

## Chapter 6. Community profiles

*The objective of this chapter is to provide a profile of each of the communities visited as part of this study. This includes their governance, framework conditions for development, economic development strategies and key economic development issues for the future.*

A community's economic development opportunities are shaped by such factors as the size and characteristics of its population, its proximity and accessibility to other places, its resource endowments and amenities, and the strength of local institutions. In order to foster economic development, Indigenous communities in rural areas must take advantage of context-specific assets that are immobile and that are areas of absolute advantage. Each of these strategies has different policy implications for place-based Indigenous communities.

The field missions and research interviews with ten different Indigenous communities and Tribal Councils across Canada that have been conducted as part of this study have illuminated how place-based and institutional dynamics and framework conditions influence economic strategies and development outcomes.<sup>1</sup> This chapter profiles seven Indigenous communities that were visited as part of this work, representing different geographies:

- **Rural close to city:** Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation (Ontario); Millbrook First Nation (Nova Scotia); and Mashteuiatsh Community First Nation, Québec.
- **Rural remote:** Gjoa Haven and Pangnirtung, Nunavut and Neskantaga, Ontario.
- **Urban:** Kahnawà:ke, Mohawk Nation, Québec.

As outlined in the typology of development opportunities for Indigenous communities in rural areas (Chapter 4), each of these geographies has implications for a community's economic development strategy. Those that are urban or close to cities are better linked to infrastructure and services (e.g., health and education), have access to larger markets and have a larger labour pool to draw from; and tend to be more economically diversified. Rural and rural remote communities on the other hand face greater distances to markets and higher costs for a range of factors (transport, public services). Remote rural entrepreneurship is often based on natural resources—with capital intensive activities that may require large long-term investments before gains are realised.

This chapter proceeds by providing a profile of each of the communities visited as part of this study focussing on their governance, framework conditions for development, economic development strategies and key economic development issues for the future.

## Rural close to a city

### *Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation, Ontario Canada*

The Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation (MNCFN) has approximately 2 500 members, half of which live on reserve.<sup>2</sup> The reserve is located close the city of Brantford (population 134 000), which is approximately 100km (or 2 hours travelling time) from central Toronto with its population of 5.4 million. While the reserve lands consist of approximately 6 000 sq. acres, the Mississauga of New Credit's traditional lands extend to 3.9 million sq. acres and include the area of the city of Toronto for which Canada paid \$145 million in compensation for the lands. The majority of these funds were put in a trust to support the FNs community and economic development (known as the Toronto Purchase).

Members elect a Band Council every 2 years (one Chief and seven councillors). The administration of the Band Council and community is organised into 9 departments: Housing; Public Works; Education; Consultation and Accommodation (including archaeology, environment and land use); Media and Communications; Social and Health services; Sustainable Economic Development; Children's Centre; and, Lands, Research and Membership. In addition to housing on reserve, community infrastructure and facilities

include: an Elementary School (kindergarten to Year 8), administrative buildings, Ekwaamjigenang Children’s Centre, a Community Centre, and Public Library.

**Table 6.1. Profile of Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation**

Reserves	Type of region	Intermediate
	Size of reserve	2 392.60
	Population	2 540
Governance	Type of government	Band
	Size of council	Seven councillors and one chief
Income	Average total income	76% of the province’s average total income
Labour force participation	Employment rate (%)	52.7
	Main industries (%)	Manufacturing, construction (18) and other services (18)
Education	Population aged 15 and over with a diploma (%)	75
	Of which population with university diploma (%)	7.1
Mobility	Lived at the same address 5 years ago (%)	70

Source: Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (2019<sup>[1]</sup>), *First Nation Profiles*, <http://fnppn.aandc-aadnc.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/SearchRV.aspx?lang=eng> (accessed on 18 April 2019).

#### *A multi-pronged community economic development strategy*

The Mississauga’s of the New Credit have a strategic plan (released in 2017) and the community has developed the following vision/mission statement:

*“The Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation look to our Anishinabe roots to guide our vision for the future as a strong, caring, connected community who respects the earth’s gifts and protects the environment for future generations. Our identity includes our history, language, culture, beliefs and traditions which we strive to incorporate into the programs and services offered to our community.”*

The community’s economic development strategy rests on several pillars and 19 priority actions. The seven pillars of the Plan are:

- Inclusive prosperity, economic growth and job creation (including improving transport connections and establishing a business incubator).
- Well-being and well-ness (establishing a health and well-ness centre on reserve).
- Environment and sustainability (including becoming a leader in fighting climate change).
- Education and awareness (including tailoring the school curriculum to include language and culture).
- Independent and sovereign people (including cultural development, and establishing a centre for First Nations in Greater Toronto).
- Infrastructure, community and membership development (including improving access to communications and information technologies, and managing infrastructure assets).

- Inclusive leadership and governance (including capacity building for decision-makers) (Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation, 2017<sup>[2]</sup>).

The economic development strategy of the MNC focuses on attracting private sector investment and job creation and reducing reliance on government funding and programs. MCFNs proximity to Toronto and its location on major transport routes to the United States via New York State and Michigan are competitive advantages. The reserve also has a large amount of land that is not allocated for urban settlement, and is at sufficient scale for commercial and industrial development.

The MCFN has an articulated policy of only attracting investment that is consistent with traditional values (environmental stewardship, social inclusiveness and respect for traditional culture and values across the generations). Key priority actions related to economic development and wealth creation are outlined below (Table 6.2).

**Table 6.2. MCFN Priority Actions**

Priority action	Initiatives
Collaboration hub and wealth creation opportunities	Creating a First Nation themed conference and hotel centre in Greater Toronto Establishing community business enterprises related to retail, construction, and real estate management
Establish a Business Incubator	Provide space for start-ups and early stage business (linked to management and staff training, marketing and finance)
Improve transport connections	Provision of more sustainable transport options (public transport, car share and ride hailing services) Attract investment in transport and logistics linked to Hamilton International Airport

Source: Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation (2017<sup>[2]</sup>), *The Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation Strategic Plan*, <http://mncfn.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/MNCFN-Strategic-Plan-Final.pdf> (accessed on 6 April 2019).

### *Building capacity and expanding economic development opportunities*

The compensation from the Toronto Purchase land claim has helped the MCFN build capacity and strengthen its internal governance. Peace Hills Trust funds are managed by corporate trustees. Every year, the fund accrues around 5-8 million dollars that are used by the Nation to fund programmes and services, including education. The Band Council has around 100 staff and an additional 120 employees work in the MNCFN's many departments (e.g., public works, housing, social and health services, business development corporation and education). As such, the Band is a major employer of community members and has focussed efforts to build its institutional capacity including professional training for employees and skills upgrading (e.g., through a partnership with Mohawk college); the MCFN also employs persons that are not community members. The community has identified many development opportunities and has a new "Seven Pillars" strategic plan, but still needs to build the human resources in order to implement ideas (though this is increasing with time). There are ongoing efforts to improve governance structures and develop a professional and adaptable administration.

The MCFN have leveraged their proximity to the city of Brantford to develop some services (a plaza with gas bar) and most of the businesses on reserve are services oriented. Access to public services and quality infrastructure do remain a hindrance and there is a lack of full service lots on which to develop new business opportunities along with limited broadband connectivity. The community has a preference to develop externally oriented services on its outskirts as opposed to bringing people into the heart of the community.

Private businesses are generally not licenced on reserve. As such, they do not necessarily follow provincial regulations—a factor which limits their growth and encourages informality in the business sector.

The band's newly created economic development corporation is exploring future strategies for economic development including franchises (e.g., hotel chain), building facilities, pooling capital and knowledge, developing more in urban centres (e.g., Indigenous business hub in Toronto) and focussing efforts on import substitution. MCFN are interested in equity partnerships with outside businesses and revenue sharing agreements. For example, they have partnered with the crown corporation Ontario Power for a solar project. This partnership was a product of the government of Ontario's 2009 Feed and Tariff Programme (FIT) for which participants are paid a guaranteed price over a 20-year contract term (40 years for waterpower projects) for all the electricity that is generated and delivered to the Ontario grid. The FIT program assigns Contract Capacity Set-Asides (CCSAs) for specific types of priority projects including those with more than 50 per cent economic participation by Aboriginal communities (Government of Ontario, 2009<sup>[3]</sup>).

MCFN are also involved in consultation and development within treaty and traditional territories. They recently signed the first ever bilateral duty to consult protocol with the government of Canada which outlines how they will be consulted on developments in their treaty and traditional lands (Government of Canada, 2018<sup>[4]</sup>). MCFN receives 150 to 180 notifications of development on treaty territory per month wherein the community assess any potential for economic involvement and through its Department of Consultation and Accommodation, is directly involved in all planning and development within MNCFN's traditional territory. This multi-pronged development strategy demonstrates that the MCFN are building their internal capacity and seeking out new development opportunities that they can leverage to support their community's development.

