The Atlantic Aboriginal Economic Development
Integrated Research Program, AAEDIRP

Social Impacts of Aboriginal Economic Development:
Three Case Studies from Atlantic Canada

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Prepared by the StFX Indigenous Peoples Research Cluster:
Jeff Orr, Monica Diochon, Clare Fawcett, Behrang Foroughi, Alison Mathie and Leslie Jane McMillan
with assistance from Eric Christmas and Sam Lafford
Social Impacts of Aboriginal Economic Development: Three Case Studies from Atlantic Canada is one of nine research reports on Aboriginal economic development released by Atlantic Aboriginal Economic Development Integrated Program, (AAEDIRP) in 2010 - 2011.

The AAEDIRP is a unique research program formed through partnerships between the 38 member communities of the Atlantic Policy Congress of First Nations Chiefs (APCFNC), plus the Inuit, 12 Atlantic universities and 4 government funders, both federal and provincial. AAEDIRP funders include Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC), the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA), the Department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada (DFO) and the Office of Aboriginal Affairs, Nova Scotia. The AAEDIRP conducts research on Aboriginal economic development that is relevant to communities, builds Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal research capacity, conducts workshops on Aboriginal economic development and is developing a database on this topic. The main purpose of the AAEDIRP is to improve the knowledge base concerning Atlantic Aboriginal economic development in order to improve the lives of the Aboriginal people in the region.

The APCFNC is a policy research organization that analyzes and develops culturally relevant alternatives to federal policies that impact on the Mi'kmaq, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy and Innu Aboriginal communities and peoples.

Maliseet Artist Arlene Christmas (Dozay) created the AAEDIRP logo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dalhousie University</th>
<th>AAEDIRP UNIVERSITY PARTNERS</th>
<th>Acadia University</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University of New Brunswick</td>
<td>St. Thomas University</td>
<td>St. Francis Xavier University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memorial University</td>
<td>Saint Mary's University</td>
<td>Mount Allison University</td>
</tr>
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<td>Mount Saint Vincent University</td>
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<td></td>
<td>University of PEI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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For More Information, Please Contact:
APCFNC 153 Willowdale Drive, Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, Canada B2V 0A5
(902) 435-8021          Toll Free  1-877-667-4007
www.apcfnc.ca
SOCIAL IMPACTS OF ABORIGINAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:
THREE CASE STUDIES FROM ATLANTIC CANADA

RESEARCH TEAM

Members of StFX Indigenous Peoples Research Cluster, St. Francis Xavier University:
- Dr. Jeff Orr, Professor and Dean, Faculty of Education, Principal Researcher
- Dr. Monica Diochon, Associate Professor and Chair, Department of Business, Co-Researcher
- Dr. Clare Fawcett, Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology, Co-Researcher
- Dr. Behrang Foroughi, Assistant Professor, Department of Adult Education, Co-Researcher
- Dr. Alison Mathie, Coady Senior Staff and Development Studies Professor, Co-Researcher
- Dr. Leslie Jane McMillan, Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology and Canada Research Chair in Indigenous Peoples and Sustainability, Co-Researcher

With assistance from Aboriginal Research Consultants:
- Eric Christmas, BA, Mi’kmag Encana Liaison Officer, Kwílmu’kw Maw-Klusuáqn Negotiation Office
- Sam Lafford, Lafford Business Consulting

Aboriginal Research Assistants:
- Angela Christmas, StFX M.Ed. student, Miawpuké First Nation
- Charlotte Lafford, StFX BBA student, Paq’tnkek First Nation

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

- Gerard Joe, Director of Economic Development, Miawpuké First Nation
- Lloyd Johnson, Economic Development Officer, Millbrook First Nation
- Dr. Sharon Taylor, School of Social Work, Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador

AAEDIRP RESEARCH SUBCOMMITTEE

- Dr. Fred Wien, AAEDIRP Research Subcommittee Chair, AAEDIRP
- University Co-Chair, Former Professor, School of Social Work, Dalhousie University
- Robert Atwin, Executive Director, First Nations Education Initiatives Inc.
- Dr. Sharon Taylor, Associate Professor, School of Social Work, Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador
- Dr. Susan Blair, Assistant Professor, Dept. of Anthropology, University of New Brunswick
• John Paul, AAEDIRP Aboriginal Co-Chair, Executive Director of the Atlantic Policy Congress of First Nations Chiefs

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EXECUTIVE SUMMARY</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Lead Organization and Research Team</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Situating Social Impacts in the Development Literature</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Scope of the Case Studies</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Key Research Questions</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 Research Methodology</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6 Ethics Review, Data Security and Disposition</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7 Building Research Capacity</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8 Plans for Research Dissemination</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. A CASE STUDY OF THE SOCIAL IMPACTS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MILLBROOK FIRST NATION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Economic Development in Millbrook First Nation 1990-2010</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Population Profile</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1 Population Size</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2 Age</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.3 Employment and Labour Force Participation</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.4 Income</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.5 Industry and Occupational Characteristics</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.6 Education</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.7 Family Status</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.8 Language</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 The Social Impacts of Economic Development in Millbrook First Nation</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.1 Sport and Recreation</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3.2 Education</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3.4 Health ................................................................. 42
2.3.5 Culture ................................................................ 42
2.3.6 Community Services ........................................... 42
2.4 Analyzing the Social Impacts ........................................ 43
  2.4.1 Who has Benefited from the Wealth generated by
          Millbrook First Nation? ........................................ 44
2.5 Factors Contributing to Achievements ............................ 45
  2.5.1 Leadership .......................................................... 45
  2.5.2 Value-led decision-making .................................... 46
  2.5.3 Entrepreneurship .................................................. 46
  2.5.4 Effective governance ........................................... 46
  2.5.5 Capable staff ....................................................... 46
  2.5.6 Location .............................................................. 47
  2.5.7 Communication ................................................... 47
  2.5.8 Strategic alliances ............................................... 47
2.6 How has the Development Process Influenced the
       Outcomes Achieved? ............................................... 47
2.7 Obstacles and Challenges ............................................ 48
  2.7.1 Dependency ......................................................... 48
  2.7.2 Poor personal finance skills .................................... 49
  2.7.3 Drug abuse .......................................................... 50
  2.7.4 Cultural and value conflicts ................................. 50
2.8 Going Forward: Recommendations for Future .................... 51
  2.8.1 Develop Entrepreneurial Capacity ............................ 52
  2.8.2 Personal Financial Management Training .................. 53
  2.8.3 Employment Programs Targeted at Females ............... 54
  2.8.4 Leadership Development for Emerging Leaders
          and Youth .......................................................... 54

3. A CASE STUDY OF THE SOCIAL IMPACTS OF ECONOMIC
       DEVELOPMENT IN MIAWPUKEK MI’KMAWEY MAWO’MI
       CONNE RIVER FIRST NATION, NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR 55
3.1 Miawpukek from its Beginnings: Living with the Land .......... 55
3.2 The Collapse of the Traditional Economy in the 1970s:
Forging New Directions ................................................................. 57

3.3 The Sawmill Project:  
The Beginnings of Community Development ........................................ 58

3.4 The Hunger Strike:  
Activism Fosters Community Self-Determination .................................... 58

3.5 1985-2005: Economic and Social Development from a Mindset 
of Self-Determination ........................................................................ 60
  3.5.1 Building Community Capacity through Education and Training.......... 61
  3.5.2 Business Development and Human Capacity Building ..................... 63
  3.5.3 Building Community Commitment through Annual Assemblies ..... 65
  3.5.4 Integration of Health with Social Development .............................. 66
  3.5.5 Community Housing Strategy ...................................................... 67
  3.5.6 The Economic Development Office:  
    Leading Holistic Social Development .............................................. 68
  3.5.7 Infrastructure ........................................................................... 69
  3.5.8 Self-Government Processes ......................................................... 69

3.6 2005 to the Present:  
Managing Success through Partnerships and Integrated Services ............. 70
  3.6.1 Outfitting: A Fully Integrated Business ......................................... 71
  3.6.2 Assessing the Pluses and Minuses of Social Job Creation ............... 71
  3.6.3 Gray’s Aquaculture: A Public-Private Partnership ......................... 75
  3.6.4 The Fisheries: A Private Venture by a Public Organization ............ 76
  3.6.5 Opportunities for Youth: Where Go Community Development  
in the Future? ................................................................................. 77
  3.6.6 Linking Human Resources and Economic Development .................. 79
  3.6.7 Creating Social Profits: A Strategic First Nations Priority ............... 79
  3.6.8 Community Well-Being ............................................................. 80
  3.6.9 Community Cohesion .................................................................. 84
  3.6.10 Good Governance through Caring, Sharing, and Respect .............. 86

3.7 Conclusions and Recommendations ................................................. 86

4. A CASE STUDY OF THE SOCIAL IMPACTS OF ECONOMIC 
DEVELOPMENT IN TOBIQUE MALISEET NATION ................................. 90
4.1 Historical Context ........................................................................................................... 90
4.2 Contemporary Community Life ....................................................................................... 99
  4.2.1 Governance and its Challenges ................................................................................. 100
  4.2.2 MAWIW ..................................................................................................................... 101
  4.2.3 Provincial-Aboriginal Bilateral Agreement .............................................................. 104
  4.2.4 Education .................................................................................................................. 106
    4.2.4.1 Tobique Headstart ............................................................................................. 108
    4.2.4.2 The Mah-Sos School ......................................................................................... 109
4.3 Economic Activities ...................................................................................................... 112
  4.3.1 TEDCO ..................................................................................................................... 112
  4.3.2 Social Assistance, the Cost of Living and Employment Opportunities ..................... 115
  4.3.3 Gaming ..................................................................................................................... 117
  4.3.4 Fisheries ................................................................................................................... 118
4.4 Culture and Community Wellbeing .............................................................................. 121
  4.4.1 Health and Wellness ............................................................................................... 124
  4.4.2 Law and Order and Public Safety .......................................................................... 126
4.5 Community Diversity and Mobilization ...................................................................... 127
4.6 Discussion ...................................................................................................................... 133
  4.6.1 “Success”, “Failure” and “Impact”: Overarching Issues ........................................... 135
4.7 Conclusions and Recommendations ............................................................................ 137

5. OVERALL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ............................................. 140
Appendices

Appendix A  Services offered by the Confederacy of Mainland Mi’kmaq in… 148
2008/2009
Appendix B  References Cited… 150
Social Impacts of Aboriginal Economic Development:
Three Case Studies from Atlantic Canada:

Executive Summary

The social impacts of economic development is of great interest to Aboriginal communities and organizations as well as government agencies interested in ascertaining to what extent economic development policies and practices shape and impact development. Gaining meaningful understanding of these policies and practices in Aboriginal communities is especially complex given the contested and diverse perspectives on the very meaning of economic development and success, and the limited data sets that are available to compare and account for economic and social situations across and within communities. This project sought to respond to this lack of information related to the social impacts of economic development in Aboriginal communities in the Atlantic region by developing comprehensive case studies which described the social impact of economic development in three Atlantic Canadian Aboriginal communities; comparing and contrasting these community case studies to collectively explain some of the preliminary potential reasons for the social impacts of economic development related to these three particular Atlantic Aboriginal communities.

The integration of cultural, social, and environmental well-being is considered central to Aboriginal economic development. This is achieved through bringing the community into the fore of economic development initiatives. Data collection was undertaken with a local lens and from Indigenous perspectives. The study explored who has benefited from the wealth generated from economic development and who has not benefited from the wealth generated in these communities. This was explored by examining the impacts of economic development on cultural practices and the circumstances in which economic development and cultural practices were at odds with each other. Another focus was upon exploring the policies communities may have developed to ensure wealth from economic development achieves social benefits.

A research team was organized around Millbrook First Nation, Miawpukek First Nation and Tobique First Nation. These communities were chosen because they represent a diverse range of
contexts on the basis of geographic location, differences in school programming, linguistics and economic activities. The obstacles and challenges that communities faced as they sought to achieve social benefits through economic development were explored as well as how they attempted to overcome these obstacles. Both positive and negative social impacts of economic development were identified.

The project commenced with the hiring of two Aboriginal consultants and student research assistants, setting up an Advisory Committee and completing the research ethics process. The Aboriginal consultants contacted the Chiefs of the three communities and secured preliminary permission to begin the research. Permission was secured by phone to avoid travel costs. Once the university ethics committee approved the research, the team applied to Mi’kmaq Ethics Watch to secure permission to have Millbrook participate in the study. The second phase of the project included preliminary exploratory interviews with Band staff and community leaders who helped describe their perspectives of the history of economic development in their community and the related social impacts. This also included a review of what is called “grey literature” on economic development that may relate to these three communities. This body of literature was identified in consultation with the Aboriginal consultants, and economic development officers in each community and other officials from Atlantic and Regional organizations such as, but not limited to, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, (INAC). At the same time a preliminary review of literature related to the social impacts of economic development, in relation to First Nations, Inuit and Metis communities in Canada and some international indigenous literature was undertaken. Consultation occurred with a cross-section of individuals in each community, who participated in one of three focus groups with elders, youth and adults. These three focus-group conversations aimed to include 5 elders, 5 youth (ages 19-25), and 5 adults. These focus groups, which included diversity in such factors as occupation, educational attainment, and linguistic background, aimed to verify, transform, deepen and broaden the narratives developed through the initial interviews and the review and analysis of the grey literature to contribute to interpretation and validation of the data and indicators.

Millbrook First Nation has been proactive in determining how its future vision will be achieved. These plans have been guided by the belief that community well-being hinges upon holistic approaches that include all aspects of the community - social, mental, physical, emotional,
spiritual. The creation of opportunities for youth and other members of the Band has emphasized education, training, economic development and free enterprise as the means to achieve this vision. Essentially, the Band’s business model consists of attracting business partners who are interested in joint ventures and/or long-term leases of land, a building or both, either in Millbrook or other areas such as Cole Harbour, where the Band owns 19 hectares of land. Millbrook First Nation now boasts a diversified economic base, consisting of real estate development, fisheries, technology, and gaming. Since 2001 five business enterprises have been the largest contributors to the Band’s business enterprise revenues: Millbrook Fisheries, Millbrook Tobacco Store, Millbrook Treaty Gas, Gaming Commission Revenues (Net) and Rental Authority with Gaming Commission Revenues by far the most significant. By attracting established companies to locate on Millbrook First Nation land, the Band has been able to increase the amount of revenue it generates from leases and taxes. It has been noted that the business park creates a favourable environment for Band members to establish their own business and benefit from the economic spinoffs created by and from established successful business operations. However, to date few Band members have seized this opportunity.

