years and as much as 12.7% for men 25–54 years old.

The unemployment rate for Aboriginals is 77.2% higher than for non-Aboriginals. For Aboriginal men the unemployment rate is 91.7% higher and for Aboriginal women it is 59.3% higher than for non-Aboriginals in 2018. Significantly higher rates of unemployment for Aboriginal men and women in each of the three age groups have persisted since 2007, which is the time period for which the data is available. Please see Table 4.

EMPLOYMENT RATES AND POPULATION BY PROVINCE OR REGION

The province with the highest Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations is Ontario. In Ontario the employment rate for Aboriginals increased to 56.5 in 2018 from 54.9 in 2017. The provinces with the highest Aboriginal employment rates were Alberta, with 59.7, and

TABLE 2
Employment, Participation, and Unemployment Rates
First Nations, Métis, Other*, and Inuits
In Thousands, Except for Rates

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	% Change 2018/2017	% Compared to Métis
First Nations														
Population	303.8	324.2	344.5	364.8	383.2	394.3	405.5	417.3	428.9	449.6	472.0	**486.1**		
Unemployment rate	12.5	12.5	15.9	17.1	16.8	15.7	13.5	12.1	14.7	15.0	13.5	**11.2**	–17.0	28.7
Participation rate	62.4	63.5	62.5	58.3	59.7	62.5	60.9	61.2	59.5	61.7	62.0	**61.8**	–0.3	–7.3
Employment rate	54.6	55.5	52.5	48.3	49.6	52.7	52.6	53.8	50.7	52.4	53.6	**54.9**	2.4	–9.9
Métis														
Population	320.7	334.7	349.8	361.6	373.2	387.3	402.3	417.5	428.8	442.7	457.6	**468.8**		
Unemployment rate	9.2	8.0	11.6	11.4	9.8	10.5	10.1	10.2	10.2	10.0	9.1	**8.7**	–4.4	
Participation rate	67.3	69.0	68.9	66.2	67.4	67.1	67.3	67.5	66.4	67.4	67.1	**66.7**	–0.6	
Employment rate	61.2	63.5	60.9	58.7	60.8	60.0	60.5	60.6	59.7	60.7	61.0	**60.9**	–0.2	
Other*														
Population	13.8	13.6	12.2	14.1	16.4	16.6	16.6	15.5	18.6	19.4	19.4	**22.3**		
Unemployment rate	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.1	0.0	16.0	**16.9**	5.6	94.3
Participation rate	69.8	67.6	66.3	61.4	59.2	64.0	68.0	54.6	65.5	61.1	57.9	**57.1**	–1.4	–14.4
Employment rate	63.5	59.4	55.8	52.8	53.1	58.8	60.8	47.5	54.9	54.2	48.6	**47.5**	–2.3	–22.0
Inuits														
Population	12.0	10.5	10.4	12.1	14.0	13.7	13.9	11.7	16.3	16.5	15.1	**16.3**		
Unemployment rate	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	19.0	0.0	0.0	**0.0**	N/A	N/A
Participation rate	71.0	69.5	67.6	64.6	61.0	64.5	69.6	56.7	62.8	61.0	60.5	**61.1**	1.0	–8.4
Employment rate	65.1	62.3	56.7	54.9	55.6	59.3	64.0	48.6	50.8	54.3	51.5	**52.6**	2.1	–13.6

Note: Table cells showing 0.0 refer to estimates that are suppressed (cannot be published) because they are below the confidentiality threshold.The LFS estimates are based on a sample and are therefore subject to sampling variability. As a result, monthly estimates will show more variability than trends observed over longer time periods. Estimates for smaller geographic areas or industries also have more variability. For an explanation of sampling variability of estimates and how to use standard errors to assess this variability, consult the 'Estimates quality' section of the publication Labour Force Information (Catalogue number71-001-X). The confidentiality threshold is 200 for Canada.

* Other includes Inuits and multiple identities.

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, 4ctl_abo_main_AN.ivt

TABLE 3
Employment Rates by Age and Gender, Canada
Aboriginals Living Off of the Reserves and Non-Aboriginals

	Aboriginals Living Off of the Reserves												
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	% Change 2018/2017
Both Sexes													
15 years and over	58.1	59.6	56.7	53.5	55.1	56.4	56.6	57.0	55.2	56.5	56.5	**57.6**	0.9
15–24 years	49.8	52.8	46.4	45.2	47.1	45.7	49.2	50.4	49.8	49.2	49.2	**48.9**	–2.0
25–54 years	69.9	70.8	68.8	65.8	67.3	69.3	69.2	69.3	67.5	69.1	69.1	**71.3**	1.4
55 years and over	32.5	33.4	34.3	29.8	32.4	34.5	33.2	34.8	34.4	35.4	35.4	**37.3**	5.4
Men													
15 years and over	62.9	65.4	59.7	55.4	58.0	60.5	59.2	59.7	58.3	58.5	58.7	**59.7**	1.7
15–24 years	50.9	55.3	47.8	44.6	47.1	47.5	49.5	51.8	51.5	48.4	50.1	**48.6**	–3.0
25–54 years	75.5	77.0	72.8	69.5	70.9	73.8	72.8	72.9	72.1	71.8	73.0	**74.4**	1.9
55 years and over	38.7	38.5	36.9	29.7	37.0	41.2	34.8	37.0	35.3	39.7	36.4	**40.1**	10.2
Women													
15 years and over	53.7	54.3	54.0	51.7	52.4	52.6	54.3	54.6	52.3	54.5	55.6	**55.7**	0.2
15–24 years	48.7	50.8	45.1	45.8	47.1	43.9	49.0	49.1	48.2	50.0	49.7	**49.3**	–0.8
25–54 years	64.6	64.7	65.2	62.4	64.1	65.2	65.8	66.1	63.2	66.7	67.8	**68.5**	1.0
55 years and over	27.3	29.4	31.8	29.9	28.3	28.6	31.7	32.8	33.7	31.3	34.4	**34.6**	0.6