Assertion of rights and presence (e.g., cultural presence) over traditional territories are a key part of this strategy. The MCFN have stressed that the heart of the treaty process has always been about stewardship over its traditional territory and sharing—i.e., giving use does not extinguish rights (O'Rourke, 2018<sup>[5]</sup>). These rights continue to be defined: in September of 2016 the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation filed an Aboriginal Title Claim to Waters within the Traditional Lands of the Mississaugas of the New Credit (MNCFN, 2019<sup>[6]</sup>). The MCFN have established an office in the city of Toronto which is their homeland and is developing its relationships with all levels of government, and are involved in some major development projects such as a Toronto Don Mouth Naturalization and Port Lands Flood Protection Project where they have stressed an interest in the preservation of any future Aboriginal artefacts that may be identified and the management of contaminated soils (Government of Ontario, 2014<sup>[7]</sup>). MCFN have developed their own archaeological standards and guidelines (Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation, 2018<sup>[8]</sup>). MNCFN, like many FNs across Canada, are putting traditions and culture at the forefront of their strategic development agenda.

### *Key economic development issues for the future*

The MCFN report being poorly connected with local and regional development. One of the challenges faced is that the relationship between FNs and the provincial government is less formalised than that of the federal government and there can be radical changes between administrations in terms of how FNs are consulted with on major development projects impacting their territory and in relations more generally. Moreover, despite their proximity to the nearby city of Branford and other towns, the connections between these communities

can be weak. It is reported that there is limited knowledge about their community and its development ambitions within the broader community/region. Increasing the visibility and awareness of the MNC FN within the broader community and region is an important step for improved cooperation with municipal governments, private actors and the local society more generally.

Key economic development issues of the future are:

- Leveraging the community's presence in Toronto for expanded economic development activities, including the potential of an Addition to Reserve.
- Developing and expanding the current on-reserve commercial zone which is at capacity.
- Coordinating with other nearby FNs to identify opportunities in order to meet local demand and stimulate new businesses.

### ***Millbrook First Nation, Nova Scotia***

Millbrook First Nation is one of the 13 First Nations in Nova Scotia, Canada, and is part of the Mi'kmaq Nation. The Millbrook reserve was established in 1886 and added to in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> Millbrook (along with Membertou FN in Nova Scotia) has achieved a high level of economic prosperity. In 1916 additional Mi'kmaq people from Halifax were moved to the reserve to facilitate reconstruction after the explosion of 1917. The band was able to maintain a strong local government over much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century even as the Canadian and Nova Scotia governments exerted greater control over band governance and tried to encourage assimilation. Today Millbrook has both an elected Band Council and a parallel traditional governance structure with a large overlap, resulting from individuals who have semi-hereditary traditional leadership roles also being elected to the Band Council.

**Table 6.3. Profile of Millbrook First Nation, Nova Scotia**

Reserves	Type of region	Predominantly rural remote
	Size of reserve	302.3
	Population	1 923
Governance	Type of government	Band
	Size of council	12 councillors and one chief
Income	Ratio of average total income to Province's average total income (%)	61
Labour force participation	Employment rate (%)	41.1
	Main industries (%)	Other services (14.7) and health, education (12.3)
Education	Population aged 15 and over with a diploma (%)	73
	of which population with university diploma (%)	11.7

*Note:* Predominantly rural region refers to OECD typology.

*Source:* Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (2019<sup>[1]</sup>), *First Nation Profiles*, <http://fnp-ppn.aandc-aadnc.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/SearchRV.aspx?lang=eng> (accessed on 18 April 2019).

*Millbrook's advantageous location has been an important part of its economic development strategy*

In December 2017 the main reserve (Millbrook 27) had a population of roughly 900 people with about another 800 people living either off-reserve or on smaller reserves – Cole Harbour, Sheet Harbour and Beaver Lake. The main reserve is adjacent to the town of Truro with a population of 12 000, and both communities are located in Colchester County which has a population of just over 50 000. Highway 102, the main road connecting Halifax to central Canada, cuts through the reserve with an interchange providing direct access to and from the highway. The region is located near the head of the Bay of Fundy in a significant tourism region, and is a bit under a two-hour drive from two major metropolitan regions, Halifax, Nova Scotia and Moncton, New Brunswick.

The main reserve covers 851 acres, much of which is arable land. The main geographic advantages of the reserve are, its proximity to Truro, which provides much of the basic infrastructure to the reserve, and its location on a major four lane highway halfway between two major urban places. While Millbrook is not part of a metropolitan region, it has reasonable access to Halifax, the largest urban area in Atlantic Canada, and is part of the Colchester County regional economy that offers a wide range of goods and services. The reserve is strongly connected both to the local economy and to opportunities to serve people passing by on Highway 102, whether for business or tourism purposes. The reserve hosts a variety of commercial enterprises, some owned by the reserve, others by band members and others by non-indigenous people. These businesses provide both local goods and services, and cater to transient customers. The reserve purchases educational services from the Truro school system, and obtains water, sewer, emergency services and other public services from Truro. The town of Truro also offers access to a hospital, a community college, a branch campus of Dalhousie University and various recreational facilities.

*Additions to reserve have helped expand economic opportunities*

Millbrook First Nation was part of the following treaties with colonial powers: 1725-26, 1749, 1752 and 1760-61. In 2002, they joined the negotiation process Kwilmu'kw Mawklusuaqn (KMK), which had been initiated in 2001 to reach agreement on outstanding issues regarding Aboriginal and Treaty Rights of the Mi'kmaq with the government of the Province of Nova Scotia. They became signatory of the KMK Framework Agreement in 2007, which set the details of the negotiation procedure. However, in 2016, the Millbrook First Nation withdrew from the Nova Scotia Process. The Chief Bob Gloade stated at the occasion the importance of transparency in negotiations and the need to take responsibility for their own governance as a community. Mi'kmaq leadership expressed concern about the uncertainty of negotiation outcomes and the long-term implications of an eventual Treaty revision.

The Millbrook band has both added to reserve land through the traditional Indian Act approach and purchased land that it holds in fee simple status as a way to expand the footprint of the main reserve. In addition it continues to add land in satellite holdings, particularly in locations where there are clear economic development opportunities, such as Cole Harbour, which is adjacent to Halifax and where the band acquired additional land. The band makes use of indigenous land claims to acquire reserve land and has also bought land in the private market. Because the Mi'kmaq did not cede land rights in their treaties, they are well positioned to claim any surplus federal land their traditional territory. Because existing reserves in Nova Scotia were established and populated with people from a wide

range of coastal communities there are credible grounds for claiming sites that may be geographically distant from a reserve.

*Strong leadership, entrepreneurial activity and collective vision have been key to success*

Over the past 30 years, the Millbrook band has engaged in a successful economic development strategy that has taken full advantage of the geographic potential of the reserve and an associated range of opportunities for business development. However the main factor for this economic success has been a combination of strong leadership, entrepreneurial activity and collective vision. The band relies on both band owned enterprises and individual entrepreneurs, and over time has greatly increased its own source revenue from a growing number of businesses. As own source revenue has increased and the business competence of the band has developed over time larger and more complex investments have been undertaken. These include a number of joint ventures with relatively large non-indigenous corporations that allow the band to participate in more complex development opportunities both on the reserve and in other parts of Nova Scotia.

The initial impetus was the sale of traditional crafts at roadside stands and a gas station along Highway 102 in the 1980s that captured customers going to and from Halifax. Because the highway bypasses Truro there was considerable opportunity to expand services to travellers as traffic increased. By 1990 development on both sides of the highway had reached a point that an overpass was required. When it was constructed in the early 2000s this provided both an opportunity for further development and reconnected band members on both sides of the highway.

The band's economic success reflects a long run strategy that first focussed on addressing social issues in the 1970s, enhancing education in the 1980s, and, building on these foundations, undertaking more typical economic development actions since the 1990s. The majority of the band's development efforts are in the services and construction sectors. Retail services have been a particular focus with major expansion into hotels, restaurants and vehicle service once the interchange was in place. These are either owned and operated by the band or managed through joint ventures with non-indigenous partner organisations. In addition, the band has taken advantage of gaming opportunities both through bingo and electronic gaming machines. The band has also developed a significant construction capability both for new construction and maintenance of reserve buildings and infrastructure. These activities both suit the local economic opportunities and fit the profile of the reserve labour force. While the majority of workers in on reserve business are band members there are significant employment opportunities for local workers from Truro and other communities.

Community planning is structured around a holistic view of development, one that includes social, mental, emotional, spiritual and physical aspects of the community and its members. There is an emphasis on education and training, as vehicles to create opportunities for young people. They also pursue free enterprise, often forming long-term business partnerships, via joint ventures and/or long-term land leases.