Average earnings for the Aboriginal Identity Population (AIP) working full year, full time in 2006\(^1\) were $56,609 in Millbrook and $37,199 among the province’s Aboriginal population. Average earnings in Millbrook increased 104 percent from 2001 to 2006. However, Aboriginal women earn significantly less than Aboriginal men. Millbrook has the following facilities on site: the Band Administration Office, the Health Centre, an Early Education Centre, a RCMP detachment, a Recreation Centre, and a garbage/sewer facility. Additionally, the Band has 195 housing units. Other infrastructure includes water, sewer, curb and gutter, and a second overpass. The wealth generated has allowed the Band to provide financial support for community members in such areas as professional training, higher and continuing education, in-school support system, summer employment for students, community Day Care Centre; and additionally, the tobacco store funds many community sports and recreational activities. The Band also provides funding to the Health Centre, the Millbrook Gymnasium, the community wellness program, the

\(^1\) While Statistics Canada's 2006 figures are the most recent statistics available, they may not accurately reflect the current profile of Millbrook's (or any other First Nations community's) population.
Millbrook Church, and pays for the upkeep of the Millbrook Cemetery. Funds are also allocated for the electricity and maintenance of seniors’ housing and general housing renovation and repair on the reserve, as well as for a community beautification program.

There are six major factors which seem to contribute to the achievement of success for Millbrook. 1) *The Chief and Council have formulated a clear vision* for the Band’s future along with well articulated goals, strategy and policies, which are underpinned by a recognition that economic development occurs over time. 2) *Value-led decision-making for the common-good of the community* is part of the overarching values that guides decision-making and policies in Millbrook First Nation. Each initiative and activity is screened according to whether it has “community” benefit. 3) By all accounts, *the Band's leadership has been very entrepreneurial in its economic development endeavors.* 4) *Stable governance, including a very well educated Council and the existence of capable staff* has made it possible for the community to be economically successful. 5) *The location of Millbrook adjacent to Truro,* which is the hub of the region, has provided both a situational and site based advantage for access to communication, transportation and population. 6) *The Band administration actively communicates with Band members* regularly informing people of policies and programs. 7) *Strategic alliances* with the province and other partners enable the Band to leverage their financial investment and/or other resources.

Despite its successes, a very top-down development process has been adopted in Millbrook First Nation. Development is being initiated *for* the Band members, rather than *by* them. It was indicated in the interviews that some Band members have disengaged from the political process in the belief that political decisions occur at too high a level for their participation to be of value. Whether this is attributable to the domination of leadership by a core group, or quite contrarily, to the satisfaction of the Band with its leadership, requires further study. One of the challenges faced by the Band is the extent of dependency among Band members. Arguably, the antithesis of dependency is autonomy and as pointed out entrepreneurship is the cornerstone of self-reliance and autonomy. Attributes associated with entrepreneurship include initiative, independence, creativity, problem-solving ability, taking action amidst uncertainty, persuasion, moderate risk-taking, imagination, hard work, self-confidence, leadership to name a few. Indeed, these are the very attributes that Chief and Council are noted for. Why, then, is there so much
entrepreneurship among the Band’s leadership and so little by individual Band members? The actions of Chief and Council may inadvertently be discouraging entrepreneurship in the community, but there is an opportunity to address the situation. Personal finance is an issue among Band members and budgeting skills are lacking. The youth focus group had diverse opinions as to how the proceeds of the trust fund should be used. Clearly this is an issue that needs to be addressed.

In the absence of on-reserve schools, the youth who participated in the focus group were unanimous in stating that they often experience difficulties in school because school teachers and administrators lack an understanding and sensitivity to First Nations’ cultural practices. The widespread view by most participants is that off-reserve schooling has many challenges; this cannot be ignored.

Recommendations for improving the social impacts of economic development in the Millbrook First Nation must take heed of the cultural undercurrents which have determined the leadership structure in the community. There is a generally positive perception of the social impacts which have resulted from the economic development for which the current Chief and Council are responsible. As a result, perhaps the level of placidity among Band members should be unsurprising. The Chief and Council’s emphasis on training Band members for professions through which they can contribute to Band management, such as law and accounting, certainly speaks to the need for engagement of the next generation of Band leaders. It may, however, be necessary to expand that support in the direction of social and political engagement.

It is recommended that 1) Millbrook provide opportunities for Band members to learn/develop their entrepreneurial capacity, 2) Provide personal financial management training for its members, 3) Develop employment programs targeted at females, and 4) Create opportunities for emerging leaders in the community and young Band members who express an interest in Band affairs to learn more about the roles and responsibilities of the Chief and Council.

Miawpukek First Nation has experienced remarkable social and economic changes since the 1970s. From preliminary economic development initiatives that were rooted in traditional land-based activities such as trapping, outfitting and sawmill, the community has gradually evolved its
economic activities to the place where the community is among the most stable and economically viable along the south coast of Newfoundland. Concerted efforts by Chief and Council to build the human resource capacity of its Band members and to develop the community in such areas as sewer and water, transportation, and housing have led to a relatively well developed community. Miawpukek has 100% seasonal employment, one of the lowest number of occupants per household, and a comparatively low crime rate. Its Band operated school system is considered of high quality for both its role in academic preparation for further studies and its attention to cultural and language identity reclamation work. Miawpukek has become an attractive community for its residents, and most youth are now electing to either remain in the community or to return to the community after completing post-secondary education.

The impact of economic development in Miawpukek is such that community members have essentially climbed out of poverty. While there are no high wages in the community, there is a general evenness of income across the adult population. There is more activity devoted to the construction of private homes than Band homes. Most professional positions in the community are now occupied by Band members. The graduation rate from high school is close to 100%. Reasons for this transformation are related to the following four factors. 1) Leadership for community self-determination that fosters community self-determination through education capacity building as a main focus of economic development. 2) Social development as the main community priority for, and primary measure of, community economic development. 3) Integration of services for social profitability across the social and economic spectrum. 4) Good governance manifested in a transparent approach from and for the values of communal sharing, caring and respect.

It is recommended that Miawpukek First Nation: 1) Continue to pursue communication strategies as identified such as Facebook engagement and youth involvement in leadership decisions with a goal of more fully engaging youth in the governance and leadership of the community. 2) Continue to review its job creation policies with a goal of providing individual counseling to all youth who are job creation participants with a goal of helping them consider further educational options. 3) Continue to enhance private investment opportunities such as fisheries, with expansion into potential sectors such as culturally-based agriculture that would enable residents
to live and work from within the community. 4) Continue to develop private-public partnerships such as aquaculture that foster partnerships with potential industries and to link these partnerships to human resource capacity building. 5) Pursue entrepreneurial development in its school programs and link this to pilot projects which aim to enhance private entrepreneurship opportunities for on-reserve and off-reserve private business development.

It is recommended that the Atlantic Policy Congress of First Nations Chiefs (APCFNC) might seek to find meaningful ways of sharing the findings from this case study with other similar communities (that are geographically isolated) with a goal of understanding how Miawpukek developed its approaches to community development. How have each of the following six concepts been achieved in Miawpukek and what can be learned from this for other communities?
1) Integrative social development strategies such as health and social, 2) Strategies for building community commitment to social development policies through assemblies and social media, 3) Housing development, 4) Social profitability, 5) Human resource development strategies and their linkage to economic development, 6) Leadership approaches to community self-determination including good governance.

It is recommended that INAC and APCFNC together might consider how the findings from this case study may help develop differentiated policies for communities of similar typologies to more meaningfully support sharing and development. In particular, Miawpukek is a case of a geographically isolated community that has worked diligently to implement comprehensive social development approaches which build an economic model for this community. INAC and APCFNC could support more flexible policies for, a) Integrative social development strategies such as health and social, b) Communication policies through assemblies and social media, c) Flexible Housing development policies, d) Economic development projects that are accountable for social profitability, e) Human resource development strategies that link directly to economic development, f) Leadership development approaches that foster community self-determination including good governance, especially for youth, g) Special funding for entrepreneurial development projects that connect school and EDO offices.

The late 1970s, 1980s and 1990s were a time of optimism in Tobique. Compared to other Maliseet communities, a fairly large number of young people were attending and graduating
from post-secondary educational institutions and some were attaining post-graduate degrees in professions such as law, medicine and social work. The community had greater political and economic autonomy than it had ever experienced and was looked up to by other First Nation communities in the region. One reason for this was that, in the 1970s, Band Councils became more significant sources of employment opportunities. By the 1980s, Federal transfer payments for post-secondary education made those dreams reality for a chosen few. In 1989, the Band Council, on the advice of their administrators and a study funded by Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA), formed the Tobique Economic Development Corporation (TEDCO) as a way of managing the Band’s assets in one unit rather than as a series of separate businesses.

During the 1990s and early 2000s, the Tobique Band, through TEDCO, invested in a number of businesses such as a supermarket, a farm, a forestry company and a truck stop on the TransCanada Highway. After the Marshall Decision, the Band purchased land, built a large building and bought several boats on Grand Manan Island off the coast of southern New Brunswick. The fishery business began by employing men from Tobique who, untrained in the fishery, soon left this work to be replaced by non-Native fishermen. In addition, the Tobique Band continued to own and operate the Tobique Gaming Centre, opened in the 1980s, which contains the Two Rivers Restaurant, Lucky’s Entertainment and Bingo and a Poker Room.

One of the great disappointments the community has suffered over the past ten years has been the failure of many of these businesses and the demise of TEDCO itself. The supermarket was not able to compete with food outlets in the United States and larger communities such as Grand Falls, especially when community members enjoyed traveling out of the community for shopping. It went out of business and only a small convenience store, the C-Store, remains in its place. Likewise the farm and forestry companies failed, partly because of downturns in these industries at the time the Band invested. After the truck stop was built it soon went out of business. The Tobique Gaming Centre, the C-Store and the Digby scallop fishery are the only businesses still owned and operated by the Band.

Since 2007, Tobique has been in third party management. This means that administrators and accountants working for INAC control all of the Band’s finances. With no control of Band
finances, Chief and Council are powerless because they cannot access funds to deliver the services they usually provide for Band members, such as new housing and economic development, and they have limited control over funds for services such as social assistance and education. Furthermore, the enormous debt the Band incurred has severely damaged the Band’s credit rating and reputation so the Band is unable to get loans or mortgages from any financial institution.

Although they have educational attainments similar to those of other New Brunswick residents, members of the Tobique Band have lower rates of participation in the labour force. The unemployment rate at the time of the 2006 census was 38% for residents of Tobique compared to 10% for all New Brunswickers. Tobique residents had greater participation in the labour force than did other New Brunswickers in jobs related to construction, health care and social services and other services. The reason for this is the lack of non-public/government service jobs in Tobique. At the present time, Tobique has few on-reserve businesses. The largest visible business is the Tobique Gaming Centre. Apart from this and the Convenience Store and a Gas Bar, there is little else to convey an impression other than economic demise. The fact that Tobique was considered an innovator in economic development in the Maritimes in the 1980s and now has such a stagnant economy has much to do with the experience of Tobique Economic Development Corporation (TEDCO).

Tobique residents’ reliance on social assistance is more significant today than it was in the past. This is partly because of the lack of employment opportunities, but also because of the weakening of traditional mutual support systems. Not only are their limited opportunities for obtaining loans, but a savings culture and savings services appear to be extremely limited. There is little incentive to leave the security of social assistance when wage earners lose their qualification for Band subsidies to pay their bills but do not earn enough at their jobs to cover these costs themselves. Opportunity for sustained employment is an obvious solution to problems of dependence on welfare; the challenge is how to rebuild that capacity to generate employment and nurture an entrepreneurial spirit after the disillusionment of the TEDCO experience.
Visionary and effective leadership is needed to refocus the nation’s energy on building societies that work rather than using all their energy for crisis management and in the fights for treaty and Aboriginal rights recognition, the honour of the Crown and the implementation of those rights. Such leadership is occurring across Tobique as organizations work to establish strategic orientations and objectives that are culturally aligned with the community’s values and experiences. Community health and wellness, youth programs and elder support are the priority areas in which cultural revitalization is manifest. By focusing on the assets of Maliseet identity, language, teachings, and healing practices to build capable institutions access to and use of resources becomes more effective. Tobique has a vital, educated and growing youth population concerned with ideas about how things should be done and gaining greater control of the community impacts of development strategies, enterprises and projects. For some youth who remain in the community substance misuse is a way of coping with boredom and community tensions. Lack of sustainable and meaningful employment opportunities perpetuate cycles of despair and dependency both on drugs and social assistance. During the period of this research it was reported to the authors that property crime was very high in the community. Members suggested that between January 2010 and August 2010 there had been at least 150 break and enters into Tobique homes. People reported they were fearful to leave their homes in the event they would be robbed and some would cut short any trips or evenings out to make sure their property was safe.

As is clear from the preceding evidence the prevailing view is that “There is no Economic Development” in Tobique at the present time. This is evident in the collapse of businesses associated with TEDCO, but also in the absence of small-scale retail or service businesses to capture local consumer spending, apart from the local convenience store and gas bar. Indebtedness and its consequence, third party management, have constrained spending, and so has the high level of unemployment. Nevertheless, the high dependence on “social” has not translated into stimulus for small scale enterprises: expenditure on basic goods and services is largely off-reserve. In practice, the uptake of economic opportunity by individuals has played out in increased wage disparity and social stratification.