	Non-Aboriginals												
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	% Change 2018/2017
Both Sexes													
15 years and over	63.5	63.5	61.6	61.7	61.8	61.8	61.9	61.5	61.4	61.2	61.7	**61.7**	0.0
15–24 years	59.8	59.8	55.6	55.2	55.6	54.7	55.3	55.8	56.0	55.6	56.8	**56.6**	–0.4
25–54 years	82.5	82.6	80.6	80.9	81.3	81.7	82.0	81.6	81.8	81.7	82.7	**83.1**	0.5
55 years and over	31.7	32.4	32.7	33.6	33.9	34.4	35.0	35.1	35.1	35.4	35.7	**35.8**	0.3
Men													
15 years and over	68.0	68.0	65.1	65.5	65.9	65.6	65.7	65.5	65.5	65.0	65.6	**65.5**	–0.2
15–24 years	59.4	59.1	53.6	53.4	54.4	53.4	54.3	54.3	54.5	54.3	55.6	**55.7**	0.2
25–54 years	86.5	86.8	83.7	84.2	85.1	85.4	85.5	85.4	85.6	85.4	86.3	**86.7**	0.5
55 years and over	38.1	38.5	38.3	39.4	39.6	39.9	40.4	40.6	40.8	40.6	40.9	**40.8**	–0.2
Women													
15 years and over	59.1	59.1	58.1	58.0	57.9	58.0	58.2	57.7	57.5	57.5	57.9	**58.0**	0.2
15–24 years	60.2	60.4	57.7	57.1	56.9	56.1	56.4	57.3	57.6	57.1	58.0	**57.6**	-0.7
25–54 years	78.5	78.3	77.4	77.5	77.6	78.1	78.5	77.8	78.0	78.1	79.0	**79.5**	0.6
55 years and over	26.0	27.1	27.7	28.4	28.8	29.5	30.1	30.1	29.9	30.7	31.0	**31.3**	1.0

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, 4ctl_abo_main_AN.ivt

TABLE 4
Unemployment Rates by Age and Gender, Canada
Aboriginals Living Off of the Reserves and Non-Aboriginals

	Aboriginals Living Off of the Reserves												% Change
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2018/2017
Both Sexes													
15 years and over	10.7	10.2	13.7	14.1	13.1	12.9	11.7	11.2	12.4	12.4	11.3	**10.1**	–10.6
15–24 years	16.9	15.1	22.5	21.1	19.7	21.3	17.8	16.7	18.8	19.0	17.4	**17.2**	–1.1
25–54 years	8.9	9.1	11.5	12.1	11.1	10.8	10.1	9.8	11.0	10.8	9.6	**8.4**	–12.5
55 years and over	8.4	6.3	10.4	11.7	11.3	9.3	9.3	8.3	8.6	9.6	10.3	**7.7**	–25.2
Men													
15 years and over	11.2	10.3	15.2	15.7	14.9	13.2	12.8	11.9	13.1	13.9	13.2	**11.5**	–12.9
15–24 years	18.5	16.5	24.3	24.5	23.1	21.0	19.3	17.6	19.5	21.5	20.2	**19.4**	–4.0
25–54 years	9.1	9.1	12.6	13.0	12.5	11.1	11.1	10.3	11.2	12.2	10.8	**9.8**	–9.3
55 years and over	9.6	0.0	13.3	14.5	12.5	10.5	11.0	9.6	11.5	10.7	13.7	**8.7**	–36.5
Women													
15 years and over	10.1	10.0	12.1	12.4	11.1	12.6	10.6	10.4	11.7	10.8	9.4	**8.6**	–8.5
15–24 years	15.3	13.9	20.6	17.8	16.1	21.7	16.4	15.7	18.0	16.6	14.5	**14.8**	2.1
25–54 years	8.7	9.2	10.3	11.1	9.6	10.5	9.1	9.4	10.9	9.3	8.5	**7.1**	–16.5
55 years and over	0.0	0.0	7.0	9.2	9.8	7.7	7.6	6.8	5.6	8.3	6.7	**6.6**	–1.5

	Non-Aboriginals												% Change
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2018/2017
Both Sexes													
15 years and over	5.9	6.0	8.2	7.9	7.4	7.2	6.9	6.8	6.8	6.8	6.2	61.7	–8.1
15–24 years	11.0	11.5	15.1	14.7	14.1	14.2	13.6	13.4	13.0	12.9	11.4	56.6	–5.3
25–54 years	5.0	5.0	7.0	6.8	6.2	5.9	5.8	5.7	5.7	5.8	5.3	83.1	–9.4
55 years and over	4.8	5.0	6.5	6.2	6.2	5.9	5.9	5.7	5.7	6.0	5.6	35.8	–8.9
Men													
15 years and over	6.3	6.5	9.4	8.7	7.8	7.6	7.4	7.3	7.3	7.5	6.6	**6.0**	–9.1
15–24 years	12.1	12.9	18.2	17.1	15.8	15.9	15.0	14.9	14.9	14.6	13.0	**12.2**	–6.2
25–54 years	5.3	5.3	8.0	7.3	6.3	6.2	6.0	5.9	6.1	6.3	5.5	**4.8**	–12.7
55 years and over	4.9	5.2	7.4	6.9	6.7	6.2	6.3	6.3	6.1	6.6	5.9	**5.5**	–6.8
Women													
15 years and over	5.6	5.6	6.9	7.1	6.9	6.7	6.5	6.3	6.1	6.1	5.7	**5.4**	–5.3
15–24 years	9.9	10.0	12.0	12.4	12.2	12.4	12.0	11.8	11.0	11.1	9.7	**9.4**	–3.1
25–54 years	4.7	4.7	6.0	6.3	5.9	5.6	5.5	5.4	5.3	5.3	5.1	**4.8**	–5.9
55 years and over	4.7	4.6	5.4	5.4	5.7	5.5	5.4	5.0	5.2	5.2	5.1	**4.5**	–11.8

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Table 4 continued.