*A diversified economy and effective governance*

The economic base of Millbrook is diversified. It consists of real estate development, fisheries, technology, gaming and tobacco. Since 2001, the five main contributors to the business enterprise revenues of the Band have been Millbrook Fisheries, Millbrook



Tobacco Store, Millbrook Treaty Gas, Gaming Commission Revenues and Rental Authority. Notable projects include:

- **The Truro Power Centre**, a mixed-use business park and lifestyle centre inaugurated in 2011. It consists of a lease of federal land signed by the Band Council with private partners. It hosts a hotel, a recreational vehicle retailer, an aquaculture facility, a multiplex theatre, and the Millbrook Culture and Heritage Centre. The Band Council also owns Caldwell Glen Developments, which has apartment complexes in Cole Harbour, among them retirement units.
- **Millbrook Fisheries** is another venture operated by the Band Council. Through a fishing agreement with the Federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans, they own 50 fishing licenses and 14 boats. They count with a wharf and freezer at Sheet Harbour, and a community wharf constructed in Joggins. The fishery activity is being developed in addition to the trout aquaculture facility in Truro Power Centre.
- **Technology investments** include software and programme development. The Band has a partnership agreement with General Dynamics Canada, whereby they constructed a building that was then leased to General Dynamics to house the Maritime Helicopter Project. Another initiative is Millbrook Technologies Inc., a company specialised in the design, development and delivery of customised software. They have already successfully developed programmes for Chiefs of Ontario and the Province of Nova Scotia.
- **The Millbrook Culture and Heritage Centre** offers a multimedia presentation of the history of the Mi'kmaw people, including ancient artefacts, stunning quillwork and beadwork. This Centre is part of the recommended itinerary “Nova Scotia Nature and First Nations”. Developing a sustainable Aboriginal tourism sector, focused on educational activities and cultural experiences, is an area to be further explored. A study from 2011 on Mi'kmaq tourism in Nova Scotia revealed that international tourists have strong interest in these types of activity, and concluded that active marketing is important to reach this audience (Lynch et al., 2011<sup>[9]</sup>). They also signalled that cultural centres such as the Millbrook Culture and Heritage Centre can act as a meeting place and allow the Mi'kmaq to learn and reconnect with their culture.
- **Truro Millbrook Wind Limited Partnership** owns and operates a wind energy generation facility located 5km southwest of Truro, Nova Scotia, on private land. The project is part of the Nova Scotia Department of Energy's Community Feed-In-Tariff (COMFIT) program, and began supplying energy to Nova Scotia Power in January 2015. The energy produced is enough to power thousands of homes with stable, local and clean renewable energy.

Millbrook First Nation has been praised for its leadership on economic development, receiving awards and mention in government and academic publications.

#### *Key economic development issues for the future*

Millbrook FN has been very successful at leveraging the benefits of its location into a range of business activities and had linked its economic development with social development—own source revenues are used to re-invest in public goods (infrastructure, social participation, human capital development).

The community's key economic development strategy for the future are to expand its land based through addition to reserve (ATR) process. At present this process is subject to long delays and needs to be improved (as recommended in Chapter 3). There are emerging business opportunities in the Cannabis industry, renewable energy, and gaming which will be a focus over the coming years. It will be critical these activities proceed alongside engaging local community members in employment and training as well.

### *Mashteuatsh Community First Nation, Québec*

Mashteuatsh is an Innu First Nation reserve located in the vicinities of the Lake Saint Jean, 7km from the city of Roberval, in the region of Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean, in the province of Québec. Founded in 1856, it is the oldest Innu reserve in Canada. Several accounts stress the historical importance of this territory as a place of gathering and exchange among Innu people. The Innu are one of the 11 Indigenous First Nations in Québec, not to be confounded with the Inuit. The denomination Mashteuatsh was officially attributed in 1985; traditionally, this group called themselves Pekuakamiulnuatsh (Inuatsh du Pekuakami). They speak a western mountain dialect of the Innu language, but French is the vehicular language (Teoran, 2006<sub>[10]</sub>).

As of 2017, the registered population is of 6 562 people, being 2 085 residents of the community and 4 447 living off-reserve. The population is composed of families of different origins: besides Innu, there are Abénakis, Attikameks and Cris, and mixed-race people (Teoran, 2006<sub>[10]</sub>).<sup>4</sup> Teoran identifies three types of co-existing identities in the reserve: the Innu of the forest, which are the “original” population and often “traditionalist”; the mixed-race people and Indigenous from other Nations, who tend to be more progressive in matters of local economic development; and the whites married to Indigenous people, who in practical terms keep a respectful distance from the Innu culture and do not intervene in community affairs (Teoran, 2006, p. 43<sub>[10]</sub>).

**Table 6.4. Profile of Mashteuatsh Community**

Reserves	Type of region	Predominantly rural remote
	Size of reserve	1 522
	Population	6 811
Governance	Type of government	Band
	Size of council	One chief and six councillors
Income	Ratio of average total income to Province's average total income (%)	71.8
Labour force participation	Employment rate (%)	40.3
	Main industries (%)	Health, education (10.2) and Manufacturing, construction (8.2)
Education	Population aged 15 and over with a degree (%)	62.2
	of which population with university degree (%)	9.2
Mobility	Lived at the same address 5 years ago (%)	72.5

Source: Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (2019<sub>[1]</sub>), *First Nation Profiles*, <http://fnp-ppn.aandc-aadnc.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/SearchRV.aspx?lang=eng> (accessed on 18 April 2019).

### *Economy focussed on forestry and sustainable tourism*

Inhabitants of the reserve frequent the neighbouring urban centres with regularity, for services and commercial activities. They either work or depend on welfare assistance; in any case they are not isolated from the surrounding society. Youth needs to complete secondary education outside the community, as the local offer stops at elementary school.

The local economy is based on logging, construction, transport, and arts and handicrafts. Hunting and fishing are traditional activities (castor, bear, salmon and lake fish). There are approximately 130 businesses on the Mashteuiatsh reserve, among food, restaurants, hotel and camping accommodations, auto mechanics, taxi, arts and handicrafts, plumbing and electrician, translation, hardware and convenience store (Nametau Innu, 2010<sup>[11]</sup>).

In terms of services for entrepreneurs, *Développement Piekuakami Innuatsh* (DPI), a limited partnership, manages contracts signed with major businesses and state corporations. A local development organisation, the Mashteuiatsh SDEI, further provides financial support and assistance for business development, such as drawing business plans. The band council helps by providing the necessary infrastructure for business. For instance, they designated land to create an industrial zone in the reserve—one of the few communities to have done so across Canada.

Forestry is the most important sector of activity, after the public and the para-public sectors. Innu forestry entrepreneurs manage businesses of harvesting and transportation of wood and reforestation in which Aboriginal interests hold the majority of shares and decision-making powers. Their main reason to start a business was to become one's own boss and to help the community. The social impact of business, especially in terms of job creation and support to youth, is an important element of Indigenous entrepreneurship, as identified in the literature (Beaudoin, Lebel and Bouthillier, 2009<sup>[12]</sup>).

Another important sector of activity is sustainable tourism. Tourism is not a new sector of activity for the Mashteuiatsh, having existed, at varying degrees since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Since 1977, the Amerindian Museum promotes and preserves the Innu culture. Handicrafts and hunting and fishing excursions with local guides have long existed. Other activities are carried out off-reserve, such as excursions in the forest, with storytelling and food experiences. According to the Mashteuiatsh SDEI, a coherent and strategic vision for the tourism industry is missing. The offer of accommodation and food is quite limited, and there is competition from nearby cultural sites. The tourism strategy of 2017, elaborated by SDEI, is to be put in place by a steering committee over the course of 2018 (SDEI, 2017, p. 33<sup>[13]</sup>).

### *Governance and strategic planning*

The official name of the band is the *Montagnais du Lac-St-Jean*. It is composed of one chief and six councillors, elected for three-year mandates. The band council manages the provision of social and health services in the community centre, as well as the existing public facilities – an Indigenous museum, primary and elementary schools, a youth centre, a sports centre and the church (Teoran, 2006<sup>[10]</sup>).

They are affiliated to the Mamuitun Tribal Council, which is composed of four other bands (Pessamit, Essipit, Matimekush-Lac John and Uashat mak Mani-Utenam). The Tribal Council was created in 1990 and became operational in 1992. Its mission is to provide technical services to the bands, notably on matters of community planning, construction and infrastructure, skills development, and natural resources exploitation. Its main fields of expertise are architecture, engineering and public management. The Council can also help

bands access external resources to carry projects or studies (Conseil Tribal Mamuitun, 2018<sup>[14]</sup>).

The Mashteuiatsh elected council (Katakuhimatsheta) is the main body that enacts documents and guidelines for community development. The main strategic document, the “Priority and Orientations 2017-2021”, presents an overview of the community, including:

1. The good quality of community infrastructure.
2. The numbers of skilled workers are growing, while the language and the traditional knowledge continue to be preserved.
3. Social instability due to persistent poverty and identity conflicts.
4. Limited access to external funds and little autonomy to manage programmes.
5. Strong engagement of First Nation to promote sustainable development that respects cultural values and gravitates towards autonomy.