While the question being asked of this study is the social impact of economic development, another question now surfaces which is the consequence and impact of economic decline
(perhaps inadvertently caused by economic “success”) and whether there is there something to grasp onto for future recovery. First, the immediate consequence is mistrust and anger at the current situation among leaders in the community (in addition to the despondency among youth interviewed and reported among those unemployed, on social, or having left the community). This mistrust and anger is directed at various causes of failure: internal and external in location, personal and structural in their character. These persistent tensions are reinforced by a governance structure in which different levels of jurisdiction -- Band Council, Provincial Government, and Federal Government -- provide leadership and administrative structures at a time when the case for Aboriginal self-governance is being made across the country. The whole question of revenue sources and tax levying authority is one issue (and whether raising revenue through house rents or local taxation is viable culturally or practically enforceable), the responsibilities for education are another, and the role of Federal government in terms of transfer payments and their scrutiny is another. The possibilities for encouraging the development of community-based savings institutions in Tobique are also fraught with cultural and legal uncertainty. Despite mainstream economic assumptions that savings are an essential ingredient of economic growth, one participant viewed savings as indicative of individualistic capitalist values and contrary to the sharing mentality of Indigenous culture. At the same time, savings and banking facilities do not exist in Tobique for reasons of commercial viability.

These unresolved issues, and the factionalism that has fragmented a community that once saw itself as “one” suggest that the way through the impasse is leadership that is able to help community members navigate their way through competing or contradictory world views. We did see several examples of community leadership. One is the continuing push for culturally aligned on-reserve education. Another example is the Wellness Centre. Compelled to address the social determinants of health as well as the health consequences of social and economic decline, the Centre runs programs for youth, young parents and community members: health awareness, preventative health care, and a community garden to encourage local food production for food security. Another feature of the Wellness Centre is its emphasis on community resilience. A question to pursue is whether the stories of past economic success, and resistance and activism, can be the basis for a revival of economic activity combined with a strategy to rebuild social cohesion.
1) The economic and cultural health of Tobique Maliseet Nation requires the full recognition of their rights and title, meaningful consultation and the fulfillment of the fiduciary obligations of the Crown. Without rights education and the implementation of the Aboriginal treaties, systemic discrimination and poverty will continue to have deleterious impacts on effective and efficient governance and sustainable economic development.

Despite the destructive assimilation policies of the Indian Act, the Reserve System, Residential Schools and the loss of control over their traditional territories, Tobique has a strong history of survival. Tobique has great potential to collaboratively develop policies to ensure that wealth from future economic development achieves the social benefits of sustainable self-governance, whether through gaming, natural resource regulation and management or corporate partnerships. The recent change in Band Council membership is an indication that the community desires experienced leadership that will mobilize equality and limit factionalism through proactive, transparent and consultative goal setting. People are recognizing and articulating the necessity of exercising Aboriginal rights as an inherent responsibility that will let them live their culture. In order to achieve this, Tobique must get out of the Indian Act and develop their own governance and make laws that benefit their citizens and reflect their culture.

2) The restitution of Tobique through citizen-owned enterprises will generate jobs, decrease leakage, help build community wealth and retain local talent, of which Tobique has plenty. The psychological and emotional impact of business activity sends important signals to all citizens, but particularly youth. Economic development in Tobique can contribute to the community by refurbishing cultural considerations in employee relations, ceremonial cycles and spiritual beliefs as well as kinship obligations. When considered, these factors enhance Indigenous sovereignty rather than detract from it.

3) Clear codes of ethics, decisions about government oversight and separation of powers, jurisdiction, core governmental functions, and accountability strategies of the Band need to be negotiated within the community, not imposed from outside. With communal control over transparent decision making and clear, culturally aligned goals for development and resource sharing, Tobique will see its future as one of promises that will not be broken because the success comes from within.
There were also several findings related to social impacts of economic development that stretch across these three communities. Although colonial structures continue to limit capacity of all three Bands to achieve equitable social development, they are all finding innovative ways forward. In the cases of two communities, innovation is related to stable leadership over time that has enabled central planning at the Band level. However, this has also had some unintended impacts such as the development of elements of dependency upon the Band leadership for individual economic well-being.

The study concluded that fiduciary responsibilities of the federal government cannot, at present levels, realize these First Nations community’s visions for cultural and economic justice. Historically, there were obvious challenges evident that manifested themselves in high levels of poverty in all three communities. At present these case studies show that there are promising examples of ways that this poverty is being reduced by the efforts of Band Councils. These First Nations communities are finding ways to be successful in economic terms and to distribute economic benefits towards the community and these economic benefits are usually relatively evenly distributed amongst community members.

Several important features that seem to be common in the First Nations communities in this study that are achieving effective social impacts are related to good governance that is stable over time; strong determined leadership that has been able to put long term plans in place and monitor them over extended periods of time; transparent communication of goals and priorities; and a high priority being placed upon educational capacity building of Band members and the hiring of skilled qualified Band staff.

There continue to be tensions between competing values of the common good and individualism which prevent Band leadership in each of the communities from making strategic resource decisions. It was also noteworthy that even though some youth remain stuck in a culture of dependency, many more are motivated to shape the future. Building youth capacity through education, the full recognition of Aboriginal rights and title and fulfillment of the fiduciary obligations of the Crown, and further leadership and entrepreneurial capacity building are seen as important ways forward to meaningful and equitable social development.
1. INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Economic development and the social impact of this economic development in Aboriginal communities is of great interest to Aboriginal communities and organizations as well as government agencies interested in ascertaining which policies and practices enhance or prevent development. Gaining meaningful understanding of these policies and practices in Aboriginal communities is especially complex given the contested and diverse perspectives on the very meaning of economic development and success, and the limited data sets that are available to compare and account for economic and social situations across and within communities.

This project sought to respond to this lack of information related to the social impacts of economic development in Aboriginal communities in the Atlantic region by pursuing the following four primary objectives:

1. To engage university students and faculty, and Aboriginal consultants to work alongside three Atlantic Aboriginal communities to develop comprehensive case studies which describe the social impact of economic development in three particular Atlantic Canadian Aboriginal communities;

2. To compare and contrast these community case stories to help people in those communities to learn from each other’s stories. (There is no intention to compare communities to show superiority of one set of social impact factors. Rather, it is proposed that the history of social and economic development of each community will be shared to understand and learn from the individual experiences of each community in order to underscore their strengths and challenges/vulnerabilities);

3. To collectively explain some of the preliminary potential reasons for the social impacts of economic development related to these three particular Atlantic Aboriginal communities;

4. To build the research capacity of selected participants in three Atlantic Aboriginal communities, Aboriginal researchers and faculty and students at StFX University. This
team will plan and implement all research activities including data collection and analysis and reporting on the findings of the study.

1.1 Lead Organization and Research Team

The StFX Indigenous Peoples Research Cluster (IPRC) brings together a group of university researchers who have broad interests in issues related to Indigenous Peoples in Atlantic Canada. This group considers itself to be first and foremost, an interdisciplinary learning community. The IPRC is comprised of a Canada Research Chair (Indigenous Peoples and Sustainable Development and Public Policy and Governance) and researchers from Adult Education, Anthropology, Business, Development Studies, Education, and the Coady International Institute. The main goal of the IPRC is to build university and community capacity for understanding, explaining, and enhancing the cultural, political, social, educational, environmental, and economic dimensions of Aboriginal communities in Atlantic Canada.

The research team consists of Jeff Orr, lead researcher, and Monica Diochon, Clare Fawcett, Behrang Foroughi, Alison Mathie, Leslie Jane McMillan, from the IPRC and Aboriginal consultants Sam Lafford and Eric Christmas. The team also engaged several undergraduate and/or graduate students of Aboriginal ancestry, who acted as research assistants for various periods of time.

1.2 Situating Social Impacts in the Development Literature

A broad set of issues associated with the social impacts of economic development in Aboriginal communities is generating interest from development practitioners and academics. Some of the questions and issues that were used to frame the AAEDIRP consultation workshop (March 5, 2009) were as follows:

Economic development is not an end in itself, because it is connected to the potential for improved health and well-being of communities. The National Collaborating Center for Aboriginal Health, for instance, notes that economic development is “an important tool in alleviating poverty and other social conditions that lead to ill health.” (p. 1) Furthermore, the
integration of cultural, social, and environmental well-being is considered central to Aboriginal economic development. This is achieved through bringing the community into the fore of economic development initiatives. Integrating community development approaches into strategies for Economic development not only nurtures endogenous leadership but also enhances the social well-being of the aboriginal communities at large. (Lewis and Lockhart, 2002).

*It is important to examine the changes that have taken place in the indicators of social well-being as a result of Aboriginal economic development.* Indicators of life expectancy, employment opportunities and educational attainment are common in the Aboriginal well-being literature and they can be used as important broad comparators over time. However, diversity across Aboriginal communities means that these may not be the best broad indicators for comparative purposes.

*A range of indicators of social well-being may be identified by communities or groups within communities and these indigenous indicators should be identified, compared and examined.* For instance, some policy analysts argue that researchers and policy makers have over-emphasised the goal of “Closing the Gap” between socio-economic status of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples (Altman, 2009). This idea that economic development will create improvements in social conditions is often called closing the gap. In the Australian context, Altman argues this approach has taken the emphasis away from diversity, difference and community self-determination (Altman, 2009). The significance of the implementation of Indigenous rights as integral to economic and cultural development and sustainability is also overlooked.

*Partnerships to access and create meaningful data sets that can be used to support initiatives that address community aspirations and diversities need to be explored.* Top-down approaches to data collection, while sometimes providing comparable measures of movement towards equality, can work against implementation of local solutions and cultural supports. Data collection must be undertaken with a local lens and from Indigenous perspectives to be useful (Escobar, 1995; Altman, Buchanan, Biddle, 2005). Furthermore, in Canadian research, it is noted that “there are not readily available data for many meaningful dimensions of well-being” (Lewis and Lockhart, 2002, p. 25).
Who has benefited from the wealth generated from economic development and who has not benefited from this wealth? Altman argues that closing the gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal citizens is not enough if it is not also accompanied by improved understanding of the causes of socioeconomic difference and by the creation of policies that reflect Aboriginal goals (Altman, 2009). While disparity may be evident within particular communities, Lewis and Lockhart also contend that the benefits of socio-economic well-being are illustrated by the wide range of variation in well-being that may occur across different communities. They reference the First Nations typology which analyzed 380 First Nations across Canada showing that 19% of these First Nations communities could be characterized as having high employment, and emerging economies, 53% as having on-reserve disparity economies, and 28% as having high and extreme disparity. Even in communities where there is considerable aggregate wealth there may be economic disparity and considerable poverty.

What have been the impacts of economic development on cultural practices? For instance, do Aboriginal communities seek to ensure that social and cultural futures are interconnected with economic strategies? (Northern Territory Indigenous Economic Development Strategy). In what circumstances are economic development and cultural practices at odds with each other? When are they complimentary? Furthermore, how important and distinct is the cultural sector, as compared to the market/private, and public/government sectors (Altman, Buchanan, & Biddle, 2005)? What is the relationship between issues of identity and self-determination that are distinct from livelihood and survival strategies?

What policies have communities developed to ensure wealth from economic development achieves social benefits? Lewis and Lockart argue, for instance, that “meaningful development in communities inextricably links economic and social goals” (p. 27). The degree to which Aboriginal communities can undertake strategic social planning (SSP) - which integrates economic and social planning by promoting individual and community well-being may be a topic worth pursuing in this project.

As mentioned above, the idea that economic development will create improvements in social conditions is often called “Closing the Gap”. Aboriginal communities and organizations as well as government agencies are interested in discovering policies and practices that lead to “closing
of the gap” as opposed to those policies and practices that do not promote socio-economic development. Gaining meaningful understanding of these policies and practices in Aboriginal communities is especially complex given the contested, holistic and diverse perspectives of the meaning of economic development and success and the limited data sets that are available to compare and account for economic and social situations across and within communities. We will endeavour to approach these questions with a deep respect for the contested, holistic and complex nature of the issues. The World Health Organization Commission on the Social Determinants of Health, also drew particular attention to both indigenous populations, and environmental factors, in driving and perpetuating health, social and economic inequalities (2008).

1.3 Scope of the Case Studies

The research teams were organized around the following three communities in three clusters as follows:


We proposed to work with these communities because they represented a diverse range of communities on the basis of geographic location, differences in school programming, linguistic communities and economic activities.
1.4 Key Research Questions

The key research questions for this project were derived from the research questions that were co-developed at an initial AAEDIRP workshop held on March 5, 2009 and these were modified on the basis of subsequent conversations and as a result of feedback from the AAEDIRP research sub-committee. The questions are:

1. **Descriptive case histories of each community**: What have the communities achieved (this could mean many different things) over the past number of years? This question will attempt to capture a snap shot of the past-present-future. (The different communities’ definitions of success would come out of this question.) A range of indicators of well-being may be identified through community involvement.

2. **Preliminary explanation of social impacts**: What accounts for this? (Governance, leadership, location, educational programming, cultural practices, location, etc.) What policies have communities developed to ensure wealth from economic development achieves social benefits?

3. **Obstacles and challenges to achieving social impact through economic development**: A. What obstacles and challenges have communities faced due to their achievements, including government policies and programs? B. How did communities overcome these obstacles? C. What obstacles remain?

4. **Positive and negative social impacts of economic development**: A. What social/cultural and economic benefits or impacts as well as social challenges or issues have arisen based on community achievements? B. Who has benefited from the wealth generated from economic development and who has not benefited from this wealth? C. What have been the cultural impacts of economic development on cultural practices? D. What have been some unanticipated negative impacts that have resulted from economic development, such as income inequality and high risk social behaviours?
5. **Community policy and planning for future social impacts of economic development:**

A. What policies have communities developed to ensure wealth from economic development achieves social benefits? B. What needs to be put in place in communities for the future? Where do community members want their communities to be in the next 5 years? Next 10 years? Seven generations down the road? Who do they want to implement this?
1.5  Research Methodology

The IPRC subscribes to a holistic community-based approach to understanding and revitalizing the way Indigenous people live their lives, an approach that builds upon their Indigenous knowledge and assets. The IPRC practices participatory action research to learn from, inform and inspire Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities in their ongoing project of decolonization. The IPRC also aims to work with communities in a collaborative way to communicate and implement study findings.