% Aboriginals vs. Non-Aboriginals, 2018	
Both Sexes	
15 years and over	77.2
15–24 years	59.3
25–54 years	75.0
55 years and over	51.0
Men	
15 years and over	91.7
15–24 years	59.0
25–54 years	104.2
55 years and over	58.2
Women	
15 years and over	59.3
15–24 years	57.4
25–54 years	47.9
55 years and over	46.7

Note: Table cells showing 0.0 refer to estimates that are suppressed (cannot be published) because they are below the confidentiality threshold. The LFS estimates are based on a sample and are therefore subject to sampling variability. As a result, monthly estimates will show more variability than trends observed over longer time periods. Estimates for smaller geographic areas or industries also have more variability. For an explanation of sampling variability of estimates and how to use standard errors to assess this variability, consult the 'Estimates quality' section of the publication Labour Force Information (Catalogue number71-001-X).

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, 4ctl_abo_main_AN.ivt

British Columbia, with a rate of 59.0 in 2018. These are decreases of 1.3% and 6.6%, respectively. Saskatchewan was the province with the lowest Aboriginal employment rate in 2018, at 54.3, which experienced a decline of 0.5 percent. The decrease in the employment rates in Saskatchewan and Alberta also occurred in 2017. Quebec's Aboriginals had the greatest percentage increase in its employment rate in both 2018 and 2017. In 2018 it increased by 12.4%, and by 4.5% in 2017. The Atlantic region had the next largest increase of 7.0% in 2018.

Manitoba had the largest percentage decline in employment rates for non-Aboriginals, with a decrease of 0.93%. The Atlantic region had the lowest employment rate for non-Aboriginals, but had the second largest percentage increase of 0.36%. British Columbia and Quebec employment rates for non-Aboriginals remained unchanged. The provinces with the highest employment rates for non-Aboriginals were Alberta, with a rate of 67.4, Saskatchewan, with 65.7, and Manitoba, with 63.8. Please see Table 5.

EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRIAL SECTOR

Industrial sectors are divided between goods-producing and services-producing sectors. The percentage of Aboriginals employed in the goods-producing sectors decreased to 22.5% in 2018 from 22.9% in 2017. It remained unchanged for non-Aboriginals, at 21% in 2018 and 2017. Within each sector there are multiple categories and sub-categories. Examining these may provide insights into what areas offer greater employment opportunities. In the goods-producing sector in 2018, construction was where the greatest number of Aboriginals were employed, 58,200, or 10.3%, followed by manufacturing with 37,400 or 6.6%. Construction and manufacturing have consistently been the two largest areas of employment in the goods-producing sector.

The services-producing sector was where 77.5% of Aboriginals were employed in 2018, versus 77.1% in 2017. The three largest areas were health care and social assistance, with 84,200 employed, or 15%, followed by retail trade, 64,300 or 11.4% employed (which was a decrease from 67,700 in 2017), with accommodation and food services next, with 46,700 or 8.3% (which was a decrease from 48,500 in 2017.)

The two largest areas of employment for non-Aboriginals in the goods-producing sectors are manufacturing (9.3%) and construction (7.6%). In the service-producing sectors they are health care and social assistance (12.8%) and retail trade (11.5%). Please see Table 6.

EMPLOYMENT RATES BY EDUCATION LEVEL

When education levels are examined the differences between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals employment rates become clearer.

Aboriginals who are high school graduates, who have a post-secondary certificate or diploma, and who have a university degree all had higher rates of employment than non-Aboriginals with similar education levels. These were 4.4%, 0.1%, and 8.1% higher, respectively. For those who did not graduate high school and those who had some post-secondary education, the employment rates for Aboriginals were lower than for non-Aboriginals by 1.2% and 6.6%, respectively.

TABLE 5

Employment Rates and Population 15 Years and Over by Province and Atlantic Region
Aboriginals Living Off of the Reserves and Non-Aboriginals

	Aboriginals Living Off of the Reserves												2018	% Change
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Rank	2018/2017
Canada														
Population	638.3	672.5	706.5	740.5	772.8	798.2	824.3	850.3	876.2	911.7	949.0	**977.2**		
Employment rate	58.1	59.6	56.7	53.5	55.1	56.4	56.6	57.0	55.2	56.5	57.1	**57.6**		
Atlantic Region														
Population	40.0	44.5	49.0	53.5	57.5	59.8	61.8	63.6	65.6	66.7	68.1	**70.0**		
Employment rate	51.5	54.1	53.1	50.1	54.1	54.7	54.8	52.8	56.4	50.7	52.9	**56.6**	5	7.0
Quebec														
Population	62.8	67.6	72.5	77.3	81.7	84.3	87.0	89.8	92.4	96.3	100.5	**103.7**		
Employment rate	46.3	54.2	55.7	45.2	47.8	48.4	52.1	51.9	46.7	49.3	51.5	**57.9**	4	12.4
Ontario														
Participation rate	159.8	169.3	178.7	188.2	197.1	204.0	211.0	217.8	224.6	234.5	246.0	**254.9**		
Employment rate	57.8	57.7	55.0	49.7	54.1	56.0	52.4	55.9	53.1	54.9	54.9	**56.5**	6	2.9
Manitoba														
Population	87.0	89.7	92.4	95.1	98.0	100.8	103.8	106.9	110.3	113.8	117.0	**119.9**		
Employment rate	59.6	61.5	61.5	58.6	58.8	57.9	57.8	56.5	56.7	56.4	57.2	**58.0**	3	1.4
Saskatchewan														
Participation rate	64.7	66.6	68.6	70.6	72.4	73.4	74.7	76.0	77.4	81.7	85.2	**86.2**		
Employment rate	56.3	56.6	54.8	53.9	55.9	55.9	59.0	56.9	56.8	55.8	54.6	**54.3**	7	–0.5
Alberta														
Population	111.8	116.3	120.8	125.3	129.9	134.9	140.4	145.9	151.3	159.8	168.0	**171.0**		
Employment rate	66.9	65.5	59.9	61.0	59.9	62.9	65.6	66.4	62.4	60.6	60.5	**59.7**	1	–1.3
British Columbia														
Population	112.2	118.4	124.4	130.5	136.3	140.9	145.6	150.3	154.6	158.9	164.4	**171.5**		
Employment rate	58.4	61.7	55.6	54.0	53.7	55.2	55.5	54.8	53.8	61.7	63.2	**59.0**	2	–6.6

continued on next page.