Departing from this document, a “Strategic Plan for Economic Development 2017-2022” was elaborated by the band council and community development associations (DPI, SDEI and SHAM). They signalled as conditions for the success of the plan: community mobilisation, improved coordination among development organisations; more transparent decision-making; and reduced bureaucratic red tape for entrepreneurs and researchers. The plan identifies challenges and objectives for the sectors of forestry, energy, mining, tourism and commerce and services.

The community also has a 2017 spatial plan, which deals with the occupation and management of the traditional territory Tshitassinu (Pekuakamiulnuatsh Takuhikan, 2017<sup>[15]</sup>). The plan defends the protection of traditional territory while recognising that some areas can be set as priority for occupation and development. It signals that co-existence with non-Indigenous land users is hampered by the lack of information and sensitivity about what traditional occupation means.

### *Negotiation of the comprehensive land claim Agreement*

The *Montagnais du Lac St-Jean* have been negotiating a comprehensive land claim agreement with the governments of Canada and Québec since 1979. Initially, 5 other Nations were included in the process, but 3 have withdrawn since then. As of today, the other Indigenous Nations involved are the *Innu Essipit* and the *Montagnais de Natashquan*. The Petapan Treaty has undergone extensive consultation processes. Each of the three Nations will pass a referendum to decide on the ratification.

The Treaty will grant self-government powers over the continuous territory of *Innu Assi*, imposing an end to land encroachments. The Nations will no longer be subject to the Indian Act (Regroupement Petapan, 2015<sup>[16]</sup>). It regulates matters of governmental autonomy, justice administration, finance, land regime, culture and heritage, socioeconomic development, fishing and hunting, environment and natural parks. The Nations will have exclusive land rights, without extinguishment of Aboriginal rights to land. Consequently, they will have exclusive fishing and hunting rights.

Nations will be able to much greater control over economic development. Even though the Crown still holds mineral and hydroelectric rights, any project will be subject to the assent of Nations. Nations will participate as co-owners of extractive projects. Future projects will also contain benefit-sharing mechanisms, including priority in hiring local workforce.

Moreover, Nations will receive a cash settlement, which is a monetary compensation for the sum of past developments that they were excluded from.

The counterpart of autonomy is that Nations will have to become self-sufficient. Within 12 years of the signature of the agreement, it is foreseen that federal funds will no longer be transferred to the communities and the Nations will have to collect taxes and generate revenues on their own. Promoting local economic development, either in partnership with the government or by themselves, will become an even stronger imperative.<sup>5</sup>

### *Key economic development issues for the future*

There are two key issues facing Mashteuiatsh FN: i) the negotiation of the Petapan Treaty; ii) regional land use planning and harmonisation with provincial regulation. The conclusion of the negotiation of the Petapan Treaty with the 3 Nations will put an end to the legal uncertainty that has surrounded this issue for the past 40 years. As recommended in Chapter 3, and in line with the recommendations made by the Standing Committee on Indigenous People of the House of Commons of Canada (Mihychuk, 2018<sup>[17]</sup>), the government should give consideration to ending the practice of requiring that Indigenous rights holders extinguish their inherent and/or treaty rights as a prerequisite for an agreement. It should also give continuity to the strategy of engagement underlined in the *Guide of Good Practices for Sustainable Business Partnerships between the Innu community and regional actors* (Groupe de travail Premières Nations, 2015<sup>[18]</sup>), by raising awareness about the guide, facilitating exchanges and partnerships and supporting Indigenous entrepreneurs. Other key issues are:

- To revise the land use plan for the traditional territory (Tshitassinu) to take into consideration the fact that the community does not have exclusive access and use rights over it, and that, in its current form, the plan does not have legal validity.
- To develop a strategic plan for the industrial park.
- To invest in skills training of local population in restauration and development of local products in order to promote cultural tourism and diversify the local offer. A partnership with the Centre of Technology Transfer of Saint Félicien (Cegep) could help realise these aims.<sup>6</sup>

## Rural remote

### ***Gjoa Haven and Pangnirtung, Nunavut***

Nunavut means “our land” in the Inuit language. It is Canada’s largest and newest territory with 35 944 inhabitants from which four-fifth are Inuit. Nunavut encompasses three administrative regions: Baffin, Kitikmeot and Kivalliq. The capital of Nunavut is Iqaluit. In the 2016 Census of population survey, about 96 per cent inhabitants identified themselves as Inuk (Inuit). Inuit is one of the three official Indigenous groups in Canada.

Territory faces challenges related to social problems such as alcohol and other subsidies abuses, crime and unemployment. Currently, 21.5 percent of the Nunavut labour force is unemployed, the rate is higher than the national average. The largest employer in the region is the government of Nunavut.

### *Governance, Nunavut Agreement and land use*

The land claims settlement discussion started in the 1970s. In 1993 two Acts were proposed to the Canadian Parliament: the first was Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and the second was Nunavut Act. Nunavut was established in 1999 under the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (now referred as Nunavut Agreement). The title was given to the Nunavut Settlement Area based on their traditional and current use and occupation of the lands, waters and land-fast ice. The Agreement is the largest comprehensive land claim settlement reached between a state and Indigenous Peoples in the world. It consists of over 40 chapters, which goes beyond the ownership and management of lands, including articles on creation of Nunavut and Government of Nunavut, Inuit employment in government, and Inuit participation in social and cultural policy-making.

The government of Nunavut is a public government and it differs from other governments of Canada with one important difference: it operates within the framework of the Nunavut Agreement. The Nunavut Agreement legally obligates the government to consult with the 85 percent Inuit population on a wide range of issues that have an impact on the lives of Nunavut Indigenous People.

The government has a new mandate: Tuuraqtavut. It will guide the work of the government of Nunavut until 2021. The mandate has five key priorities:

1. Work towards the well-being and self-reliance of their people and their communities.
2. Develop their infrastructure and economy in ways that support a positive future for their people, their communities, and their land.
3. Provide education and training that prepares children, youth, and adult learners for positive contributions to society and for meaningful employment.
4. Strengthen Nunavut as a distinct territory in Canada and the world.
5. Work in partnership to advance the goals and aspirations of Nunavummiut.

Under the Nunavut Agreement 1993, the Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. (NTI) was created to protect the rights of the Inuit. NTI is the organisation that represents Inuit under the Agreement. NTI's mission is to promote Inuit economic, social and cultural well-being through the implementation of the Nunavut Agreement. NTI is governed by a Board of Directors elected by Nunavut Inuit.

The Nunavut Planning Commission (NPC) is established under the Nunavut Agreement and is responsible for the development, implementation and monitoring of land use plans in the Nunavut Settlement Area. Currently, Nunavut has two land use plans: the North Baffin Regional Land Use Plan (NBRLUP) and the Keewatin Regional Land Use Plan (KRLUP). These land use plans provide guidance and direction for the conservation, development and utilisation of land within their respective planning regions. The NPC is preparing a land use plan that will cover the whole territory. The drafted plan will guide which parts of the territory are open for exploration and resource development, and which areas are protected. The land use plan will not be ready until at least 2022.

### *Economic opportunities and bottlenecks to development*

Nunavut is a region which is highly dependent on government transfers and public employment with potential for future private sector growth and investment. The private sector economy includes local non-tradeable activities (e.g. construction, retail), and a

tradeable sector limited to mining, fisheries and small-scale tourism. The home market is small and government employment is important to the stability of the overall economy – a key to generating job opportunities and wealth in the future is expanding the tradeable sector (mining, fisheries and tourism related services).

The Nunavut Economic Development Strategy (NEDS1) 2003-2013 was focused on four pillars: the land, their people, their community economies and their territorial economy. Each of these pillars incorporated number of strategic priority areas which had specific action plans such as youth economic development and sustainable land use. As a consequence of NEDS1, Nunavut Economic Forum (NEF) was established. NEF is an independent organisation representing all levels of government, Inuit organisations and a broad range of Nunavut organisations focused on various aspects of the Nunavut economy. This strategy is currently in the process of being updated.