I - Pre-Study Logistics: Gaining study permission: The project aimed to commence with the hiring of two Aboriginal consultants and student research assistants, setting up an Advisory Committee and completing the research ethics process. The Aboriginal Consultants contacted the Chiefs of the three communities and secured preliminary permission to begin the research. Permission was secured by phone to avoid travel costs. Once the ethics review was secured the team sought permission from the Mi’kmaw Ethics Watch to secure permission to have Millbrook participate in the study. It took until January, 2010 for this permission to be secured, so the next phase of the research was delayed somewhat for Millbrook.

II - Developing preliminary community stories. The second phase of the project included preliminary exploratory interviews with Band staff and community leaders who helped describe their perspectives of the history of economic development in their community and the related social impacts. This also included a review of what is called, “grey literature” on economic development that may relate to these three communities. This body of literature was identified in consultation with the Aboriginal consultants, and economic development officers in each community and other officials from Atlantic and Regional organizations such as, but not limited to, INAC. At the same time a preliminary review of literature related to the social impacts of economic development, in relation to First Nations, Inuit and Metis communities in Canada and some international indigenous literature was undertaken. There was proposed to be at least one trip to each community at this stage.
a) Tobique Phase One:

In preparation for the field site visit the Tobique team conducted a literature review and familiarized themselves with the community and collected some grey literature online and compiled a timeline of history of the development in Tobique. The objective of the time line was to describe in detail the socioeconomic developments and infrastructure in Tobique, focusing on the past 40 years, but inclusive of significant historical dates and events. They created a contact list of people in Tobique that includes Chief and some of the Councillors, business people, health representatives in the community, people involved in education, elders, and contacts from the Mawiw Tribal Council. Other contacts include staff from Saint Francis Xavier University and outside agencies like INAC, APCFNC, and Ulnooweg. They continued to add contacts to this list.

Their research team met regularly and had email discussions. January 19th 2010 they met together to introduce faculty and community researchers. They discussed the research conducted in Miawpuek. Carly Sappier gave an update on the Tobique hydro dam. They also discussed presenting the project in Tobique and interviewing key people. Carly and Charlotte Lafford explained the current economic development issues of Tobique with a map of the community. February 23rd the team met to plan the site visit to Tobique. They selected five focus questions from the original proposal to frame the interviews. Interview teams were chosen; accommodations and travel arrangements were put in place.

The first field site visit was March 1, 2010 to March 3, 2010. Four of the team members (Sam Lafford, Charlotte Lafford, Dr. Clare Fawcett, Dr. Alison Mathie) arrived in Tobique on March 1, 2010. The first night a focus group with Generation Next, a youth group, was a great success and included a pizza party and door prizes (draw for a StFX sweater and water bottle). March 2, 2010 the researchers working in teams of two interviewed six people. On March 3rd two additional interviews were conducted.

As Tobique does not have a Band office the team was able to secure an interview space in the bingo hall. The collection of grey literature was delayed because the employment and training
center offices had just moved into the fisheries building and the reports and studies we were seeking were not yet unpacked and were still in the former employment and training centre, which is being used by the school.

The team finished transcribing the interviews and made additions to the contact list. They were unable to acquire the anticipated grey literature. Jane McMillan led the next field trip in the summer and followed up on further interviews with a range of community leaders. It proved very difficult to locate the appropriate grey literature to piece together the community narrative and timeline.

b) Millbrook Phase One:

Generally, the progress of the Millbrook Team initially lagged behind the other two teams due to the need to obtain Ethics Approval from the Mi’kmaq Ethics Watch. This approval was not forthcoming until January 7, 2010. By that time, it became impossible for the two St. FX researchers to engage in field work due to pre-existing university commitments and responsibilities. In the meantime, the team met a number of times and one member of the team attended the Atlantic Aboriginal Economic Development Integrated Research Program’s conference “Let’s Work Together” on Feb. 17th in Dartmouth which enabled a meeting with one of the community representatives.

Steps were taken to try to assemble the available “grey literature” and develop a time line tracing the community’s development. Sam Lafford was able to participate in the first day of interviews. However, he was unable to continue with the project for the second interview day because he completed the days budgeted and he commenced a new job in late April.

Field work began in April, 2010 and continued through July with six community leaders from a range of sectors being interviewed. These sectors included Band administration, recreation, culture, education and private enterprise.
c) Miawpukëk Phase One:

The first phase of the Miawpukëk case study project took place in October, 2009 when Eric Christmas, Jeff Orr and Angela Christmas spent three days conducting interviews with key community leaders, including Chief Mi’sel Joe, the Training and Economic Development Director, the Justice and Fisheries Director and Manager, and the Self Government Project Advisor. These interviews were transcribed and analyzed on the basis of broad themes as part of the community narrative and timeline that was compiled with the contextualization that was possible by scanning and analyzing the available grey literature. Student research assistant Angela Christmas did a thorough and comprehensive job of tracking down a wide range of grey literature.

III - Community consultation to broaden, deepen and verify the stories.
Consultation occurred with a cross-section of as many as 15 selected individuals in each community, who participated in one of three focus groups with elders, youth and adults. These three focus-group conversations aimed to include 5 elders, 5 youth (ages 19-25, and 5 adults. Where possible, these focus groups were to strive to include diversity in such factors as occupation, educational attainment, and linguistic background. These focus groups aimed to verify, transform, deepen and broaden the narratives developed through the initial interviews and the review and analysis of the grey literature. These focus groups were designed to contribute to interpretation and validation of the data and indicators. There was to be one trip to each community at this stage.

a) Tobique Phase Two:

The Tobique team had identified lack of access to grey literature as their key challenge for their case study. Due to a variety of logistical challenges, the team was unable to secure the expected grey literature to contextualize some of the social, economic and policy pieces. However, the team uncovered a range of pieces of information using library and web-site research that assisted with the contextualization of the study. A second round of interviews were held with community leaders to verify and confirm the preliminary narrative timeline.
b) **Millbrook Phase Two:**

We were initially unsure of what would happen with round two in Millbrook. There was a challenge in not having access to insider assistance to connect with community members. APCFNC staff member John Sylliboy assisted in facilitating this next round and there were focus groups with an elders group, a youth group and some adults. Due to a variety of logistical challenges, the team was unable to secure the expected grey literature to contextualize some of the social, economic and policy pieces. However, strategic use of census data and policies available on the Band website enabled a broader quantitative demographic picture of the community to be constructed.

c) **Miwpukek Phase Two:**

A second round of interviews was held with three focus groups of elders, youth and adults on June 9-11, 2010. The team also held additional interviews with the Director of Education, the Manager of Housing, and the Director of Health and Social Development. A second meeting was held with the Educational Development Officer to further discuss the project. Several informal visits were held to explore some of the community job creation projects.

IV-  **Preparation of Final Report and Community Member Checks:**

Preparation of the final report was followed by a sharing of the research case studies with the key research participants in each community. Feedback from research participants was used to verify the findings and to establish internal validity of the findings within each community. The report thus explains preliminary potential reasons for the social impacts of economic development related to these three particular Atlantic Aboriginal communities and the implications for policy development and practices. The IPRC research team would like to thank the many community members and leaders who shared their time, energy, ideas and hospitality in all three communities.
1.6 Ethics Review, Data Security and Disposition

The IPRC believes in the primacy of establishing a partnership between Aboriginal communities and researchers that is mutually respectful and beneficial. For the researchers, this involves a commitment to ensuring that decolonizing methodologies, such as are evident in the Mi’kmaw Ethics Watch, including Principles of Ownership, Control, Access and Possession are at the heart of this research relationship. Ethics approval to conduct this study was sought through the StFX University Ethics Review Board and the Mi’kmaw Ethics Watch located at Cape Breton University.

Data collection took three forms:

1) Collection and analysis of the grey literature related specifically to social and economic issues identified in each of the three communities as well as collection and analysis of literature that deals with policies that have affected and continue to affect these communities.

2) Selected interviews were held with five individuals in each community.

3) Three focus group interviews were held with larger community groups to verify, validate, refine and extend the findings obtained in the literature review and interviews. Data from individual Interviews and focus groups will be stored in a locked cabinet in the office of the principal researcher and electronic files will be stored on a password protected file server on a secure hard drive at StFX University.

1.7 Building Research Capacity

This research project aimed to build the capacity of selected participants in three Atlantic Aboriginal communities, Aboriginal researchers and faculty and students at StFX University. In building capacity, individuals in these groups were to be better attuned to the principles and processes of respectful decolonizing research. The IPRC recognizes that university researchers also need this capacity building, although the form of this capacity building may be different. It
was the goal of this research program to hire and mentor as many Aboriginal students and researchers as possible and to advance their specific research skills in relation to decolonizing research methodologies. The two Aboriginal consultants provided a strong awareness of the community context and invaluable on-site support and knowledge. There is still work to be done to identify ways that the IPRC can co-engage consultants in the analysis and writing phase. The budget did not allow the continuation of both of these consultants at all stages of the process, because of unanticipated costs associated with setting up the Tobique and Millbrook studies. The IPRC hired a total of two Aboriginal students to assist with this project connect their academic work to this project. The most successful capacity building occurred with regards to Angela Christmas who was able to situate this research as part of her ongoing graduate studies in education. This enabled her to gain firsthand experience in the data collection, and research analysis aspects of research. However, the second student assistant was too early in her university studies to be able to take advantage of this synergy. The other two research assistants were recent graduates from two of the communities. They were hired on a contract basis. One of these individuals was able to devote a significant amount of time to the project and accordingly learned a great deal about the research process. Several IPRC members who have extensive experience conducting research with Aboriginal peoples were able to engage and mentor university researchers who were not familiar with Aboriginal research and help them to learn to be supportive, thorough and decolonizing in their work alongside Aboriginal communities.

1.8 Plans for Research Dissemination

The IPRC aimed to practice participatory action research to learn from, inform and inspire Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities as an ongoing project of decolonization. Participatory action research is, by its very nature, a knowledge exchange strategy that engages community members in exploring and explaining and then acting upon their own issues and challenges. The IPRC proposes to work with these three Atlantic Aboriginal communities on a second stage of the project in which participants could work together to develop action plans to further share and put into action the findings of this work within and across these three communities. The research will be shared at the AAEDIRP conference in Moncton in March 2011. The work will be available to be posted on the web sites of each community, and the IPRC
will work with the APCFNC to disseminate widely the findings from the final report. The IPRC will seek permission to use this data to co-publish the results in appropriate journals.

The three case studies are now presented, followed by some preliminary accounting of conclusions and recommendations.
2. A CASE STUDY OF THE SOCIAL IMPACTS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN MILLBROOK FIRST NATION

Millbrook First Nation (MFN) is one of thirteen First Nations in Nova Scotia. Encompassing reserves in Millbrook, Sheet Harbour, Beaverdam and Cole Harbour, its origins have been traced to the late 1700s and early 1800s. At that time, the Truro Mi’kmaq people had settled along the banks of the Salmon River near the village of Bible Hill. In 1855 the parcel of land was sold to the School of Agriculture and as the School expanded, the Mi’kmaq people were moved to present day King Street, an area they referred to as Christmas Crossing. In 1873, a Mi’kmaw hunter named Charles Wilmot is credited with encouraging his people to move to land near the Hilden area because of its plentiful natural resources including wild game and ash for making axe handles and baskets. On December 6, 1886, in response to a request by the Mi’kmaq people, the relocation to a 35 acre area, now known as Millbrook, took place. In due course, Peter Wilmot became the chief spokesperson for the new reserve near Millbrook, a position he retained until 1916. Eleven years following the move to Millbrook, the Indian agent obtained funding for the construction of the Sacred Heart Church and the Indian Day School, which were built by the Mi’kmaq people. Subsequently, three 40 acre parcels of land adjoining the original reserve were acquired (1904, 1907 and 1910). These three parcels of land became known as 27-A, 27-B, 27-C of Millbrook.

In 1916 Joseph Julien was appointed Chief of Millbrook and he eventually facilitated the relocation of the Halifax County Mi’kmaq people to Millbrook following the Halifax Explosion. This was the first experiment in centralization by the Department of Indian Affairs. The additional land purchased in 1918 to accommodate the extra residents had an abundance of softwood, providing a source of summer fuel. Later, Chief Julien acquired the rights to remove dead wood from the Rifle Range property, west of the Reserve, as a means of ensuring an ample fuel supply. Then, in the 1940s, the Halifax County Mi’kmaq, which encompassed Cole Harbour, Sheet Harbour and Beaver Dam reserves approached Millbrook to administer its programs and services. These lands are what constitute Millbrook First Nation today.
Since 1990, Chief and Council of Millbrook First Nation have been actively pursuing economic development. Although this study’s focus is on the social impacts of economic development, we begin by documenting the economic development that has occurred in Millbrook First Nation over the past 20 years as a means of contextualizing the impacts. Next we provide a profile of the Millbrook’s on-reserve population, comparing it to that of the Nova Scotia Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal populations as well as tracking changes over time. This is followed by an account and analysis of the social impacts of the economic development.

2.1 Economic Development in Millbrook First Nation 1990 - 2010

Envisioning a future with greater self-sufficiency and a higher standard of living, Millbrook First Nation has been very proactive in determining how its future vision will be achieved. Toward that end, planning has played an integral role. In terms of the strategy adopted, it has been guided by the belief that community well-being hinges upon holistic approaches that include all aspects of the community - social, mental, physical, emotional, spiritual. In the words of Chief Paul: “the Band works to promote development with a holistic approach, making sure development revenues and spin-off jobs contribute to a better standard of living for the community”. Indeed, the creation of opportunities for youth and other members of the Band also is integral to the strategy, which, in turn, has led to an emphasis on education, training, economic development and free enterprise as the means of achieving the vision.

Essentially, the Band’s business model consists of attracting business partners who are interested in joint ventures and/or long-term leases of land, a building or both, either in Millbrook or other areas such as Cole Harbour, where the Band owns 19 hectares of land.