Table 5 continued.

	Non-Aboriginals												2018 Rank	% Change 2018/2017
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**		
Canada														
Population	25823.2	26152.3	26497.7	26833.6	27140.8	27486.2	27823.3	28130.7	28403.7	28675.5	28953.0	**29313.4**		
Employment rate	63.5	63.5	61.6	61.7	61.8	61.8	61.9	61.5	61.4	61.2	61.7	**61.7**		
Atlantic Region														
Population	1870.5	1874.8	1883.3	1893.8	1901.8	1906.9	1907.5	1905.6	1905.6	1911.5	1918.4	**1925.4**		
Employment rate	57.2	57.6	56.7	56.8	56.9	57.3	57.2	56.7	56.3	55.9	55.5	**55.7**	7	0.36
Quebec														
Population	6239.9	6314.7	6394.5	6477.1	6550.1	6615.2	6668.4	6712.4	6750.9	6791.7	6831.5	**6882.3**		
Employment rate	61.0	60.9	59.6	60.2	60.0	59.8	60.2	59.7	60.0	60.1	61.0	**61.0**	5	0.00
Ontario														
Participation rate	10160.9	10276.9	10393.8	10524.5	10653.0	10795.1	10931.5	11051.8	11161.0	11289.0	11438.9	**11642.7**		
Employment rate	63.5	63.4	60.9	61.2	61.5	61.0	61.4	61.1	60.9	60.8	61.1	**60.9**	6	–0.33
Manitoba														
Population	812.0	817.3	824.6	833.3	841.7	851.8	860.5	869.5	877.0	885.2	896.4	**905.1**		
Employment rate	66.4	66.7	66.0	66.3	65.8	66.0	65.9	65.2	65.4	64.3	64.4	**63.8**	3	–0.93
Saskatchewan														
Participation rate	693.7	704.9	717.1	729.3	739.6	752.9	764.7	776.2	784.1	787.2	791.7	**798.2**		
Employment rate	67.3	67.7	67.6	67.3	66.9	67.3	68.2	68.0	67.6	66.4	65.8	**65.7**	2	–0.15
Alberta														
Population	2665.8	2734.0	2800.0	2842.6	2887.9	2960.2	3049.5	3135.9	3202.5	3239.1	3260.8	**3299.4**		
Employment rate	71.8	72.3	69.8	68.5	69.9	70.5	70.0	69.4	68.8	66.8	66.9	**67.4**	1	–0.75
British Columbia														
Population	3380.4	3429.8	3484.3	3533.0	3566.6	3604.1	3641.2	3679.3	3722.5	3771.8	3815.4	**3860.3**		
Employment rate	63.3	63.2	60.9	60.9	60.4	60.6	60.0	59.6	59.7	60.5	61.9	**61.9**	4	0.00

Populations are in thousands.
Atlantic provinces are grouped together because of the relatively small populations in the four provinces.

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, 4ctl_abo_main_AN.ivt

TABLE 6

Employment by Industrial Sector, Canada, in thousands (persons)

Aboriginals Living Off of the Reserves and Non-Aboriginals

	Aboriginals Living Off of the Reserves												% Employed in 2018	% Change 2018/2017
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018		
Total employed	370.7	400.6	400.7	395.9	425.7	449.9	466.8	484.8	483.7	514.8	541.7	**563.1**		
Goods-producing sector	**97.1**	**101.4**	**87.3**	**92.2**	**102.1**	**112.8**	**115.6**	**114.4**	**118.4**	**119.7**	**124.1**	**126.8**	**22.5**	**2.2**
Agriculture	4.8	4.1	3.4	4.5	5.7	5.4	5.0	5.1	5.2	4.7	4.7	**5.1**	**0.9**	**8.5**
Forestry & fishing	4.8	3.3	3.0	4.3	5.1	4.2	5.6	3.3	4.5	4.9	3.7	**4.9**	**0.9**	**32.4**
Mining and oil and gas extraction	12.0	13.6	11.7	14.2	15.3	15.2	18.2	16.2	17.8	16.2	17.4	**16.1**	**2.9**	**–7.5**
Utilities	3.4	3.1	2.3	3.4	4.1	3.8	4.7	4.0	6.0	4.8	5.5	**4.9**	**0.9**	**–10.9**
Construction	35.7	41.4	41.7	40.2	41.6	49.1	49.3	53.0	51.3	54.6	57.6	**58.2**	**10.3**	**1.0**
Manufacturing	36.4	35.8	25.2	25.7	30.3	35.1	32.9	32.9	33.6	34.5	35.2	**37.4**	**6.6**	**6.2**
Services-producing sector	**273.6**	**299.2**	**313.4**	**303.7**	**323.6**	**337.1**	**351.2**	**370.4**	**365.2**	**395.1**	**417.6**	**436.3**	**77.5**	**4.5**
Educational services	20.1	23.3	24.6	23.1	23.8	26.1	28.4	30.9	31.9	30.4	36.5	**33.6**	**6.0**	**–7.9**
Health care and social assistance	46.3	45.6	53.0	52.7	56.1	61.9	61.2	66.1	69.8	75.3	76.1	**84.2**	**15.0**	**10.6**
Public administration	25.3	29.5	30.8	34.0	32.5	36.4	32.1	31.7	31.4	33.2	34.6	**40.6**	**7.2**	**17.3**
Wholesale trade	9.6	11.4	12.4	10.3	9.7	11.6	12.6	14.7	11.9	13.5	14.8	**13.9**	**2.5**	**–6.1**
Retail trade	46.0	49.0	50.9	46.5	54.8	52.0	53.7	59.8	57.5	64.3	67.7	**64.3**	**11.4**	**–5.0**
Transportation and warehousing	19.5	21.9	22.1	20.6	22.6	21.3	25.2	23.3	25.0	26.2	26.7	**32.6**	**5.8**	**22.1**
Finance, insurance, real estate and leasing	12.3	12.6	17.4	16.8	14.6	16.3	18.7	20.8	17.5	17.2	19.0	**23.8**	**4.2**	**25.3**
Professional, scientific and technical services	12.0	11.4	11.8	11.7	13.1	15.6	18.1	15.8	17.6	19.1	21.1	**23.5**	**4.2**	**11.4**
Management of companies and administrative and other support services	18.3	23.2	18.3	19.3	19.8	22.1	23.2	21.0	23.1	26.2	25.3	**23.9**	**4.2**	**–5.5**
Information, culture and recreation	14.6	19.4	19.1	15.2	17.4	19.6	16.5	17.4	19.8	17.4	20.5	**22.5**	**4.0**	**9.8**
Accommodation and food services	33.1	33.0	34.3	35.2	38.9	38.8	40.3	43.1	39.2	47.0	48.5	**46.7**	**8.3**	**–3.7**
Other services	16.4	18.9	18.7	18.3	20.5	15.4	21.1	25.8	20.6	25.2	26.9	**26.8**	**4.8**	**–0.4**