There is a diversity of experiences across the 25 local communities across the region. The region has a vision and strategy for economic development and opportunities related to expanding mining/ fisheries and to a lesser degree tourism. Each community is at a different point in its economic development journey. There is a strong focus on community led development and creating more business and employment opportunities for local people. Many of the key institutions in Nunavut are relatively young (20-25 years old), and they are maturing. The Arctic is increasingly important from a geo-political and economic point of view, which presents opportunities for investment and future development. However there are a number of bottlenecks/ barriers to delivering on these opportunities. These include:

- **Infrastructure and accessibility:** Transport costs are high and have risen in recent decades. This increases the cost of doing businesses in the territory, and flows through into the quality of infrastructure, skills formation, and cost of living etc. There is a lack of a long-term land use and infrastructure planning and there is no assessment of infrastructure needs and the costs of maintaining capital stock. Many communities have growing populations and there is a need for more housing and community amenities.
- **Governance and capacity building:** There is a complex governance environment due to tensions between the regional government (represents interest of whole community) and Inuit organisations (represents Inuit interests). This manifests itself at a strategic level in terms of the agreed vision and priorities for Nunavut, and at an operational level in terms of the complementarities between programs and support provided for community economic development in Nunavut. Local governments are small administration that lack capacity and experience high staff turnover. Funding for capacity building is needed on a longer-term basis.
- **Programmes and services are poorly adapted to small remote communities.** Programs and government services need to be more flexible to operate effectively in such a remote environment, problems existing in accessing program/infrastructure funding and implementing it (matching requirements, administrative burdens, deadlines for expenditure, scheduling and cost of services create barriers to access and effective utilisation).
- **Lack of data.** There is poor availability of data and capacity to use it in policy development and decision-making at a regional level, and there seems to be an absence of data use at the local (Hamlet) level. Fisheries present an enormous

opportunity for Nunavut but there is a lack of data about the quantity of the resource and how quotas should be set.

### *Pangnirtung*

Pangnirtung is located in the Qikiqtaaluk Region on Baffin Island. It has a population of 1 481 which increased by almost 4% over the past five years. The hamlet is located on a coastal plain at Pangnirtung Fjord. The hamlet has gained international recognition for its artisans who produce outstanding traditional sculptures, lithographic prints and woven tapestries. The community operates a turbot fishery and has recently seen major investments in its port facilities. The community has a hotel and is home to the Uqqurmiut Inuit Arts Centre, with its studios and shops. There is currently no Community Economic Development Plan in place for Pangnirtung with an overall vision statement and long-term goals for community development.

**Table 6.5. Profile of Pangnirtung, Nunavut**

Reserves	Type of region	Predominantly rural remote
	Size of hamlet	777
	Registered population	1 481
Governance	Type of government	Hamlet
	Size of council	Mayor and 8 councillors
Income	Ratio of average total income to Provinces average total income (%)	83.5
Labour force participation	Employment rate (%)	48.5
	Main industries (%)	Public administration (27) and retail trade (14)
Education	Population aged 15 and over with a degree (%)	42.9
	of which population with university degree (%)	7.7
Mobility	Lived at the same address 5 years ago (%)	63.4

Source: Statistics Canada Census Profile, 2016 Census.

### *Key economic development issues for the future*

Pangnirtung has successfully developed a commercial fishery and tourism industry; both of which have potential for further growth. Going forward, the community should develop a strategic plan to guide its medium- and longer-term development.

Recent social issues in the committee have highlighted how important it is to engage Pangnirtung's large youth population; a robust economic development strategy is a key part of this. Beyond this, the community urgently needs new investments in housing and amenities for its growing population. Reliance on diesel generation is one the major costs of the hamlet; investments in renewable energy could free up much needed budgets to focus on social and economic priorities.

### *Gjoa Haven*

Gjoa Haven is a community in Kitikmeot region, situated 250 km above the Arctic Circle, with population of 1,197 peoples in 2016. The community was founded by an arctic explorer named Roald Amundsen in 1903. Amundsen set up a camp near the area and stayed there researching the magnetic North Pole. The Inuit people living near the area, now called Gjoa Haven (named after the ship of Roald Amundsen), came and traded goods with Amundsen



and his crew. After Amundsen departure, the Inuit people settled in the area and the community of Gjoa Haven was founded.

**Table 6.6. Profile of Gjoa Haven, Nunavut**

Reserves	Type of region	Predominantly rural remote
	Size of community	2 847
	Registered population	1 324
Governance	Type of government	Hamlet
	Size of council	Mayor and 8 councillors
Income	Ratio of average total income to Province's average total income (%)	70
Labour force participation	Employment rate (%)	41
	Main industries (%)	Public administration (24.4) and retail trade (14)
Education	Population aged 15 and over with a degree (%)	34.9
	of which population with university degree (%)	4.2
Mobility	Lived at the same address 5 years ago (%)	76.2

*Source:* Statistics Canada Census Profile, 2016 Census.

Gjoa Haven is a typical Nunavut community with respect to livelihoods and the economy. The municipal government of Gjoa Haven is the Hamlet of Gjoa Haven. The Hamlet has eight locally elected councillors and a mayor. Senior Administrative Officer (SAO) manages the city council and supervises local departments such as community economic development, land usages and other community services. Like other hamlets and municipalities in Nunavut, the Hamlet of Gjoa Haven receives transfer payments from the government of Nunavut and the city council makes decision how to allocate the money transfers.

Gjoa Haven community plan outlines the policies of the city council for managing the physical development of the Hamlet. The aims of this plan are:

- To create a safe, healthy, functional, and attractive community that reflects community values and culture.
- To promote the Plan as a tool for making effective and consistent decisions regarding land use and development in the community.
- To ensure an adequate supply of land for all types of uses to support the growth and change of community.
- To build upon community values of participation and unity to support community projects and local economic development.
- To protect the natural beauty of “Nuna” and retain waterfront and hinterland areas for public uses and traditional activities.
- To ensure that concerns of erosion, steep slopes and snow drifting are addressed for the long-term health and safety of the community.

In Gjoa Haven, unemployment rates are higher than the average unemployment of Nunavut. Approximately 36.5 percent of the labour force is unemployed. The biggest employers in Gjoa Haven are the government of Nunavut and the city council.

*Key economic development issues for the future:*

The Hamlet of Gjoa Haven is entrepreneurial and open to economic development. But to date, there has not been a focussed economic development strategy and there is no in-depth assessment of the types of opportunities that have potential.

Key economic development issues for the future are:

- Updating the community's development plan to identify key economic assets and development opportunities.
- Taking stock of the community's potential for a commercial fishery and seeking clarity on requirements for commercial fishing quotes (e.g., 5 years of exploratory fishing required before able to obtain a commercial quota).

Like Pangnirtung, Gjoa Haven has major infrastructure investments needs and relies on expensive diesel generation to meet its energy needs.

***Neskantaga First Nation, Ontario***

Rural remote communities face the greatest challenges for basic infrastructure provision and access to services, presenting a challenging environment for community economic development. The experiences of Neskantaga First Nation illustrate these challenges. Neskantaga First Nation is an Oji-Cree First Nation band government located in northern Ontario along the shores of Attawapiskat Lake, 430 kilometres northeast of Thunder Bay, Ontario. It is a very remote community located north of the 52<sup>nd</sup> parallel.<sup>7</sup> It can only be reached by plane (Lansdowne Airport, run by the Ministry of Transportation) or in the winter, by ice roads which are weather dependant and may only be open for along a few weeks a year. Due to its remoteness, it is a challenge to deliver basic infrastructure and costs are high for energy, food and building supplies. For example, fuels costs for the diesel power generator are approximately CAN 2-3 million annually.

While Neskantaga reserve is 830.5 hectares in size, Neskantaga territory extends beyond the reserve and includes territory that is shared with the province. Members of Neskantaga, like many remote First Nation communities, supplement their living by hunting and fishing and use the land for traditional and cultural purposes. As will be discussed, the broader region is seeing an influx of investments related to mining developments (the "Ring of Fire" developments) which on the one hand, has the potential to bring benefits to the community through employment, royalties and new road infrastructure and but which may also threaten access to land and contaminate the environment.

The total registered population of Neskantaga First Nation is 491 as of September 2019.<sup>8</sup> The population of Neskantaga First Nation (both those residing on and off reserve) is younger than that of the population of the province as a whole (at approximately 28 years versus 41 for the province of Ontario in 2016). The average income of Neskantaga First Nation members was almost half as low as that of the provincial average in 2006 (see Table 6.7). It is important to note that there can be discrepancies between reported data across Government of Canada sources – e.g., differences in reported population between Statistics Canada and Indigenous Services Canada. Data collection difficulties very often stem from the community exercising its option not to participate, rather than the limitation of government attempts to collect such data. Data may also be suppressed for some variables due to the small size of the community (for confidentiality purposes).

**Table 6.7. Profile of Neskantaga First Nation**

Reserves	Type of region	Predominantly rural remote
	Size of reserve	831.5
	Registered population	491 (2019)
Governance	Type of government	Band
	Size of council	Chief and four councillors
Income	Ratio of average total income to Province's average total income (%)	48.4 (2006)
Labour force participation	Employment rate (%)	43.8 (2016)
	Main industries (%)	Other services (24.2) and health, education (18.2) (2016)
Education	Population aged 15 and over with a degree (%)	28.1 (2016)
	of which population with university degree (%)	0 (2016)
Mobility	Lived at the same address 5 years ago (%)	87.5 (2016)

*Note:* Income refers to year 2006; data for the year 2016 is not available. Data for multiple years reported, as noted in table.

*Source:* Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (2019), *First Nation Profiles*, <http://fnppn.aandc-aadnc.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/SearchRV.aspx?lang=eng> (accessed on 18 April 2019).