One of the Band’s most visible economic development initiatives, the Truro Power Centre, is a 400-acre mixed-use business park and lifestyle center that was officially opened January 11, 2001. The fruition of this project is particularly significant in that it is the first instance of Band members signing a contract with private companies to lease federal land. This multi-million dollar initiative was funded in part by provincial gaming agreement revenues and now hosts
approximately a dozen tenants\textsuperscript{2} including a multiplex theatre, a 50-room hotel, a recreational vehicle retailer, a service station, an aquaculture facility and the Glooscap Heritage Centre, to name a few. According to the MFN website, there are over 800 people employed at the retail park.\textsuperscript{3} As the park moves into its second phase of development, it is undertaking a $4.5 million infrastructure project that will clear an additional nine hectares for roads, water and sewer. In total, 32 hectares along Highway 102 is allocated for lease and development in the power centre's business plan. This includes twelve hectares that have already been developed and leased as part of phase one. After phase two is completed, the final phase will see the development of another 11 hectares to the south.

While the Power Centre, arguably, is the most visible economic development initiative, it is by no means the only one. The Band operates Millbrook Fisheries and has a $25 million, interim fishing agreement with the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans. Employing 40 people, Millbrook Fisheries owns 50 fishing licenses for various species and has 14 boats (12 inshore and 2 offshore). It boasts a new state-of-the-art $1.8 million wharf, building and freezer at Sheet Harbour, as well as a new community Wharf constructed by the Band in Joggins near Amherst, NS. The Band also owns Caldwell Glen Developments, a 50 acre site that includes a $5.5 million, 49 unit semi-retirement and retirement apartment complex in Cole Harbour near Halifax.

In 2006, Millbrook First Nation formalized a partnership agreement with General Dynamics Canada (GDC) for the Maritime Helicopter Project, whereby Millbrook First Nation constructed an $11 million dollar building on its land in Cole Harbour and then leased it to General Dynamics to house the project’s software engineers. According to the terms of the agreement, Millbrook will manage the facility and provide administrative services for the life of the contract. In turn, Millbrook will be assisted by GDC through its support of Aboriginal small business initiatives and provision of education and employment opportunities. The total contract

\textsuperscript{2} The number and nature of tenants have changed over time, with some enterprises starting up and others closing down

\textsuperscript{3} This employment number (and others that were sourced on the MFN website) does not specify how many members of Millbrook First Nation this includes.
value is estimated at 5.2 billion dollars and is said to offer 45 years of potential opportunity for Band members in the software industry.

Another initiative of 2006 was Millbrook Technologies Inc., a company specializing in the design, development and delivery of customized courseware. Using the internet to deliver its training, Millbrook Technologies Inc. has successfully designed and developed programs for the Province of Nova Scotia, Tim Horton's and the Chiefs in Ontario, to name a few.

Recently, Millbrook has invested in the development of a container terminal, rail intermodal facility and logistics park at Melford, Guysborough County on the Strait of Canso. The Band also will serve as an advisor to Melford on all First Nation issues, including land and environmental matters. On the horizon are a number of new projects including a water park, hotel, restaurant, fish packaging plant and pharmacies in Millbrook and Cole Harbour.

As the above discussion attests, Millbrook First Nation boasts a quite diversified economic base, consisting of real estate development, fisheries, technology, and gaming\textsuperscript{4}. Since 2001 the following five business enterprises consistently have been the largest contributors to the Band’s business enterprise revenues: Millbrook Fisheries, Millbrook Tobacco Store, Millbrook Treaty Gas, Gaming Commission Revenues (Net) and Rental Authority. The Gaming Commission Revenues are by far the most significant contributor to Band revenues. In 2001 these revenues (5.7 million) represented 59% of total revenues generated by business enterprises and in 2010 these revenues (12.6 million) accounted for 82% of the total. Although revenues from Millbrook Fisheries increased 54% to $1.2 million between 2001 and 2010, this figure actually represents a slight decline (from 9% to 8%) in its contribution to business enterprise revenue. The Millbrook Tobacco Store’s revenues increased 4% during the period, standing at $364,062 in 2010, which represents 6% of the business enterprise revenue. Treaty Gas’s contribution decreased from 15% in 2001 ($1,451,110) to 2% in 2010 ($277,892) while the Rental Authority’s percentage contribution to total business enterprise revenue remained steady at 7% ($733,836 in 2001 and  

\textsuperscript{4} \url{http://www.millbrookfirstnation.net/millbrook-advantage.php}
$1,028,934 in 2010). Overall, total business enterprise revenue increased 56% from 2001 ($9,817,702) to 2010 ($15,364,045).

While business enterprise revenue represented 45% of total revenue in 2001, this figure increased to 59% in 2010. During this period, total government revenues declined 11%, going from $12,022,470 in 2001 to $10,683,746 in 2010. The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (DINA) represents the largest source of government revenue (85% in 2001 and 80% in 2010). In 2001 DINA revenue was $10,233,056 while in 2010 it was $8,535,888. The other significant shift in government revenue was a 7% increase in funding from Health and Welfare Canada ($346,370 in 2001 and $1,018,356 in 2010).

The financial statements of revenue and expenses for the past ten years provide compelling evidence attesting to the success of economic development initiatives undertaken by Millbrook First Nation. By attracting established companies to locate on Millbrook First Nation land, the Band has been able to increase the amount of revenue it generates from leases and taxes. For example, revenue from taxation went from $0 in 2001 to $451,874 in 2010, while revenue from leases has consistently represented 7% of total business revenue generated. At the present time, all banking is done off-reserve. After demonstrating its capacity for success in operating various ventures, MFN has no problem obtaining financing. However, this was not always the case. In fact, prior to 1995 no banks wanted to give MFN a loan(s), a line of credit or guarantees, according to Chief Paul.

It has been noted that the business park creates a favourable environment for Band members to establish their own business and benefit from the economic spinoffs created by and from established successful business operations. For example, Millbrook First Nation offers land leases to Band members at a reduced rate and these individuals are exempt from property taxes because of the Indian Act. Additionally, they are also able to capitalize on tax exempt fuel for both vehicles and utilities. However, to date few Band members have seized this opportunity. In a later section of the report we will explore some of the factors that may be contributing to this situation.
Recently, Millbrook became the only First Nation community in Nova Scotia to become a full participating member of a regional development agency. Indeed, this membership is a clear indicator of the ‘mainstream’ nature of Millbrook’s economic development activities.

2.2 Population Profile

The following population profile is based primarily on Statistics Canada census data\(^5\) for Millbrook 27\(^6\) on-reserve residents, and spans the years 1996, 2001 and 2006. The comparative analysis in Table 1 focuses on changes between 2001 and 2006 as the 1996 data is incomparable due to alterations in the data collection methodology.

2.2.1 Population Size

The population figures for Millbrook First Nation in 2006 vary somewhat, depending upon the reporting source. The Nova Scotia Office of Aboriginal Affairs\(^7\) reports a 2006 population of 1,345 with 747 people (56 \%) living on-reserve and 598 (44 \%) living off-reserve. Interestingly, for the same year, the Confederacy of Mainland Mi’kmaq report the registered Indian population to be 1,406 (677 males and 729 females) with 792 (56\%) living on-reserve, 3 (1\%) on Crown land, and 611(43\%) off-reserve. Finally, Statistics Canada reported 703 people living on-reserve in 2006. Indeed, the range of discrepancy is rather significant – 13\% for the on-reserve population.

In Nova Scotia, people claiming Aboriginal Identity (24,175 individuals) represent 2.7 percent of the provincial population (913,462). In 2006, the total First Nations’ Registered Indian

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\(^5\) While Statistics Canada’s 2006 figures are the most recent statistics available, they may not accurately reflect the current profile of Millbrook’s (or any other First Nations community’s) population.


\(^7\) Source: Basic Departmental Data, INAC, December 2006.
population was 13,518\(^8\) with 66 percent (8,963) living on-reserve and 34 percent (4,555) living off-reserve\(^9\). The fact that Millbrook First Nation is located adjacent to Truro, a relatively urban community, may account for why 10 percent more of its members live off-reserve than in the Nova Scotia First Nations community as a whole. Overall, the population of Millbrook decreased 14.4 percent from 2001 to 2006.

2.2.2 Age

In 2006, the median age for the Millbrook First Nation population was 25.9, while it was 29.5 for Nova Scotia’s Aboriginal population and 41.8 for the province’s non-Aboriginal population. Generally, the Aboriginal population is significantly younger than the non-Aboriginal population in Nova Scotia. For example, 46 percent of the Registered Indian population in Nova Scotia and 47 percent of Millbrook’s on-reserve population is in the under 25 age category while only 29 percent of the Nova Scotia non-Aboriginal population is similarly categorized. At the other end of the age spectrum, 15 percent of the Nova Scotia population is over 65 while only 6 percent of Millbrook’s population is in this age category.

Among Aboriginal women, the age profile tends to be somewhat different. Forty-three percent of Aboriginal women in Nova Scotia and 44 percent of Millbrook’s females are under the age of 25 compared to 28% of non-Aboriginal women in the province. In contrast, twenty-two percent of Nova Scotian women are over the age of 65 while 8 percent of Aboriginal women and 9 percent of Millbrook’s female population are in that age range. Proportionally, this means there are more than two times as many non-Aboriginal women over the age of 65.

2.2.3 Employment and Labour Force Participation

In 2006 the employment rate in Millbrook was 50.6 percent and the unemployment rate was 17.3 percent. Both these rates represent a decline over 2001 which can be explained in part by the fact

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\(^8\) This figure was provided by the Office of Aboriginal Affairs. However, another document published by the same office states that there are 14,239 Status Indians, based upon the Indian Register, DIAND, December 2006.

\(^9\) Office of Aboriginal Affairs, 2006.
that the participation rate declined from 65.4 percent in 2001 to 61.2 percent in 2006. However, it should be noted that the provincial participation rate also represents a decline over 2001 (61.6%).

In 2006 the employment rate among the NS Aboriginal population was 53.2 percent, the unemployment rate was 15.4 percent and the participation rate was 63.0 percent. Province, the employment rate was 57.2 percent, the unemployment rate was 9.1 percent and the participation rate was 62.9 percent for the Nova Scotia population.

In 2010, the Millbrook First Nation reported employing approximately 285 Band members in the following areas: Band Administration staff, construction, day care, adult care, special care, Treaty Enterprises, school bus drivers, school board, pre-school, health administration, security, maintenance and fisheries. However, it is not clear how many of these Band members live on-reserve.

2.2.4 Income

Average earnings for the Aboriginal Identity Population (AIP) working full year, full time in 2006 were $56,609 in Millbrook and $37,199 among the province’s Aboriginal population. Average earnings are no longer reported in the national census data. Instead, median earnings are provided. In using median earnings (those working full year, full time) as a basis of comparison, the figure for Millbrook’s AIP was $33,024, for Nova Scotia’s Aboriginal population it was $32,744 and for Nova Scotia’s non-Aboriginal population it was $36,917.

There are two points of significance with respect to income. First, average earnings in Millbrook increased 104 percent from 2001 to 2006. The second important point is that Aboriginal women earn significantly less than Aboriginal men. For example, in 2006 the median earnings for Millbrook males over 15 ($24,000) was 63 percent higher than that reported by females ($14,688). In the broader provincial Aboriginal population the median earnings for males ($21,057) was 59 percent higher than that of females ($13,250). In terms of average earnings, the disparity is exacerbated with Millbrook males earning 141 percent more, on average, than
females (($80,057 vs. $33,161). In the broader provincial Aboriginal population, the disparity is less pronounced with the average earnings of males ($41,588) being 29 percent higher than that reported by females ($32,188). Interestingly, in 2001 the difference in average earnings between Millbrook males and females was 16 percent ($29,550 vs. $25,443).

2.2.5 Industry and Occupational Characteristics

As Table 1 illustrates, the size of Millbrook’s total experienced labour force declined slightly from 2001 to 2006. In 2006 the service sector accounted for the highest percentage of employment in Millbrook (42%), followed by health and education (21%). A similar pattern was found in both the Aboriginal (27%) and non-Aboriginal (26%) populations in Nova Scotia with the service industry being the dominant employer.

In terms of occupational categories, sales and service was the largest (18%) in Millbrook, followed by trades, transport and related occupations (16%). For the Nova Scotia Aboriginal population, the largest occupational category also was sales and service (27%) followed by business, finance and administration occupations (15%). Finally, in the non-Aboriginal population the largest occupational category also was sales and service (26%) followed by business, finance and administration occupations (17%).

2.2.6 Education

With respect to education, 15 percent of the AIP 25+ in Millbrook has less than a high school diploma in 2006 as compared to 26 percent of the Nova Scotia Aboriginal population and 19 percent of the Nova Scotia population. Whereas 14 percent of Millbrook’s AIP 25+ possesses a university degree, 12 percent of the Nova Scotia Aboriginal population and 20 percent of the provincial population have similar educational qualifications. Between 2001 and 2006, the level of educational attainment has risen in Millbrook with more individuals completing high school and more than double the number have completed a university degree.
2.2.7 Family Status

In terms of legal marital status as of 2006, the people of Millbrook were found to be far less likely to marry than the non-Aboriginal population in Nova Scotia. Whereas 48 percent of Nova Scotia’s Aboriginal population over 15 years of age were never legally married, the figure in Millbrook is 49 percent, and compares to 32 percent of the Nova Scotia population.

2.2.8 Language

In terms of language, there has been a marked increase from 1996 to 2006 in the percentage of the population in Millbrook that have knowledge of Aboriginal languages (20.0% in 1996 and 26.4% in 2006). In contrast, the percentage of the Aboriginal population in the province with such knowledge actually declined from 2001 (28%) to 2006 (21%).