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Table 6 continued.

	Non-Aboriginals												% Employed in 2018	% Change 2018/2017
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018		
Total employed	16390.5	16602.3	16318.7	16555.1	16781.7	16976.7	17219.9	17310.4	17451.8	17553.7	17864.0	**18085.3**		
Goods-producing sector	**3871.3**	**3877.0**	**3630.0**	**3630.7**	**3695.8**	**3759.2**	**3793.5**	**3780.7**	**3750.3**	**3710.9**	**3749.2**	**3799.3**	**21.0**	**1.3**
Agriculture	329.6	324.8	322.1	301.3	301.4	299.8	308.4	299.3	288.7	282.9	273.9	**270.9**	**1.5**	**–1.1**
Forestry & fishing	78.7	71.9	65.3	68.3	63.0	65.0	62.6	61.6	60.5	58.2	61.7	**63.4**	**0.4**	**2.8**
Mining and oil and gas extraction	247.2	252.1	234.2	237.9	256.9	281.6	282.5	291.7	272.6	247.5	246.8	**255.8**	**1.4**	**3.6**
Utilities	134.2	143.2	141.5	137.9	132.7	129.3	130.1	132.7	131.0	132.2	127.5	**139.6**	**0.8**	**9.5**
Construction	1092.0	1195.1	1149.5	1202.6	1252.6	1273.8	1320.3	1318.3	1320.1	1331.5	1352.1	**1379.8**	**7.6**	**2.0**
Manufacturing	1989.5	1889.8	1717.5	1682.7	1689.2	1709.7	1689.5	1677.0	1677.4	1658.6	1687.3	**1689.8**	**9.3**	**0.1**
Services-producing sector	**12519.1**	**12725.3**	**12688.6**	**12924.4**	**13085.9**	**13217.5**	**13426.4**	**13529.7**	**13701.5**	**13842.8**	**14114.7**	**14286.0**	**79.0**	**1.2**
Educational services	1152.1	1139.9	1125.3	1142.7	1144.2	1181.8	1197.4	1204.5	1240.3	1236.9	1247.6	**1290.2**	**7.1**	**3.4**
Health care and social assistance	1790.9	1843.1	1908.2	1986.5	2026.3	2078.6	2128.4	2152.1	2221.0	2262.9	2304.9	**2321.0**	**12.8**	**0.7**
Public administration	840.3	881.2	888.3	887.7	889.5	889.1	886.8	879.5	876.2	894.3	926.2	**929.0**	**5.1**	**0.3**
Wholesale trade	610.4	614.8	613.5	614.0	618.0	596.8	592.3	607.9	654.4	664.2	658.4	**642.3**	**3.6**	**–2.4**
Retail trade	1997.1	2001.7	1967.6	2008.4	1992.8	1996.9	2050.0	2046.3	2007.1	2002.0	2068.1	**2072.2**	**11.5**	**0.2**
Transportation and warehousing	801.1	827.8	802.2	792.9	827.2	835.4	858.0	873.3	891.8	881.6	916.6	**958.4**	**5.3**	**4.6**
Finance, insurance, real estate and leasing	1032.5	1046.8	1049.0	1055.9	1059.6	1044.5	1060.5	1062.7	1084.1	1107.8	1150.9	**1149.2**	**6.4**	**–0.1**
Professional, scientific and technical services	1110.9	1160.2	1136.1	1202.1	1249.1	1252.6	1291.7	1315.6	1346.3	1371.6	1424.8	**1441.2**	**8.0**	**1.2**
Management of companies and administrative and other support services	677.6	682.4	665.6	672.4	675.3	683.0	717.8	713.9	738.1	741.7	732.0	**754.5**	**4.2**	**3.1**
Information, culture and recreation	759.2	729.7	728.2	746.6	754.4	739.6	739.6	739.6	730.5	763.8	768.1	**764.2**	**4.2**	**–0.5**
Accommodation and food services	1039.3	1055.2	1041.6	1062.6	1101.2	1131.1	1129.3	1164.5	1171.0	1166.5	1162.7	**1187.8**	**6.6**	**2.2**
Other services	707.8	742.3	763.1	752.6	748.5	788.1	774.6	769.8	740.7	749.6	754.3	**776.0**	**4.3**	**2.9**

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, 4ctl_abo_main_AN.ivt

The similarity of employment rates for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals when examined by education level is consistent for the twelve years for which the data is available. This is highly significant. It means that education is an important aspect of determining employment for both Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. Further, the higher the level of "completed" education, the higher the employment rate. The reason "completed" is in quotes is that Aboriginals who attended some post-secondary, but didn't complete it, have had lower employment rates than those who graduated from high school since 2007. This was the case for non-Aboriginals from 2007 through 2014, but has not been since 2015.