### *Framework conditions for development are not met*

The right framework conditions need to be in place to support social and economic development. Basic infrastructure and living conditions are not being met in Neskantaga. The band government needs to first focus on addressing pressing social and health issues and infrastructure needs before tackling economic development and it cannot do this alone, federal funding is required. The community has made national headlines for its persistent boil water advisories (going on 20 years now) and social issues, including high rate of suicides and poor health outcomes (Thompson, Post and McBean, 2017<sub>[19]</sub>). The existing water plant, which was only operational for two years, needs upgrading, renovation and improvement in order to supply potable drinking water. Providing safe drinking water is among the top priorities for the community and a commitment of the federal government.<sup>9</sup> The community has secured the funding to develop a new water treatment system, but the project has stalled as of August 2019.

In 2013, the Neskantaga issued an emergency declaration following two consecutive suicides of two young boys. Up to 2016, the small community counted four suicides and 20 suicide attempts (CBC News, 2016<sub>[20]</sub>). While ad-hoc programs were installed in response, for instance psychologists and councillors were sent from the federal and provincial government, these programs are not sustainably delivered and could not prevent a further two deaths in the grief-stricken community. The Band council declared it would not lift the state of emergency until living conditions in the community improved, including the boil water advisory and overcrowded housing. Living conditions are poor with as many as five families living in a single home; mould is common in homes leading to health problems (CBC News, 2016<sub>[20]</sub>).

### *Governance arrangements*

Neskantaga Band Council is elected under a custom electoral system every two years. The next elections will take place in 2019. At a regional level, Neskantaga First Nation is a member of the Matawa First Nations Tribal Council and the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation, a

Tribal Organisation representing most of the First Nations in Northern Ontario. The community recently transitioned from co-managed to self-management within nine months. They recently hired a new band manager, adopted new financial policies, developed a new management action plan, developed a new HR policy, a new organisational structure and met with their community continuously.

Neskantaga First Nation are signatories to Treaty 9, also known as the James Bay Treaty. Treaty 9 was established in 1905 between the Government of Canada, the Government of Ontario and a range of First Nation Governments in Northern Ontario. It is one of the first tripartite agreements concluded involving a province. The treaty covers more than 2/3 of the territory of the Province of Ontario. The purpose of Treaty 9 was to secure the interests of the resident Cree and Ojibwa Nations to lands and resources to make way for settlement and resource development. The treaty contains provisions for cash treaty payments, the creation of reserves, education and hunting, fishing and trapping rights. The treaty states that that reserve land “shall be held and administered by His Majesty, for the benefit of the Indians,” and that “in no ways shall the said Indians, or any of them, be entitled to sell or otherwise alienate any of the lands allotted to them as reserves” – these contentious provisos limit self-governance and land use. Since its inception, Indigenous leaders have argued that the treaty does not include what was promised to the First Nations. In 2011, the Mishkeegomang Nation questioned the validity of the treaty in a lawsuit.

### *Community services*

Neskantaga is served by one school for children up to the age of grade nine. Children above grade nine go to Thunder Bay to continue their education. Other community assets include: a community centre, a community radio station and various programmes and various services such as child and family services, economic development, the family wellbeing program, Neskantaga education centre, the fire department and health services. In terms of private services, the community has one grocery store which is not owned by the community (the Northern Store) along with a postal outlet (Canada Post).

Neskantaga Council provides information, training and educational workshops to enhance employability and develop skills and is responsible for development of plans for the use of traditional lands for community members, works to access funding for band-owned business ventures and provides coaching in areas such as business plan development and assistance in obtaining financial support for people wanting to start own business. In 2014, the Neskantaga Training Centre opened which offers online learning access to secondary and post-secondary institutions, safety training courses, and trades and technical certifications.

Neskantaga First Nation has participated in the Community Wellbeing Pilot Project (Ring of Fire) funded by Indigenous Services Canada. Based on this work, Neskantaga’s ongoing and emerging priorities are the need to strengthen financial management and governance, address critical infrastructure needs such as housing and water management and to address mental health and addictions. Overall, the Community Wellbeing Pilot Project aims to improve health and well-being and tests a place-based, whole-of-government single-window approach. It aims to improve community readiness to take part in economic opportunities presented by mining developments in the region.

### *The Ring of Fire development*

Northern Ontario is rich in natural resources, including chromite. Large investments are now being made to open this area to further development which impacts FNs and their

treaty lands—known as the ‘Ring of Fire’ developments. The area is approximately 5 000 square kilometres (km<sup>2</sup>) in size, with most mineral discoveries to date located within a 20-kilometre-long strip. For perspective, the Ring of Fire covers an area slightly smaller than the Calgary Metropolitan Area (5,108 km<sup>2</sup>). It has a known mineral potential of approximately \$60 billion and the first commercial quantities of chromite discovered in North America (Chong, 2014<sup>[21]</sup>). Neskantaga and other First Nations have the potential to benefit from royalties as well as jobs and new infrastructure. Yet, the project also presents considerable ecological challenges as it is located in delicate wetlands that function as important carbon storage. Communities also have concerns about the growth of large and predominantly male work camps operating in the north.

Mining operations can only proceed after First Nations on the land are duly consulted and accommodated. Negotiations with the provincial government are complex, as priorities diverge. In 2014, the province and the nine member Matawa First Nations signed a regional framework agreement to work together such matters as environmental monitoring, resource revenue sharing and infrastructure. While some other FN Treaty 9 signatories have entered into Impact Benefit agreements (IBAs) with mining firms to date, Neskantaga have not.<sup>10</sup> However, Neskantaga FN remains engaged in consultation and negotiations for environmental assessments and impact benefit agreements regarding mining on its traditional lands.

IBAs can differ considerably in scope and content and may include monetary (e.g., royalty agreements) and non-monetary (e.g., employment) benefits. For communities like Neskantaga where rates of high school completion are low, employment related benefits may not readily be drawn on. These types of considerations are faced by a host of Canada’s northern communities, including those in the arctic where wealth fails to contribute to the development remote communities given that have little capacity to retain wealth due to intense economic leakage (Rodon, 2018<sup>[22]</sup>). The provincially funded Regional Framework Agreement involved community consultation and negotiation with FNs on the environmental assessment process, the setup of community benefit funds, infrastructure development and issues around revenue sharing. In 2018, a new provincial government came into power in Ontario and ended this consultation process, though negotiations continue with a less formalised structure (Ross, 2018<sup>[23]</sup>).

Neskantaga First Nation has partnered with Webequie, Eabametoong, and Nibinamik First Nations to complete a regional community service corridor study to examine the benefits of developing an all-season transportation corridor connecting First Nation communities in the area with existing roadways, enabling them to capitalise on opportunities related to resource development in the region, including the Ring of Fire.

### *Key economic development issues for the future*

Neskantaga has pressing social and infrastructure needs. It is challenging to consider economic development opportunities given this context. The Ring of Fire developments have the potential bring employment and fiscal benefits through an impact benefit agreement with industry. However, community members are ill-prepared to take advantage of some of the typical aspects of an IBA such as employment because they do not have the appropriate qualifications. Moreover, they may not wish to support these activities given their potentially negative environmental and social impacts.

Neskantaga have proven their governance capabilities having transitioned from co-managed to self-management within nine months and they have a development strategy in place that is focussed on meeting community needs. The community plans to continue

on the trajectory of upgrading housing and basic infrastructure such as the water treatment facility. A next step to consider is for the community to purchase and operate its only store (the Northern store), so that profits stay in the community. While Neskantaga continues to engage with the Ring of Fire development, funding is needed to take part in this important work. The withdrawal of funding for the Regional Framework Agreement hinders this process.

### **Box 6.1. Matawa First Nations Management**

Matawa First Nations Management Inc. is a Tribal Council representing nine Ojibway and Cree First Nations: Aroland First Nation; Constance Lake First Nation; Eabametoong First Nation; Ginoogaming First Nation; Neskantaga First Nation; Long Lake 58 First Nation; Marten Falls First Nation; Nibinamik First Nation and Webequie First Nation. It is one of over 70 Tribal Councils funded by Indigenous Services Canada (ISC) to support the administration and management costs associated with operating a regional service delivery organisation. These services include: band management, capital and housing management, community infrastructure, economic development, education, lands, registration and membership and, social development. It is important to note that the decisions of the Tribal Council are not necessarily recognised by the communities and the community band councils and there can be friction between the Matawa Tribal Councils service delivery functions and its advocacy efforts.

All nine member First Nations that are part of Matawa Tribal Council are also part of Treaty 9, with the exception of Long Lake #58 which lies within the boundaries of the Robinson Superior Treaty of 1850. The Matawa First Nations are also members of Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN), where the Matawa Chiefs come together with 41 other Northern and Northwestern Ontario First Nation Chiefs for political advocacy and to work on common issues.