Considering the results presented in the previous two sections, it is clear that considerable development has occurred in Millbrook First Nation since 1990. Economists define development in terms of wealth creation. This involves both growth – increases in primary economic indicators (income, employment, and production) – and improvements in the structure of the economy – for instance, the industry mix. Indeed, the relationship between economic growth and development is inextricable.
## TABLE 1: MILLBROOK POPULATION PROFILE SUMMARY*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>POPULATION</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millbrook 27</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>821</td>
<td>758</td>
<td>-14.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total population 15 years+</td>
<td>485</td>
<td>410</td>
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<tr>
<td>3rd generation or more</td>
<td>430</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991 Census</td>
<td>601</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% change 1996-2001</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% change 1991-1996</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registered Indian Status</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median age of Aboriginal identity population (AIP)</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>65.9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>% of the AIP ages 15 and over</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>EMPLOYMENT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total population 15 years+ in labour force</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation rate</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>65.4</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Employment rate</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment rate (percentage)</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INDUSTRY</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total experienced labour force</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>-2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHARACTERISTICS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage employed in primary industry</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage employed in manufacturing/construction</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15.0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage employed in wholesale and retail trade</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Percentage employed in finance and real estate</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage employed in health and education</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage employed in business services</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage employed service industry</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OCCUPATIONAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total experienced labour force</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>250</td>
<td></td>
<td>-2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHARACTERISTICS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage in management occupations</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage in business, finance and administration</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage in social science, educ, govt service and religion</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage in sales and service occupations</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage in trades, transport and related occupations</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INCOME</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons 15 yrs+ with income</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earnings as a percentage of income</td>
<td>83.9</td>
<td>65.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govt. transfer - % of income</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other money - % of income</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All persons with earnings</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>270</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average earnings**</td>
<td>$31,436</td>
<td>$16,548</td>
<td></td>
<td>90.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked full time full year</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>110</td>
<td></td>
<td>-4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average earnings (those working full time full year)**</td>
<td>$56,609</td>
<td>$27,763</td>
<td></td>
<td>103.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EDUCATION</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total AIP 25 yrs+</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>310</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Highest level of schooling for the AIP 25 yrs +</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage with less than HS diploma</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage with high school certificate</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage with trades/cert.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of population with U degree</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of AIP with knowledge of Aboriginal language(s)</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Statistics Canada Profile of Canadian Communities [link](http://www.statcan.ca/eng/dbs/P1F0011E/PeopleLabour/lab045a.htm)

*TABLE IS BASED ON 2006, 2001 Aboriginal Population Profile*

*1996 Data was collected using a different format and protocol and therefore isn’t comparable to 2001 and 2006 in many categories*

**This figure varies significantly for males ($44,136) and females ($20,487)**

***This figure varies significantly for males ($80,057) and females ($33,161)***
2.3 The Social Impacts of Economic Development in Millbrook First Nation

The initiatives of Chief and Council have played a major role in subsidizing and/or enhancing services provided by the federal government. It is noteworthy that during a period where there have been government funding cuts, the Millbrook Band has been able to sustain and in most cases enhance, the services provided to Band members.

In terms of infrastructure to support the various services, Millbrook has the following facilities on site: the Band Administration Office, the Health Centre, an Early Education Centre, a RCMP detachment, a Recreation Centre, and a garbage/sewer facility. Additionally, the Band has 195 housing units. Other infrastructure includes water, sewer, curb and gutter, and a second overpass.

What follows is a description of the range of activities, services and programs that have been enhanced or influenced by funding generated by the Band’s economic development activities.

2.3.1 Sport and Recreation

The Millbrook Tobacco Store funds sport and recreational activities for both children (including music, art, camp etc.) and adults (i.e. firearm safety courses, medically approved weight loss programs). Funding includes registration (up to $300 per year) and if a fee in addition to the regular registration is required to participate on a team it will be funded/reimbursed up to a further $300.00. Additionally, necessary equipment is reimbursed up to $300.00 for children 18 years and under, every three (3) years.

While the Band has a gymnasium on the Reserve, it also supports (financially) activities that aren’t available on-reserve such as family skating, at the Colchester Legion Stadium or family swimming, at the Truro Centennial Pool.
2.3.2 Education

Chief and Council not only perceive a very strong link between economic development and education, but they see the progress the Band has made in becoming more financially self-sufficient and in providing educational opportunities for young people as key indicators of success. As Chief Paul states on the Band’s website: "Education and economic development are the lifeline of our people. We will continue to build the capacity of our community and our people and will continue to invest in training and preparing our people for gainful employment.”

Toward that end, Millbrook First Nation has sponsored numerous projects and training programs with funding from the Mi’kmaq Employment/Training Secretariat. Each year summer students are hired (35 in each of 2008 and 2009). While Millbrook operates an Early Education Centre, all elementary, junior high and high school students receive their education off-Reserve. However, the Band has initiated several support programs (i.e. classroom assistance, lunch program) that are staffed by Aboriginal people and operate in the schools with the aim of helping students succeed academically as well as socially. These programs are financed by Chief and Council with funds that are in addition to those received from Indian Affairs. A number of people indicated that the high school completion rate is increasing and that students’ academic performance is increasing. For example, consider the following comment: “We have more children graduating than ever. So the funding that the Band is putting in on top of what we get from INAC is certainly benefiting our kids.” However, no specific results were shared with the researchers.

In Chief Paul’s 2010 pre-election report, it states that the Band spent $1.4 million between 2007-2009 in addition to the monies received by INAC to sponsor students in College and University. Currently, Chief and Council have $2.3 million in the Post Secondary Trust Fund. This money was generated through Gaming (VLTs).

By all accounts, there is considerable encouragement and support for Band members to pursue educational opportunities. Moreover, as one elder put it: “oh gosh I think it's getting a lot better. I think it's the non-Natives who are getting more educated about us, who we are.”
2.3.3 Health

As reported by Chief and Council, Health Canada has made cuts to the following programs: prescription drugs, eyeglasses, dental care, and medical transportation. However, Chief and Council see health as a key priority and members of Millbrook First Nation are provided with many health services that are not available in other First Nations communities.

2.3.4 Culture

The Millbrook Band actively promotes culture and language with Mi’kmaq language courses being offered to community members. Indeed, the Glooscap Heritage Centre, located in the Power Centre, plays an important role in preserving Mi’kmaq culture as do seniors and elders who share their wisdom and knowledge in the community. The Centre has received support from various levels of government in addition to that provided by the Millbrook First Nation community itself.

As one elder commented when asked about whether Band members’ identity as a First Nations elder person has changed over the years: “They have changed quite a bit too, show more that they are Native than they did before. Years ago they didn’t want to be Native because you’re going to be run down or put down and everything else you know. But today it has gone the other way.”

Besides the Annual Pow Wow that the Band supports with financial and material resources, community members are encouraged to attend other traditional gatherings and activities such as the Annual Community Feast, Annual Children’s Christmas Party, Annual St. Anne De Beaupre Pilgrimage and the Annual St. Anne's Celebrations.

2.3.5 Community Services

The Chief and Council financially support a range of community services including Millbrook Church, Millbrook Cemetery, School Buses (the Band operates 3 passenger school buses and a
mini-bus), Wellness Program, Gymnasium, Seniors Services (the Band pays light bills, takes responsibility for property upkeep including paving driveways, renovations and repair; plows, sands and salts seniors’ driveways in winter; mows their lawns and does the yard work in the summer), the Health Centre (including a doctor, dentist, community health nurse and other staff), housing, renovation and repair 2008-2010 (Millbrook: 9 new houses, 1 seniors duplex, 3 extensions to existing housing; Cole Harbour 9 homes, 1 apartment; 3 homes in Sheet Harbour, 1 home in Beaverdam; and 7 housing subsidies – 3 on and 4 off-reserve); formation of a Housing Committee to make recommendations to Council as to who will be assigned a house; and beautification of reserve (for example, tree planting).

In examining the changes that have taken place in the indicators of social well-being as a result of the economic development initiatives undertaken in Millbrook since 1990, some such as education can be measured relatively easily, while others, such as life expectancy, cannot as the impact is yet to be fully realized.

2.4 Analyzing the Social Impacts

In this section of the report we focus on several issues related to Millbrook First Nation’s achievements, including who has benefited, how they have benefited and the associated factors and process. Indeed, one of the main criticisms of traditional economic measures of ‘welfare’ centres on their inability to measure all the benefits (or costs) of economic development. Additionally, we explore the obstacles and challenges experienced. Finally, we conclude by outlining recommendations for the future.

Drawing from the previous section, in sum, the wealth generated by MFN has allowed the Band to provide financial support for community members in such areas as professional training, higher and continuing education, in-school support system, summer employment for students, community Day Care Centre; and additionally, the tobacco store funds many community sports and recreational activities. Illustrating further how the financial benefits of economic development in MFN are widespread, the Band also provides funding to the Health Centre, the Millbrook Gymnasium, the community wellness program, the Millbrook Church, and pays for
the upkeep of the Millbrook Cemetery. Funds are also allocated for the electricity and maintenance of seniors’ housing and general housing renovation and repair on the reserve, as well as for a community beautification program.

2.4.1 Who has Benefited from the Wealth Generated by Millbrook First Nation?

By all accounts, the financial benefits of economic development initiatives in MFN have been broad-based in the community. For example, during 2008 and 2009 the Band’s Gaming Commission (the current Chief and Council) distributed $2,500 to every man, woman and child ($1,000 in June and $1,500 in December). It is estimated that by the end of the 12-year gaming agreement (which currently has four years remaining), every Millbrook First Nation Band member, both on and off-reserve, will have received $30,000. For 2006-2007 and 2008-2009 a total of $6.5 million was distributed to Band members. For any child under 19, the money is put in a trust fund which (s)he can withdraw upon reaching 19 years of age. This was the main benefit perceived by the youth who participated in the focus group. Total grants to Band members since the beginning of the program has been over $20 million.

According to Chief and Council, the money received from the Gaming Commission enables all Band members to have a better standard of living: "We’re where we are today because of the VLTs. The money made goes to benefit the Band not to individuals. VLT dollars are communal dollars that allow us to move forward for the benefit of the Band as a whole. When you think of VLTs off-reserve, the profit goes to the individual bar owner. On our reserve the profits go back to the Band.” As of November 2008 $8.4 million in gaming money had been deposited in the bank while in November of 2009 the amount deposited declined to $7.2 million, largely due to a more negative economic climate. In the Chief’s pre-election report, it states that the children’s money held in trust amounted to $9.8 million. Undoubtedly, key agreements negotiated with government (i.e. the gaming agreement) have been invaluable. Since 2003 over 20 million dollars has been distributed to Band members from the gaming agreement. “One thing we do with this money is use it to make twice yearly payments to all Band members. We give it at Christmas and in the summer. We want every family to be able to provide a vacation for their kids. We don’t want to see First Nation’s children not have the same opportunity to go away on a
summer vacation as non-native kids. In the 3rd week of June everyone gets $1000. For those under 19 the money goes to a trust fund. Same thing for Christmas. During the 3rd week of November everyone gets $1500.” Indeed, those interviewed/participating in focus groups were consistent in stating that initiatives are undertaken with the deliberate aim of broad-based benefit. Moreover, virtually everyone we spoke with indicated they were not aware of any overly wealthy individuals or anyone living in abject poverty.

There is a high level of awareness among the community of the Band’s financial investment in social services. The Chief and Council’s emphasis on education is visible in the increased financial support for in-school and after-school programs. Though it is difficult to measure the long-term impacts of this investment, education professionals within the community reported higher success rates among students; for example, the number of high school graduates is reported to have tripled in the last 10 years. Young people on the reserve also remarked on the accessibility of financial support for their own recreational initiatives, for example, the establishment of traditional drumming groups. Perception among Band members is that the Chief and Council are keen to encourage these initiatives and to provide any financial support needed.

2.5 Factors Contributing to Achievements

2.5.1 Leadership. Chief and Council have formulated a clear vision for the Band’s future along with well articulated goals, strategy and policies, which are underpinned by a recognition that economic development occurs over time. Acknowledging that the community’s vision of self-sufficiency is not a short-term undertaking, both the strategy and actions of MFN reflect that fact. Moreover, in pursuing this vision Chief and Council are confident that they possess knowledge of the effort needed to succeed, as well as a good understanding of business. Furthermore, they are well educated and characterized by commitment, dedication, desire, and a willingness to succeed. As stated by Chief Paul: “We have a very good economic development committee and negotiating team.” Since the inception of concerted economic development initiatives 20 years ago, Council has experienced very little turnover, suggesting that members of the MFN not only support the aims and strategy that Chief and Council have been pursuing, but perceive the Band’s leadership as effective. Consider what one interviewee had to say: “All the
Band's employees help the whole community - out of 12 Councillors, 9 work directly in the Band. The Council is very stable - they are elected here based more on popularity than on issues. Many of our Band members are educated. Band government is the biggest employer."

2.5.2 Value-led decision-making. By all accounts, there is one overarching value that guides decision-making and policies in Millbrook First Nation and that is community. Whether initiatives are economic, social, cultural or environmentally oriented they are invariably guided by a desire for ‘common good’. Each initiative and activity is screened according to whether it has “community” benefit. If benefits only accrue to individuals, then the initiative or activity would not be supported. Indeed, individual gain is not looked upon favourably. As one interviewee summed up: “Millbrook is very communal. Even the tobacco store is not individually owned. Everything is set within the Council. It is good - because the community would say give us all the money and then they would spend it all, because there are short-sighted people. But it is good that the core group think of the community. This fixed and stable group is leading the community. For example our income from the gaming is only possible because this core group used it for the whole community and for the greater good.”

2.5.3 Entrepreneurship. Broadly, entrepreneurship is understood to be a process that involves identifying an opportunity in the marketplace and obtaining the resources needed to successfully capitalize on it. By all accounts, the Band’s leadership has been very entrepreneurial in its economic development endeavours.

2.5.4 Effective governance. We also have good governance because we’ve got a very well educated Council. 5-6 with university degrees. We also have very good resource people. The solicitor has been working for the Band for 16 years and the accountant for 17 years.