Aboriginals with a post-secondary certificate or diploma and those with a university degree had increases in their rates of employment in 2018. Those who graduated high school and those with some post-secondary education experienced decreases in their employment rates. They remained unchanged for those who didn't complete high school. Employment rates increased for non-Aboriginals in each of the education categories except for those with some post-secondary education, which decreased in 2018. Please see Table 7.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE BY EDUCATION LEVEL

The unemployment rates decreased for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals in 2018 and did so for every education level examined. The highest rates of unemployment are for those with less than a high school graduation. For Aboriginals with less than a high school graduation, their unemployment rate was 18.9 in 2018, while for non-Aboriginals it was 11.3. The lowest rates of unemployment were for university graduates. Aboriginals had a rate of 3.5, and non-Aboriginals 4.3. This is the only education level for which Aboriginals had a lower unemployment rate than non-Aboriginals. In all other cases the unemployment levels are substantially higher for Aboriginals.

The other differences in unemployment rates ranged from 60.4% for those with a post-secondary education to 70.1% for those with some post-secondary education. The equalizing effect of education that applied for employment rates does not apply for unemployment rates. Please see Table 8.

AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGES BY EDUCATION LEVEL

As education increases, wages increase for both Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. Wages increased by 3% for Aboriginals and by 2.9% for non-Aboriginals in 2018, while the inflation rate, as measured by the consumer price index, increased 2%.

Overall wages were 8.0% lower for Aboriginals than for non-Aboriginals in 2018, which is an improvement from the 8.3% gap in 2017 and the 11.7% difference that existed in 2007. When wage rates are examined by education level we obtain further information. Aboriginals with less than high school graduation had a 14.7% higher wage rate than non-Aboriginals. Wage rates for Aboriginals with a Bachelor's degree were 0.8% higher than for non-Aboriginals.

The average wage rates for Aboriginal high school graduates was 3.2% lower than for non-Aboriginals. For Aboriginals with a post-secondary certificate or diploma without high school completion it was 5.7% lower. For Aboriginals with a post-secondary certificate or diploma with high school completion it was similar, being only 0.5% lower. Aboriginal

TABLE 7

Employment Rates by Highest Level of Educational Attainment, Canada
Aboriginals Living Off of the Reserves and Non-Aboriginals

	Aboriginals Living Off of the Reserves												% Compared
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**	**2018**
Total, all education levels	58.1	59.6	56.7	53.5	55.1	56.4	56.6	57.0	55.2	56.5	57.1	**57.6**	**–7.1**
Less than high school	37.5	39.8	34.7	31.8	32.6	35.4	34.6	32.4	32.3	33.6	32.4	**32.4**	**–1.2**
High school graduate	69.1	67.2	62.5	59.9	62.3	61.1	62.2	62.6	58.5	58.1	61.2	**59.7**	**4.4**
Some post-secondary	58.7	62.3	58.0	58.3	54.3	55.9	59.3	57.3	56.2	56.9	57.5	**54.7**	**–6.6**
Post-secondary certificate or diploma*	72.4	72.9	70.3	66.1	68.7	69.8	66.7	69.0	67.3	69.0	68.0	**69.0**	**0.1**
University degree	79.6	79.7	82.6	77.6	80.0	77.3	80.6	78.2	75.2	78.1	79.1	**80.4**	**8.1**
	Non-Aboriginals												
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**	
Total, all education levels	63.5	63.5	61.6	61.7	61.8	61.8	61.9	61.5	61.4	61.2	61.7	**61.7**	
Less than high school	36.9	37.1	34.2	33.7	33.6	33.3	33.2	32.8	32.3	32.0	32.8	**32.8**	
High school graduate	65.3	64.6	61.7	61.7	61.6	61.0	60.6	59.9	58.3	58.0	58.2	**57.1**	
Some post-secondary	64.3	64.5	60.9	60.9	60.6	60.6	59.9	58.9	58.7	58.2	58.9	**58.3**	
Post-secondary certificate or diploma*	72.8	72.7	71.1	70.9	70.9	70.5	70.7	70.2	70.0	69.2	68.8	**68.9**	
University degree	76.7	76.2	75.6	75.2	74.6	74.7	74.5	73.9	74.3	73.8	74.4	**73.9**	

* Trade certificate or diploma from a vocational school or apprenticeship training, a non-university certificate or diploma from a community college, CEGEP or school of nursing, etc., or a University certificate below bachelor's level.

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, 4ctl_abo_main_AN.ivt

TABLE 8

Unemployment Rates by Highest Level of Educational Attainment, Canada

Aboriginals Living Off of the Reserves and Non-Aboriginals

	Aboriginals Living Off of the Reserves												% Compared
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**	**2018**
Total, all education levels	10.7	10.2	13.7	14.1	13.1	12.9	11.7	11.2	12.4	12.4	11.3	**10.1**	**77.2**
Less than high school	17.0	16.2	23.2	24.0	22.7	21.7	19.6	20.7	22.8	22.4	19.7	**18.9**	**67.3**
High school graduate	9.0	8.8	13.3	14.1	13.0	13.3	11.4	11.2	12.4	13.1	11.5	**10.8**	**66.2**
Some post-secondary	10.6	10.8	14.2	12.7	14.7	14.1	12.2	12.1	13.0	12.3	13.9	**13.1**	**70.1**
Post-secondary certificate or diploma*	8.5	7.5	10.5	10.6	9.2	9.0	9.8	8.1	9.0	9.0	8.8	**7.7**	**60.4**
University degree	5.0	5.9	3.6	5.3	4.7	6.2	3.9	5.2	5.7	5.8	5.6	**3.5**	**–18.6**
	Non-Aboriginals												
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**	
Total, all education levels	5.9	6.0	8.2	7.9	7.4	7.2	6.9	6.8	6.8	6.8	6.2	**5.7**	
Less than high school	11.9	11.8	15.6	15.6	15.0	14.5	14.3	13.6	13.4	13.4	12.2	**11.3**	
High school graduate	6.0	6.3	9.1	8.6	7.8	7.7	7.7	7.5	7.8	7.7	6.9	**6.5**	
Some post-secondary	7.0	6.9	9.8	9.9	9.6	9.2	9.2	9.5	9.4	9.3	8.3	**7.7**	
Post-secondary certificate or diploma*	4.8	4.8	6.8	6.4	5.9	5.7	5.5	5.4	5.6	5.8	5.4	**4.8**	
University degree	3.7	4.1	5.1	5.3	4.9	5.0	4.7	4.9	4.7	4.9	4.4	**4.3**	

* Trade certificate or diploma from a vocational school or apprenticeship training, a non-university certificate or diploma from a community college, CEGEP or school of nursing, etc., or a University certificate below bachelor's level.