#### **Matawa Tribal Council**

Matawa First Nations was established in 1988, initially to provide a variety of services and programs in their First Nations. With time it has united First Nations and helps them to support each other to pursue social and economic opportunities by focussing collective efforts and setting strategic priorities. The Corporation is structured along three Pillars. The Matawa First Nations Management that runs a large variety of services and programs. This includes a Financial Advisory Services (capacity development in terms of governance, management and financial advisory, working with Band, Finance and Program Managers) as well as Economic Development (encouraging a diverse private sector and entrepreneurial culture, comprehensive community economic development planning), Ring of Fire Office (Coordinating Activities to help communities benefit from the ring of fire, information sharing on mining exploration, assists in negotiations). In addition they have two other structures, running operations in the profit and not-for profit sector. These are the not-for-profit Kiikenomaga Kikenjigewen Employment & Training Services (KKETS) and the Minawshyn Development Corporation that is engaged in regional development in relation to infrastructure, resource development and construction.

Matawa First Nations aim to combine modern socio-economic development opportunities with traditional culture and heritage and are concerned with building capacity and economic prosperity fit their futures generations and aim to succeed in the national

economy. Their three values are 1) work together 2) dynamic sustainable communities 3) uphold quality of life.

### **Infrastructure**

In late 2017, Matawa First Nations received \$69.2M to build broadband internet network for five of their remote fly-in communities. The funds will be allocated to Rapid Lynx, a regional telecommunications company established by the Matawa First Nations in January 2017 to build and administer an 881 km fibre-optic cable network connecting the remote communities and make the network community owned. Both the construction and operational phases of the project will mean employment for First Nation members across the Matawa region and local businesses that support this work. The financing came after 5 years of lobbying.

Source: Matawa (2019<sup>[24]</sup>), *Matawa - First Nations Management*, <http://www.matawa.on.ca/> (accessed on 6 May 2019).

## **Urban**

### ***Kahnawà:ke, Mohawk Nation, Québec***

Mohawks of *Kahnawà:ke* or *Kahnawake* (Kahnawákeró:non) are one of the eight communities that make up the Mohawk (Kanien:keha'ka) Nation.<sup>11</sup> Their main reserve (Kahnawake 14) lies along the St Lawrence River in Quebec, just across from the city of Montreal. The band also shares an uninhabited reserve (Doncaster 17) with another band, the Mohawks of Kanasatake, which is used for hunting, fishing and spiritual purposes. Kahnawake Reserve encompasses 4 902 hectares (12 113.1 acres) and Doncaster Reserve has 7 900 hectares (19 521.33 acres). In 2018 the band had 11 205 members of which 3 123 live off reserve.<sup>12</sup>

The Kahnawà:ke of the Mohawk Nation are one of five member nations of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy—meaning the People of the long house (the other nation members are the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas).<sup>13</sup> The Haudenosaunee Confederacy have historically occupied a large portion of the territory south of the Saint Lawrence River and below Lake Ontario.

Mohawk traditional territories extended west from Vermont up to the St. Lawrence River, down to what is now the southern border of New York State and west to roughly the Ontario and Quebec border before European arrivals.<sup>14</sup> The Mohawk population now numbering just under 50 000 is widely dispersed across a small number of reserves, with the largest number of Mohawks being in Quebec, Ontario and New York.

In 1680 the French Crown granted lands to the Jesuits to set up a mission for the Iroquois of the Sault, now the Mohawks of Kahnawà:ke, which was gradually encroached upon by settlers. The original land grants consisted of 40-50 000 acres of land. After Confederation, the Indian Act allowed the Canadian government to expropriate additional land for rail, road, power lines and seaway infrastructure. The Mohawks of Kahnawà:ke have filed multiple claims against Canada regarding these events.

**Table 6.8. Profile of Kahnawà:ke Mohawk Nation**

Reserves	Type of region	Predominantly urban region
	Size of reserve	Kahnawake reserve 4 902 Doncaster reserve 7 900
	Population	11 093
Governance	Type of government	Band
	Size of council	One chief and 11 councillors
Income	Ratio of average total income to Province's average total income	
Labour force participation	Employment rate	
	Main industries	
Education	Population aged 15 and over with a degree	
	of which population with university degree	

Source: Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (2019<sub>[1]</sub>), *First Nation Profiles*, <http://fnppn.aandc-aandc.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/SearchRV.aspx?lang=eng> (accessed on 18 April 2019).

### *One of the largest bands in Canada*

The population of roughly 8 000 individuals living on the reserve makes this one of the largest bands in Canada and by far the largest band located within a major metropolitan area. The community has other defining features. Because it lies on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River, directly across from the Island of Montreal, it plays a key role in transportation infrastructure. Both a major railway and bridge pass through the reserve as well as several highways and the main canal of the St Lawrence Seaway. These transport routes are vital to the Montreal region, but less so for the people of Kahnawà:ke, who see them as an intrusion on their territory and culture that provides little economic benefit. Discussion with local stakeholders indicated that while most members of the band spoke French a hundred years ago, today very few are fluent in French. This may reduce opportunities for economic and social participation of band in the surrounding metropolitan region.

As an urban reserve, development opportunities are radically different than rural reserves that are geographically isolated. A close proximity to Montreal provides access to a broad array of goods and services and connection to a range of supply chains and industries. While the Reserve has approximately 12 000 acres of land, much of it is prime farmland. Especially following the numerous expropriations, there is too little land to provide a significant amount of income and employment from farming for the population. There are challenges in terms of expanding the size of the reserve by adding contiguous land, since the reserve is now surrounded by commercial and residential development.

### *Long-established governance*

The traditional Haudenosaunee system of governance is thought to have influenced the structure of the United States Constitution. The exact date of the founding of the Confederacy by the prophet known as the Peacemaker is unknown, however, it is described said to be ‘time immemorial, making it one of the first and longest lasting participatory democracies in the world.’<sup>15</sup> Within each nation there was a system of clans that were common across the confederacy. Clans followed a matrilineal structure with each nation having overlapping clans, but with different numbers of clans per nation. Mohawk people are organised into three clans – Wolf, Bear and Turtle. Other Nations have different clan



numbers with the Onondaga having all nine clans. Individuals in one clan can move from one Nation to another by marrying a member of the same clan from another nation. Because the clan structure cuts across the Six Nations and is the basic unit of social organisation it became a main link for the Confederacy.

Each clan in each nation provided one member to a 50-person Grand Council that provided common leadership for the nations. Below the Grand Council is a Council of Chiefs for each nation that deals with local issues. Traditionally Chiefs were chosen by the mothers of each clan to govern and represent the clam and could be deposed by these women.

While the traditional system of governance remains in place and still plays an important role, governance is now shared with an administrative structure imposed by the Indian Act. Each band elects a Chief and members of a Band Council to manage internal government functions on a reserve and act as counterparty to the federal government. Tensions exist on most reserves between these two structures, with one having formal administrative power and the other relying on traditional authority.

### *A diversified urban economy*

The Kahnawà:ke local economy in the 1800s moved to a reliance on farming as the area around Montreal steadily urbanised. As agriculture modernised, it required fewer people and a greater investment in equipment and livestock that was difficult for the members of the band to provide. While women still had a role in farming, opportunities for men became more limited. However, in 1886 construction of an iron bridge across the St. Lawrence River provided an initial opportunity for work in construction. This initial activity led to male members of the band becoming a dominant force in high rise steel construction in Canada and the United States.

During the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, several hundred members of the community could be working at any time on high rise construction projects as steel workers. The high wages associated with this work and the significant number of individuals involved in it led Kahnawà:ke to become the highest income reserve in Canada through the 1990s. More recently, employment in high rise steel has declined due to a combination of less building activity, a shift in construction methods, and more restrictive immigration regulations by the United States.

For an extended period of time the Mohawks of Kahnawà:ke engaged in a profitable cigarette retail and manufacturing industry that relied on the large local market in Montreal. Because reserve tobacco sales are exempt from provincial and federal taxes, cigarettes can be sold at a lower price. The development of cigarette manufacturing added more profit and increased on-reserve employment.<sup>16</sup> Declining cigarette consumption and increased difficulty in obtaining tobacco have reduced sales and employment in recent years.

Like many other reserves near large urban populations, the Mohawks of Kahnawà:ke have a large gaming enterprise. However, unlike most reserves that continue to rely on gamblers who are physically present in gaming establishments, the Mohawks of Kahnawà:ke have moved into on-line gaming.<sup>17</sup> The community managed Gaming Commission offers gambling licenses to internet-based poker, casino, and sports sites. It has established Kahnawà:ke as a substantial player in that field of business. For instance, Mohawk Internet Technologies (MIT), a local data center located within the territory, hosts and manages many internet gambling websites and is a large employer.

The large reserve population offers considerable opportunity for public sector employment including, health, education, construction and maintenance, police and judicial services and

other local services. The local public sector now employs about 40% of the workforce. However, the majority of funding for the public sector continues to flow from the Canadian government, although it is increasingly supplemented by own-source revenue.