2.5.5 Capable staff. The Band employs skilled professionals to manage the various facets of the Band. We also have very good knowledgeable staff as support workers in our Band administration. If there are no Band members with the skills required, then the expertise needed is drawn from the non-Aboriginal community.
2.5.6 **Location.** Truro is considered the hub of the region so the location is ideal with access to a large labour pool.

2.5.7 **Communication.** The Band’s administration actively communicates with Band members. There is a monthly newsletter which is available on line and at various locations in the community such as the Health Centre. This provides a venue for informing people of policies and programs, among other things.

2.5.8 **Strategic alliances** with the Province and other partners. Such partnerships enable the Band to leverage their financial investment and/or other resources. For example, the Confederacy of Mainland Mi’kmaq (CMM) is a Tribal Council representing the interests of six Mi’kmaq communities: Annapolis Valley, Bear River, Glooscap, Paqtnkek, Pictou Landing, and Millbrook. A Board of Directors, comprised of the six Chiefs of the member Mi’kmaq communities and the District Chief, governs CMM. They meet on a monthly basis to give their expertise and guidance to ensure the best interests of the community members are being supported and promoted. The list of programs and services has expanded and diversified over the past 22 years of operation (see Appendix A). Initially mandated by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) to deliver advisory services in finance, economic development, community planning, technical services and Band governance, CMM soon looked to member communities for direction. The mandate from its member communities took priority and continues to do so today. The mission statement best summarizes the objectives of the organization: *To proactively promote and assist Mi'kmaq communities' initiatives toward self-determination and enhancement of community.*

2.6 **How has the Development Process Influenced the Outcomes Achieved?**

From the outset, a very “top-down” development process has been adopted in Millbrook First Nation. In doing so, the Band leadership has been very paternalistic, whereby development is being initiated *for* the Band members, rather than *by* them. Although government policymakers encouraged similar processes within Non-Aboriginal communities during the 1970s as a means of stimulating regional development, an outcome that was neither anticipated nor desired was
that of dependency. As we shall see in the next section, a similar outcome may be surfacing in Millbrook.

The continual re-election of the Chief and several Council members has meant a key group of educated and experienced men have guided the economic development process from its inception to its current level of success. Clearly, this indicates a sustained level of confidence in and support for this group among Band members. Throughout the interview process, the Chief and Council were referred to by community members as stable, fixed, and consistent. They are credited with the economic advancement of Millbrook First Nation and the resulting benefits for the community. That said, it was indicated in the interviews that some Band members have disengaged from the political process in the belief that political decisions occur at too high a level for their participation to be of value. This likely contributes to the noticeable lack of public participation in advocating for change within MFN. Whether this is attributable to the domination of leadership by a core group, or quite contrarily, to the satisfaction of the Band with its leadership, requires further study. Further investigation should also include consideration of leadership styles within First Nations Bands generally. As Chief Paul mentions below, the relationship between Band members and their elected leaders has deep cultural roots, which affect the expected roles and responsibilities of each group.

2.7 Obstacles and Challenges

2.7.1 Dependency. One of the challenges faced by the Band is the extent of dependency among Band members as indicated by a Band official: There's a different culture here. There's a lot of dependency in our Band for social programs and economic development and housing. Instead of going to Indian Affairs Band members now go to the Band office. We took over a lot of the programs that were once administered by INAC. Dependency is at 70% right now." As one elder put it: “...well I think the thing is all this stuff that is coming from Ottawa Indian affairs and not letting us do the stuff we should be doing ourselves.. I don't want no government giving me more than what I have, if I was bad off I would, but there's no need of it. I want to work on my own, like I always did.”
Arguably, the antithesis of dependency is autonomy and as pointed out elsewhere\(^\text{10}\), entrepreneurship is the cornerstone of self-reliance and autonomy. Attributes associated with entrepreneurship include initiative, independence, creativity, problem-solving ability, taking action amidst uncertainty, persuasion, moderate risk-taking, imagination, hard work, self-confidence, leadership… to name a few. Indeed, these are the very attributes that Chief and Council are noted for. Consider what one of the few entrepreneurs in the community had to say about the benefits (s)he received from operating a business: “I tell you what my Father told us. if you work at something that tickles your heart do it, never mind the money and that’s what I did.” Why, then, is there so much entrepreneurship among the Band’s leadership and so little by individual Band members?

In answering this question, it is important to note that most individual differences in people stem from their learning experiences and practice. Assuming that all individuals have a certain level of entrepreneurial attributes and that enterprising behavior can be learned, it can be inferred that every member of the Millbrook Band possesses entrepreneurial capacity which can be actuated or developed. This suggests that while the actions of Chief and Council may inadvertently be discouraging entrepreneurship in the community, there is an opportunity to address the situation. With entrepreneurship seen as a key success factor in the global economy, this issue is important. The challenge for Millbrook is how to develop that capacity within the broader community.

\subsection*{2.7.2 Poor personal finance skills.} Personal finance is an issue among Band members and budgeting skills are lacking. Chief Paul describes the Band as a sharing society, which he feels, in part may explain why very few Band members have savings in the bank. During the youth focus group there was considerable debate among participants as to how the proceeds of the trust fund should be used. One person expressed the view that there was nothing wrong with spending it all right away, and did not consider the fund to be something that was supposed to be saved for the future. Others felt it was important to manage it wisely. A couple of participants indicated they opted to freeze some of it. Interestingly, one person actually tried to defer receipt of the money until (s)he reached 21 but was told that was not possible. An issue that was raised in

\begin{footnote}
\(^{10}\) See for example, Galtung, 1981, p. 177.
\end{footnote}
relation to receipt of the trust fund was that many people “tried to be your friend when they knew you were about to receive the money.” Several of the participants had others request money from them, including their parents. Most felt they had no choice but to go along with requests from family members, especially parents and/or grandparents. Almost everyone indicated their parents asked for money – some to pay bills, some asked for rent money. Participants were of the opinion that many of the requests were unreasonable. Generally, the group felt that far too many people squandered the money on pills, drugs and alcohol. Many said things were too easy in Millbrook. For example, one suggestion was that if people got some of the money and then had to meet certain criteria to get the rest (i.e. education) they thought that might be a good thing. Clearly this is an issue that needs to be addressed.

2.7.3 Drug abuse. Alcohol used to be a major scourge to our society but it isn’t the major problem and more. Its drugs like OxyContin, crystal meth., crack cocaine. Possibly 20% of our young people are affected. We do what we can to provide assistance and we have a great interest in our youth. Consider what one elder had to say: "In the ’60s and 70's all they had was beer. Rum we couldn't afford. But today I don't know."

2.7.4 Cultural and value conflicts. In the absence of on-reserve schools, the youth who participated in the focus group were unanimous in stating that they often experience difficulties in school because school teachers and administrators lack an understanding and sensitivity to First Nations’ cultural practices. Chief and Council’s stance on education is clear and deliberate: "We don't believe in on-reserve schools as this is isolating our children from the rest of society. We believe this breaks down some of the barriers of discrimination and racism. It is not the educated it is the uneducated who are racist.” An elder that was interviewed expressed a similar view: “I think that the native people got the wrong idea about education, now like Shubie and these places, they don't want to go to town school. They want to have schools on the reserve, which I think is a very big mistake. Because we have to be with those people in town the rest of our lives why separate us now? The natives and non-natives got to mingle with them or they have to find your ways otherwise we’re still, just like Shubenacadie I say like Shubenacadie I call it a psychological fence around that reserve. I think you know what I mean.” However, the
widespread view by most participants that off-Reserve schooling has many challenges, cannot be ignored.

In terms of values, it is generally agreed that sharing and community are important values in First Nations communities and Millbrook is no exception. However, in attending off-reserve schools youth are faced with a very individualistic culture and value set. This undoubtedly leads to value conflict for many youth. To strengthen the cultural learning experience of youth, MFN lobbied the Government of Nova Scotia and the Department of Education to ensure Mi’kmaw was offered as an elective language course in the public school system at the junior high level. The vast majority of junior high students from MFN now take the course. Youth in the community also reported receiving financial support from the Band for the establishment of traditional drumming groups, and for participation in regional and national drumming events. It is interesting to note that interview participants identified the equitable distribution of the financial benefits of MFN’s development as being central to their culture and value system.

2.8 Going Forward: Recommendations for the Future

Recommendations for improving the social impact of economic development in the Millbrook First Nation must take heed of the cultural undercurrents which have determined the leadership structure in the community. The consistent re-election of the Chief and several Council members combined with the community perception that their elected leaders have complete control over decision-making may raise questions regarding democratic accountability. Undeniably, there is a concentration of power within a group of traditional political leaders in MFN. Though this may typically be considered a negative trend, in this case, public opinion seems to range from indifference to a feeling of stability and support being generated by the continuity of leadership. The history of the community must be taken into account; the economic success of MFN and the resulting social impacts have occurred in a relatively short period of time and have brought about significant changes in lifestyle and quality of life for Band members. As such, there is a generally positive perception of the social impacts which have resulted from the economic development for which the current Chief and Council are responsible. As a result, perhaps the level of placidity among Band members should be unsurprising.
It must be asked, however, whether any community can flourish without the broad participation of its members in civil society. The direct participation of grassroots actors is commonly attributed to increased levels of accountability and transparency.\textsuperscript{11} In the case of MFN, this type of participation appears to be absent, though it is by no means due to any public discouragement on the part of the Chief and Council. For example, in Chief Paul’s 2010 Election publication, it is noted that General Band Meetings typically have poor attendance levels. The Chief therefore encourages Band members to bring any concerns they may have to Band Council meetings as an alternative (p17). This could indicate overall satisfaction with the current levels of accountability and transparency, or a general apathy towards political involvement amongst Band members. Another principle function of an active civil society however, is to engage new actors in the political process and with them, fresh ideas for future economic and social development. The Chief and Council’s emphasis on training Band members for professions through which they can contribute to Band management, such as law and accounting, certainly speaks to the need for engagement of the next generation of Band leaders. It may, however, be necessary to expand that support in the direction of social and political engagement.

It is with these observations in mind that the following recommendations are made:

\textbf{2.8.1 Develop Entrepreneurial Capacity:} It is recommended that MFN work to provide opportunities for Band members to learn/develop their entrepreneurial capacity. Indeed, starting a new business is one way in which people can acquire entrepreneurial skills and abilities. The reason for this is that the process of starting a business provides the opportunity and the incentive to employ psychological and other attributes that have come to be associated with entrepreneurship. Indeed, entrepreneurial characteristics are very broad in scope with some being personality traits (i.e. independence) some being behavioral (i.e. hard work) and some being skills (i.e. problem-solving). If people become participating stakeholders, they become ‘development makers’ rather than ‘development takers’.

\textsuperscript{11} Fung and Wright, 2003, p.17.
The degree to which the environment supports entrepreneurship depends not only upon the nature and volume of the resources and infrastructure available, but also upon the nature of the community’s culture and social structures. When the environment is uncertain, unstable, and non-routine, entrepreneurial behavior has been shown to be effective in achieving objectives. Arguably, if people find entrepreneurial behavior effective in meeting their needs, through time it will be institutionalized in the community’s culture.

Consider what one elder had to say: “the main thing we got to, we’ve got to stop depending on Ottawa for to look after us. What bothered me a few years ago it was in Halifax they were walking along with the Grand Chief. what about the Mi’kmaq language? Well he says they will have to go to Ottawa to get some money for that. No no no... Ottawa don’t care if we have a Mi’kmaq language or not. That’s got to be up to us as a community. If we want these things we do it ourselves. How much money can you put out of your pocket?”

2.8.2 Personal Financial Management Training: It is recommended that MFN provide personal financial management training for its members. In particular this should occur for young people that are about to receive the proceeds of their trust fund. A related option with regard to youth receiving the proceeds of their trust fund is to provide a bonus for those who invest a portion for the long term. This could be done at no additional cost to the Band if the annual “guaranteed” contribution to each child’s trust fund was reduced to $2000 with the additional $500 being pooled and invested as a means of rewarding those who practice sound fiscal management of their trust fund proceeds.

Other financially focused recommendations include providing incentives for people to exercise entrepreneurship and financial management practices. For example, if someone starts a business and is successful, perhaps offer a rebate on their loan. A final related recommendation is for MFN to consider starting a First Nations credit union.
2.8.3 Employment Programs Targeted at Females: It is recommended that MFN develop employment programs targeted at females. Considering that education levels in MFN have been increasing, particularly among women, programs need to shrink the widening gap between male and female average earnings. Indeed, it is interesting to note that within the AIP (15 years and over) reported in the 2006 Aboriginal Population Profile (Statistics Canada, 2006) 16 percent of females reported having a university certificate or degree whereas only 10 percent of males possessed a similar educational qualification. This would suggest that women are facing systemic challenges, such as a need for childcare, which may be preventing them from fully participating in the labour force. These challenges need to be identified and addressed.

2.8.4 Leadership Development for Emerging Leaders and Youth: It is recommended that MFN create opportunities for emerging leaders in the community and young Band members who express an interest in Band affairs to learn more about the roles and responsibilities of the Chief and Council. Fostering an understanding of the day to day activities of Band Management among bright and committed individuals will contribute to the integral process of developing the next generation of Band leaders. This could be further strengthened by a mentorship program which would pair these individuals with members of the Council and the Chief. Engaging Band members in these types of activities would not only contribute to their own learning and invest in their potential as future leaders, but it would increase transparency and further strengthen the community’s trust in their current leadership.
3. A CASE STUDY OF THE SOCIAL IMPACTS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN MIAWPUKEK MI'KMAWEY MAWIO'MI CONNE RIVER, NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR

Miawpuké is the Mi’kmaq word for “middle river”. Miawpuké, or Conne River, is located on the South Coast, Bay D’Espoir, Newfoundland and is approximately 2 hours south of Grand Falls-Windsor. Its land base is currently 548 hectares and the current on-reserve population is approximately 900 people with a non-status population of 100 included in this number. Today, Miawpuké First Nation is a federally recognized reserve, but Miawpuké has only been officially recognized as a First Nations community under the Indian Act for less than 30 years. The long struggle that took place to achieve this political recognition, and the subsequent development of the community that it catalyzed, is a remarkable story. This case study will describe and analyze the development of the community since its political recognition as a First Nations reserve and will account for some of the reasons for this development, with a particular emphasis upon the social impacts of economic development.