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, 4ctl_abo_main_AN.ivt

wage rates were 6.1% lower for those with above a bachelor's degree. Examining wages by education level helps to explain the wage gap between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. Please see Table 9.

AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGES BY EDUCATION LEVEL AND POPULATION

One reason the overall wages were 8% lower for Aboriginals than non-Aboriginals in 2018 is that a larger percentage of Aboriginals have lower levels of education than non-Aboriginals. Forty-nine percent (49.0%) of Aboriginal employees had a post-secondary certificate or diploma or higher. This is in comparison to 64.9% for non-Aboriginals. The percentage of Aboriginal employees who did not complete high school was 13.9, versus 8.0 for non-Aboriginals.

As completed education levels increase, wage rates increase. Thus, one strategy to close the wage gap between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals would be to increase the overall education levels of Aboriginals. Please see Table 10.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The employment and unemployment rates improved for Aboriginals in 2018, while the participation rates remained the same. However, all three rates have been consistently worse for Aboriginals.

Métis unemployment rates have been consistently lower and their employment and participation rates have been consistently higher than for First Nations. In most years Métis' participation rates were higher than for Inuit.

In 2018 the unemployment rates decreased (improved) for Aboriginal men in all three age groups and for women 25–54 years and for those 55 and over, while it increased (worsened) for women 15–24 years old. For non-Aboriginals the unemployment rates improved for both men and women in all three age groups. The employment rates for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals increased for men and for women 25–54 and 55 and over, but declined for both men and women 15–24 years old.

The province with the highest Aboriginal employment rates was Alberta, followed by British Columbia. Saskatchewan was the province with the lowest Aboriginal employment rate, followed by Ontario.

The services-producing sector was where 77.5% of Aboriginals were employed in 2018. The three largest in 2018 were health care and social assistance, followed by retail trade, with accommodation and food services next, employing 15%, 11.4%, and 8.3%, respectively. In the goods-producing sector, construction was where the greatest percentage, 10.3%, of Aboriginals were employed, followed by manufacturing, employing 6.6%.

Aboriginals' wages were 8.0% lower for non-Aboriginals in 2018, which is an improvement from the 8.3% difference in 2017 and the 11.7% gap that existed in 2007. One reason for this is that a larger percentage of Aboriginals have lower levels of education than non-Aboriginals. Employees with lower levels of education on average have lower wage rates.

TABLE 9

Average Weekly Earnings (Current Dollars) by Highest Level of Educational Attainment, Aboriginals Living Off of the Reserves and Non-Aboriginals

	Aboriginals Living Off of the Reserves												% Change	% Compared
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**	**2018/2017**	**2018**
Total, all education levels	665	715	726	743	760	796	816	832	861	855	881	**907**	**3.0**	**–8.0**
Less than high school	522	553	550	571	575	606	609	615	634	622	661	**711**	**7.6**	**14.7**
High school graduate	623	651	664	672	672	717	737	721	775	772	769	**787**	**2.4**	**–3.2**
Post-secondary certificate or diploma without high school completion	705	747	770	802	850	827	915	892	979	847	946	**882**	**–6.7**	**–5.7**
Post-secondary certificate or diploma with high school completion	769	834	808	825	852	891	908	941	962	942	983	**991**	**0.8**	**–0.5**
Bachelor's degree	874	917	941	1033	1023	1053	1060	1063	1108	1135	1109	**1195**	**7.8**	**0.8**
Above bachelor's degree	1178	1176	1201	1219	1208	1208	1195	1353	1319	1299	1285	**1304**	**1.5**	**–6.1**

	Non-Aboriginals												% Change
	2007	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**	**2018/2017**
Total, all education levels	753	783	804	819	838	865	883	899	924	943	958	**986**	**2.9**
Less than high school	488	504	514	532	543	570	577	587	596	599	604	**620**	**2.6**
High school graduate	645	673	683	695	707	728	734	746	765	766	778	**813**	**4.5**
Post-secondary certificate or diploma without high school completion	747	765	767	787	799	834	866	869	884	885	888	**935**	**5.3**
Post-secondary certificate or diploma with high school completion	786	814	835	848	867	885	905	924	945	953	970	**996**	**2.7**
Bachelor's degree	959	997	1020	1024	1045	1067	1084	1102	1121	1144	1164	**1185**	**1.8**
Above bachelor's degree	1145	1192	1203	1208	1230	1270	1295	1292	1314	1371	1373	**1388**	**1.1**

2018 Inflation rate for Canada† 2.0%

* Trade certificate or diploma from a vocational school or apprenticeship training, a non-university certificate or diploma from a community college, CEGEP or school of nursing, etc., or a University certificate below bachelor's level.

† Inflation rate based upon Statistic Carnada reported in https://inflationcalculator.ca/2018-cpi-and-inflation-rates-for-canada/

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, 4ctl_abo_wage_AN.ivt

TABLE 10

Average Weekly Wages by Highest Level of Educational Attainment, Canada, Annual Averages
Aboriginals Living Off of the Reserves and Non-Aboriginals