Nevertheless, in 2015, 23% of the active labor force aged 15 to 24 was unemployed.<sup>18</sup> A lack of French skills contributes to the high unemployment rates among Mohawks in Kahnawà:ke according to the Kahnawà:ke Economic Development Commission. Most people in the community speak English as well as their native language, while local businesses like cigarette vendors, the golf course and restaurants increasingly look for employees speaking French. Opportunities for work off-reserve are also limited by skill gaps and ongoing mutual suspicion between the two cultures that hampers better economic integration.

### *The legacy of the Oka Crisis*

In August 1990 the Mohawks of Kanesatake (later also Kahnawà:ke), were involved in a major land dispute with the Canadian Government over an area called “the Pines”, used as an Indigenous burial ground close to the municipality of Oka. In 1970 the establishment of a golf club partly built on ‘the Pines’ without Mohawk consent, sparked outrage by the band. The Mohawks of Kanesatake submitted land claims over ‘the Pines’; however, they were rejected by the Federal government. This led to growing frustrations in the community. In 1989, an extension of the Golf Club was announced by the city of Oka which led to a violent conflict between the Mohawks and the Quebec police force and later the Canadian military. The Mohawk Warrior Society, a group of Mohawks present in Kanesatake and Kahnawà:ke, blocked access to the lands in question in protest. The Mohawks of Kahnawà:ke joined the protest to demonstrate solidarity, blocking the Mercier Bridge leading to Montreal. Unsuccessful negotiations and hardening positions resulted in Canadian military intervention in late August 1990. While the Mohawk warriors in Kahnawà:ke negotiated a deal that led to the reopening of the Mercier Bridge, armed military forces dismantled the main blockage at ‘the Pines’, ending the crisis in September 1990. The golf course expansion was cancelled.

Following this, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples was established to address issues of Aboriginal land status. It resulted in a 20-year agenda to implement real change in the relationship between Canada and its Indigenous population and urges Canadians to begin a national process of reconciliation. The issue of who holds title of the land of ‘the Pines’ remains unresolved, while no further development of the land is pursued. Land disputes continue to affect relations among the Mohawks of Kahnawà:ke, and the Governments of Quebec and Canada. While land use in Canada is largely a function that the provinces have delegated to local authorities, when First Nations are involved the Federal government is inevitably a party because only it can negotiate directly with the First Nation (in the case where the First Nation has a treaty).

### *Key economic development issues for the future*

The Band Council is currently exploring efforts to better understand the economic development objectives and concerns of the community. Its ability to do this is hampered by a lack of data because the Mohawks of Kahnawà:ke do not participate in federal and provincial data collection programs. This leaves the Council having to collect its own data in a mostly ad hoc manner.

Key development problems on the reserve include an increasing mismatch between workforce skills and opportunities for both on and off-reserve employment. In addition,

low skill workers have unrealistic wage expectations based on legacy jobs in steel and tobacco that will not return. In addition, the Council sees limited opportunities for youth to engage with employers through summer jobs as another barrier.

Given this, some of the main economic development issues for the future are:

- Developing an up to date economic development strategy based on sound local data.
- Leveraging the success of existing business to develop new opportunities.
- Tackling the skills divide with flexible training programmes geared to job readiness and smooth transition to employment in partnership with local community colleges.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> These include: Hamlet of Gjoa Haven (phone-based), Nunavut's Millbrook First Nation, Nova Scotia; Kahnawá:ke Mohawk Territory, Quebec; four leaders of Mi'kmaq Nations from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; Mashteuiatsh First Nation, Quebec; Matawa Tribal Council (represents 9 First Nations including Neskantaga), Ontario; Mississaugas of New Credit, Ontario; Neskantaga First Nation, Ontario; Pangnirtung, Nunavut and St'at'imc Nation, British Columbia (phone-based).

<sup>2</sup> The Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation is part of the Ojibwe (Anishinabe) Nation. In the local Indigenous language (Anishinaabemowin) Mississaugas relates to the word "Missisakis" or many river mouths (referring to their location on the Great Lakes). In the mid-1700s, the Ojibwe occupied almost all of Southern Ontario (around the shores of Lakes Huron, and Lake Superior). The arrival of European settlers in Canada disrupted the settlement traditional lands, and resulted in shifting alliances and conflicts between different First Nations. The Mississauga's of New Credit moved south-east from their historical lands in the 1700s. The River they settled at (Credit River) was named because the tribe was known to honour its credit in dealings with French and English fur traders during this 18th century. After the British defeat in the American Revolutionary War in 1781, some of those who were still loyal to the British Crown moved to Canada. These Loyalist settlers mainly moved to the area which is now known as Ontario. The "Toronto Purchase" of 1787 between the British Crown and the Mississauga's of the New Credit enabled the settlement of what is now known as Toronto.

<sup>3</sup> Having lived in the banks of the Salmon River since the late 1700s, relocation to the present area occurred in 1886. The reserve was then 35 acres. In 1916, additional population from Halifax County was relocated to this reserve, in the aftermath of the Halifax Explosion. For this reason, additional 120 acres of land were purchased around that time. It is reported to be the first experiment of centralisation by the Department of Indian Affairs. The current location is composed of seven reserves, namely: Millbrook 27, Beaver Lake 17, Truro (27A, 27B and 27C), Cole Harbour 30 and Sheet Harbour 36. As of December 2017, the population of Millbrook First Nation community was 1 864 people (with 935 of that number living off-reserve).

<sup>4</sup> Mixed race is translated from the French "métis", to designate those who originate from inter-racial marriages between an Indigenous person and a white person. It is not to be confounded with Métis, which is one of the three recognised Aboriginal peoples in Canada.

<sup>5</sup> Information retrieved from: <http://montrealgazette.com/news/innu-within-reach-of-historic-land-settlement>.

<sup>6</sup> Information about the centre available at: <http://www.cegepstfe.ca/>.

<sup>7</sup> The Assembly of First Nations has developed an Index of Remoteness which extends the methodology developed by Statistics Canada in the 2017 report "Measuring Remoteness and Accessibility – A set of Indices for Canadian Communities." See Assembly of First Nations (2018),

remoteness indicators and First Nation education funding,” [https://www.afn.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Remoteness-report.Final\\_May7-2018.pdf](https://www.afn.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Remoteness-report.Final_May7-2018.pdf) for details.

<sup>8</sup> INAC (2019) Registered population, [http://fnp-ppn.aandc-aadnc.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/FNRegPopulation.aspx?BAND\\_NUMBER=239&lang=eng](http://fnp-ppn.aandc-aadnc.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/FNRegPopulation.aspx?BAND_NUMBER=239&lang=eng).

<sup>9</sup> The Trudeau government has made the promise to eradicate all drinking water advisories on First Nations by 2021. In January Indigenous Services Minister announced that the list of long-term advisories stands at 91 and more than 1 000 drinking water systems would now be eligible for support from Indigenous Services Canada. Discussion highlight that it is not only the funding that is lacking behind to stop boil water advisories but also the role indigenous peoples have with regards to decision making in the operation and acceptance of the new systems to be installed.

<sup>10</sup> In 2017 the Ontario government announced it had reached agreements with three First Nations bands (the Webequie, Marten Falls and Nibinamik) to build a highway connecting the Webequie and Nibinamik communities to the provincial highway system, allowing for the development of a proposed mine site.

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.kahnawake.com/community/history.asp>.

<sup>12</sup> [http://fnp-ppn.aandc-aadnc.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/FNRegPopulation.aspx?BAND\\_NUMBER=70&lang=eng](http://fnp-ppn.aandc-aadnc.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/FNRegPopulation.aspx?BAND_NUMBER=70&lang=eng).

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.haudenosauneeconfederacy.com/who-we-are/>.

<sup>14</sup> <http://kateritekakwitha.net/kahnawake/>.

<sup>15</sup> Horn-Miller, K., 2013. What Does Indigenous Participatory Democracy Look Like: Kahnawake's Community Decision Making Process. *Rev. Const. Stud.*, 18, p.111.

<sup>16</sup> Alfred, T., 2010. SPECIAL SECTION ON TWENTY YEARS AFTER KANEHSATÀ: KE: Then and Now, For the Land. *Socialist Studies/Études Socialistes*, 6(1).

<sup>17</sup> Belanger, Y.D., 2012. 18 Internet gambling and the Kahnawà: ke First Nation. *Routledge International Handbook of Internet Gambling*, p.316.

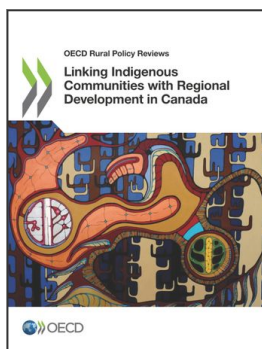
<sup>18</sup> <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/kahnawake-youth-must-boost-french-skills-to-find-jobs-agency-says-1.3161997>.

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