	Aboriginals Living Off of the Reserves									
	Total Employees			% of Employees			Cumulative %	Average weekly wage rate (current dolloars)		
	2007	2017	2018	2007	2017	2018	2018	2007	2017	2018
Total, all education levels	330.0	482.7	503.8					665	881	907
Less than high school	77.7	74.1	70.0	23.5	15.4	13.9	13.9	522	661	711
High school graduate	76.0	117.8	125.1	23.0	24.4	24.8	38.7	623	769	787
Some post-secondary	34.9	40.1	41.2	10.6	8.3	8.2	46.9	556	727	732
Post-secondary certificate or diploma without high school completion	18.7	21.8	20.7	5.7	4.5	4.1	51.0	705	946	882
Post-secondary certificate or diploma with high school completion	95.6	165.6	179.5	29.0	34.3	35.6	86.6	769	983	991
Bachelor's degree	21.8	47.8	47.7	6.6	9.9	9.5	96.1	874	1109	1195
Above bachelor's degree	5.4	15.5	19.7	1.6	3.2	3.9	100.0	1178	1285	1304
	Non-Aboriginals									
	Total Employees			% of Employees			Cumulative %	Average weekly wage rate (current dolloars)		
	2007	2017	2018	2010	2011	2012	2018	2007	2017	2018
Total, all education levels	13834.7	15119.7	15287.9					753	958	986
Less than high school	1753.2	1261.3	1223.8	12.7	8.3	8.0	8.0	488	604	620
High school graduate	2840.7	2898.9	2855.4	20.5	19.2	18.7	26.7	645	778	813
Some post-secondary	1178.7	1002.3	1016.3	8.5	6.6	6.6	33.3	573	651	673
Post-secondary certificate or diploma without high school completion	363.8	275.7	268.2	2.6	1.8	1.8	35.1	747	888	935
Post-secondary certificate or diploma with high school completion	4491.7	5102.6	5207.3	32.5	33.7	34.1	69.1	786	970	996
Bachelor's degree	2279.4	3192.8	3270.9	16.5	21.1	21.4	90.5	959	1164	1185
Above bachelor's degree	927.2	1386.2	1445.9	6.7	9.2	9.5	100.0	1145	1373	1388

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, 4ctl_abo_wage_AN.ivt

Employment rates for Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals are similar when examined by education level. This is the case for the twelve years for which the data is available. This is highly significant. It means that education is an important aspect of determining employment rates for both Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. Nonetheless, unemployment rates for Aboriginals are substantially higher than for non-Aboriginals, regardless of education level, except for those with university degrees.

Education is critical. The higher the level of education completed, the higher are wages, the lower is the rate of unemployment, and the higher are the employment rates. This is the case for both Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. Education appears to be a key determinant of employment and wage rates.

REFERENCES

Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, personal correspondence.
Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, 4ctl_abo_educ_AN.ivt

Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development

Call for Papers
Volume 12, Issue 1

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.

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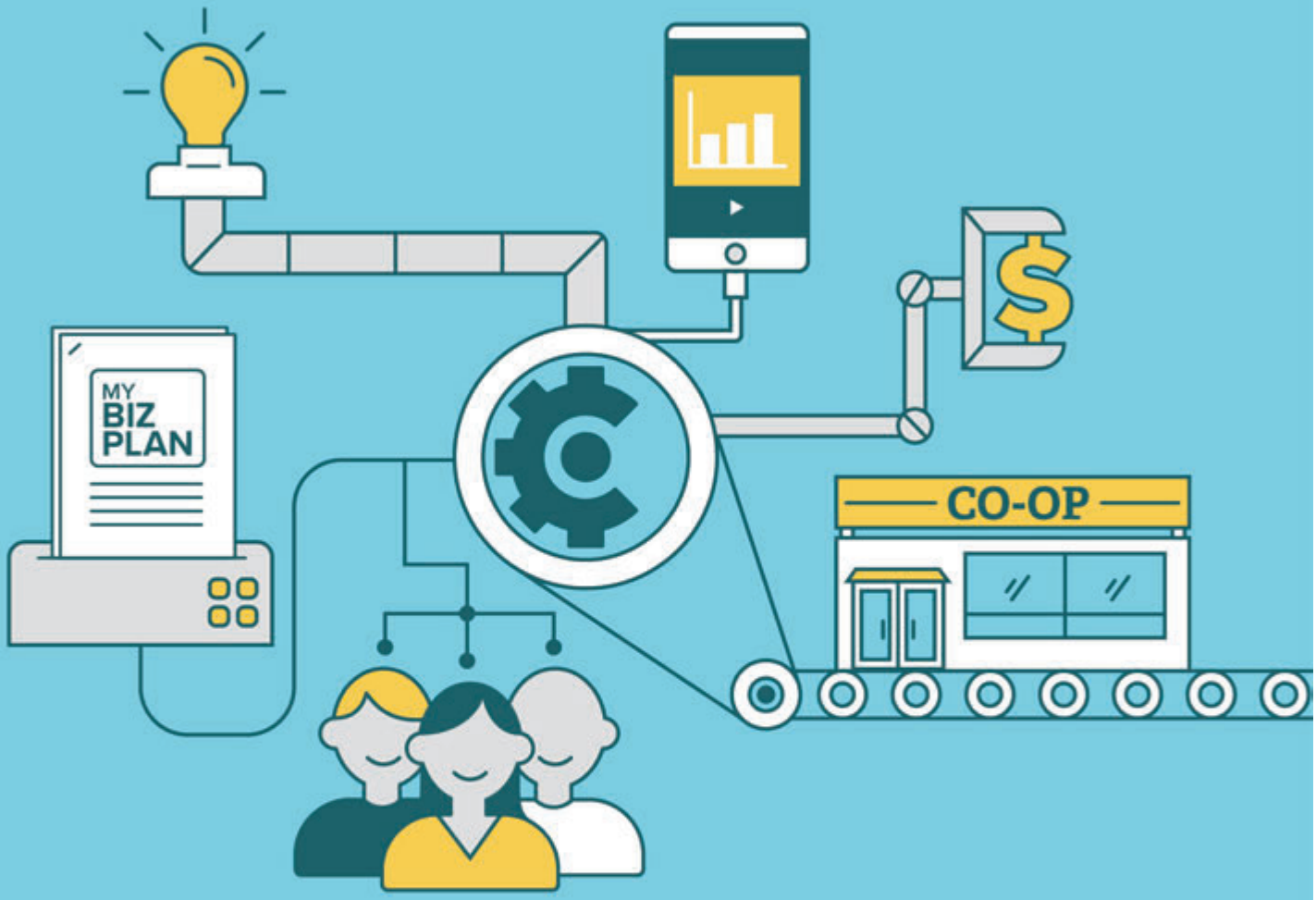

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