3.1 Miawpuké from its Beginnings: Living with the Land

“According to the oral history of ancestors, Miawpuké became a permanent settlement around the early 1800’s. Prior to this, Miawpuké was a semi–camping site used by the Mi’kmaq who were at the time, still nomadic and traveling around. During this time, Miawpuké practiced our own form of Government. Through research, it is noted that land was set aside as an Indian Settlement in 1870” (Miawpuké First Nation Self Government, 2008).

Historically, throughout the interior of Newfoundland, the Mi’kmaq of the Conne River area lived off the land as they hunted, fished, trapped for food, shelter, clothing and traded furs and skins as a means of subsistence. “The country life was essential during the 1950’s and 1960’s against the backdrop of poverty and unemployment. Each family needed food. Employment was scarce even during the time of the emerging pulpwood industry in the area where the Mi’kmaq were chosen last to be hired” (Jackson, 1993).
Chief Mi’sel Joe recalled that in this era, "people had two houses. The summer houses in Miawpukek and the winter houses were back in the woods. It wasn't the best of houses but they were decent houses. Indian Affairs had nothing to do with it and people took care of their own." The people of Miawpukek continued to experience obstacles that challenged their efforts to live from the land to sustain their families’ lifestyle as roads were constructed that interrupted the migration of animals and a hydro project flooded much of their traditional lands that supported hunting and trapping.

As Chief Mi’sel Joe said, "When I left in the 1960's there was no such dream [of economic prosperity] of any kind. In the 60's for instance, hydro came in and flooded our lands. They came in and did a survey to see if there were any issues down here as far as Mi’kmaq people are concerned and they reported back that there are no issues down here. Of course they flooded our grandfathers' trap lines. It was part of our livelihood." (Interview Oct 27, 2009).

One elder stated, "Things were so rough in the 60's that we don't want to remember them. You had to leave the community to get your groceries because we had nothing here. We had mostly moose meat, even in the summer time they would go off and get fish, trout, salmon, eels, beaver, and rabbits. I think that's why I don't like moose meat now, I had it too much. I could remember losing two children because we couldn't get out of the place. That was the hard times that we had to go through you know. Now you jump aboard your car and go if a child gets sick but then you just had to take whatever came. I tell you we have a lot to be thankful for now. We've got plenty to eat now; not like one time." (Elder Focus Group Interview, June 9, 2010)

The collapse of the traditional economy forced the Miawpukek Mi’kmaq to explore other means of livelihood. Many families left the region for work on the mainland. Chief Mi’sel was among those individuals who spent some time on the mainland.

Chief Mi’sel commented, "We didn't know that we were poor. Everybody shared what they had. And everybody worked. If you went to the woods to cut firewood, everybody went out and cut firewood. Everybody had gardens, berry picking in the fall, collecting kelp along the beaches for fertilizer, so this was the work ethic that we had handed down by parents and grandparents."
3.2 The Collapse of the Traditional Economy in the 1970s: Forging New Directions

Almost all of the adults who were interviewed for this study noted, in one way or another, how their individual and/or collective struggles to find a way out of poverty fostered resiliency and determination. One community leader put it well when he said, "People of my generation have witnessed tough economic times prior to the 1970s because the traditional economy basically collapsed and our parents had to find work as laborers. They instilled on the generation that are in their 30s and 40s that education is important because they saw the limitations of what they could obtain with their education and training level." It is not surprising, therefore, that this first generation of Band leaders was highly supportive of education as a way out of poverty.

In 1972, Miawpukek had their first elected Chief and 5 elected Councillors to seek “recognition of and registration for Newfoundland natives” (Jackson, 1993). In 1974, Miawpukek succeeded in entering into their first federal/provincial agreement. However, it remained a non-status Band. This agreement and recognition was the beginning of a new change for the Mi’kmaq of Miawpukek. However, Band members indicated that there was a constant struggle in those days against government paternalism and control. The fight for federal recognition as a First Nation-reserve continued while their efforts to maintain a traditional Mi’kmaq territory remained strong.

The adults that we interviewed were young children in the 1970s. They also had memories of growing up in poverty. "The houses back then weren't insulated. You would be lucky to get sawdust put in the walls to keep you warm. The water and sewer wasn't through when I was a small kid." It was in the 70’s though, that elders indicated the community started to get developed. "After 1970 that's when they started the work. Before we got our status and everything, we had a job to get a job. There's a good opportunity since we got our status." (Elder Focus Group Interview, June 9, 2010).
3.3 The Sawmill Project: The Beginnings of Community Development

One community leader believes the genesis of the Band’s economic development efforts happened with the creation of the sawmill. "I think the best practice the Band undertook before we were recognized under the Indian Act was to try and create opportunities with Conne River Enterprises, which basically was a pulp truck and a sawmill. This woods operation became the genesis of our economic development efforts. In the 1970s probably shortly after our cultural revival and reinstatement of the Office of the Chief, which reaffirmed our Mi’kmaq culture, we started to get limited funding to organize. One of the first things that we set our sites on was a saw mill and woods operation. That was our first economic venture and it came with challenge and hurdles and one was that the province wasn’t giving out new licenses. We occupied a woods road and had a little civil disobedience and that resulted in us getting the requisite woods license. Then the sawmill got up and running and was the first community owned business that employed Band members. We had people working in the woods, in the saw mill and we had pulp trucks with an operator. We visually saw that if you set your sights on something, it can be attainable. It gave the Band hope and confidence."

Chief Mi’sel also identified the sawmill project as a catalyst for economic development because it enabled the community to lobby for a road. Although in 1975 this was a very poor logging road that was really impassible for large parts of the year, it was a start. Thereafter, Chief Mi’sel lobbied hard for an all-weather road. "Every time I would read the newspaper and see Premier Wells outing in a road to some community, or paving some road, I would write a little note on the copy and say 'when is it ever going to be our turn?' and would send it to him."

3.4 The Hunger Strike: Activism Fosters Community Self-Determination

In the early 1980s, the Band Government encountered funding conflicts which led to a protest to assert their rights as Aboriginal people by occupying provincial offices in St. John’s. In 1982, the provincial government disputed the Miawpukek First Nations expenditures which led to a freeze on funding (Miawpukek First Nation, 2006). One elder told us about this early conflict with the provincial government over accountability. "We used to get funding from the federal government
and the provincial government used to charge $60,000 to write their name on that cheque, and the first year that I was on Council and Chief Joe and us we said we wasn’t excepting paying them $60,000 for putting their name on this cheque. It didn’t cost them very much to buy a pen to write their names on the cheque. This is when our funding got cut off."

Chief Mi’sel Joe told us that, "the province said we want to put somebody in here to look over your shoulders to make sure you’re accounting for dollars right. It was basically an agent sort of thing. We said 'no we don’t need you to do that' and then they said 'well we are going to take $60,000 out of your funds'. I said 'no that's not part of the agreement'. And they said, 'fine then we won’t give you any money at all then', so that went on for 15 months." One elder told us of his memories of this event. "That's when we went into St. John's and we took over the government office and barricaded ourselves in there. There was a hundred people that went from this community. Men, women and children. When we got arrested we either had to pay $50 each or go to jail. When the RCMP phoned and told us we all went down to the Band office and waited for them and they were right amazed at that. Everybody was there waiting with their suitcase. The food was pretty good."

Despite the protest, the government did not change its mind, so Chief Mi’sel led a hunger strike. He recalls the decision. "We chose to stay in town and do hunger fasts very publically to keep the awareness and pressure on the government. On the end of 7 days they finally said okay we will release the funds. Really what we had done was force them back to the table to take a look at this. They did agree to release the funds, and we were told it was okay to stop but I said 'no when we have the cheques in our hands we'll stop'. Finally the lawyer showed up with the agreement and that is when we came home."

After many years of seeking federal recognition under the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, the efforts of the Chief, counselors and many community members had finally succeeded collectively as the Band had received federal recognition in 1984. There was remarkable consistency across all three focus groups of elders, adults and youth and Band employees that this achievement was an important turning point for Miawpukek.
Chief Mi’sel said, "To me that was the start of the incredible theme that started moving in the right direction. Finally I think the province and the federal government saw a group of people who protested not just one person or two people. It was a turning point to us in terms of the community being on board and being supportive. It is ownership and pride in the community and that themes still exists today."

The elders also agreed with this sentiment. "The hunger strike is something you really don't like to talk about. It was something we had to do otherwise we wouldn't have what we got today."

3.5 1985-2005: Economic and Social Development from a Mindset of Self-Determination

Chief Mi’sel told us that when the community was getting registered, there was an expectation from INAC that there would be a welfare process put in place. But the community had no intention of instituting welfare. "When registration took place there were over 500 people living here. We were told they would have to count heads and see who qualified for welfare and social services and what our needs were in terms of capital improvement and building roads and that all of the would become part of the agreement. We said 'fine come in and do that but the only thing is we don't plan to put everyone on welfare'. We didn't come all that way to tell everybody 'guess what we are going to put you all on welfare'. They said, 'You can't use welfare other than for welfare. It's against the law'. I said 'I don't know what law you are talking about'. They said 'you can't build your own houses and you can't do your own construction'. We said 'no we are going to do all of that ourselves' and in the process of doing that we were training our people to maintain the system. We wanted to put in the water line because we wanted to know where it is and who is going to look after it once it is in the ground. We never got the job creation right away. We tried as quickly as we could. We finally got to the stage were we could use welfare as a social job creation and allow people to work and get a higher wage. It finally got to where you could call it a program. At first it was run by the Band and then we gave it to health and social development. And then it is now going more and more under economic development and being attached to training. We actually had older people come in here and say I've never been on welfare in my life. I don't want to be on welfare."
Chief Mi’sel noted that the public works equipment that the Band owns today is largely made up of equipment that they got in their first allotment of funds through capital works. He was adamant that it was highly significant that his community started out its journey outside the Indian Act and that their relationship with INAC was better for resisting its structures. "We didn’t, since day one, live by the Indian Act. We’ve always done things the way we want to do things. INAC knew that from day one.”

3.5.1 Building Community Capacity Through Education and Training

Band administrators confirmed that shortly after recognition the Band set out to develop its human resource pool, "by investing heavily in training and post-secondary education and encouraging people to move forward and get training and skills. When we had to engage outside resource people we always did it on a term contract as a Band member would eventually fill that role. We created an environment where that was attainable that you could get that training and fulfill that role. In the 1980s there was a high level of attendance and post-secondary. From 1984 until the mid-1990s we were still building our community governance infrastructure and administrative capacity. The people that filled those positions were the children of the 1970s people that went to university, trade schools and colleges and got the skills and training.” (Justice and Fisheries Interview, October 27, 2009).

Mi’sel noted that, "When we took over education in 1985 there were no Mi’kmaq programs. All our kids going to school prior to that were basically learning about Canadian history, certainly nothing about our own people. One of the school committees raised this issue that we have to use the curriculum that is accepted by the province and universities. I said we know that but it doesn’t mean that we can’t add on things pertaining to our own history and culture.” Elders informed us that prior to 1985, "our children when they got in grade 7 they had to do to St. Alban’s and board out with strangers.” Several of the s attested their early departure from school to this barrier.
Yet the adults felt that education was always available to them in this next generation of development. One adult explained, "The community has always been there to support people who had ambition, who had dreams."

The Director of Education graduated from grade 12 in the school year that the Band took over the school, which was 1985-1986. He suggests that the transformation to total control was a planned process. He cited his own post-secondary education as an example of this. "It was an initiative that the Band took to get its own Band members in key positions in the community. I was told that if we put you through school for four years you have to come back and work for us for four years. If we are going to put money into training people then we want something in return. Contrary to the past when those tools were used against us to take away our culture and our language and our history and traditions, we now instill culture using those same tools. That's all we do. We realize that education has a tremendous part [to play] in restoring our language, our culture and our traditions. It is caring, sharing and respect. We take every course and incorporate Mi'kmaq culture and tradition throughout it. So when you walk into this school you know it is a Mi'kmaq school."

Several of the youth felt that culture is of central importance to education and they noted that it is growing even stronger with the years. “Culture plays a bigger part now than what it did when I was in school. I'm blown away by how much more the children know about their culture. They're learning the language." The Director of Education explains how the Band school plays a significant role in continuing to shape community identity for self-determination by keeping alive the memory of the hunger strike. "We had nine individuals that put their life on the line for our community. It's a tremendous statement of community and one that we put up on our hallway like a memorial to the people that did that. It will be there forever."

One elder said, "Everybody gets their support for their funding to go to university or trade school or whatever no matter who you are. The Chief noted, "Education is the engine that drives everything today. The important tool is the education tool and we have to learn to adapt to that and if we do that then we level the playing field a little more. If you don't have the education to
effectively run any community then you are always going to be behind somewhere. Money
doesn't fix [our problems]. Money sometimes just adds to our anguish that's already there.”

3.5.2 Business Development and Human Capacity Building

One of the earliest business development plans that Miawpukel initiated after Band recognition
in the mid-1980s was Conne River Outfitters. This business was set up to provide hunting and
fishing packages to a mostly American customer base. The company now has two hunting
accommodations and five lodges. The first one, called Camp 8, is considered the Base Camp.
Medonnegonix offers a more remote wilderness experience (Miawpukel First Nation, 2006).
eylers told us that the development of the outfitters program coincided with a program for guide
training in the late 80’s. "They would take them into the trapping lodges where you would go
trapping, teach them to trap and those things. It showed them the country and how to survive on
the country. One of them became the head guide in one of the camps and now he's the manager
of outfitting. They still use the country."

Between 1993 and 1996 more businesses emerged on the reserve that gave promise to the
community. In 1993, the Band provided mechanical training to its members who were interested
in pursuing a career in mechanical repairs and opened its very own garage providing automotive
repair services to its members and surrounding communities.

Around the same time of federal recognition, the Band continued to seek economically viable
businesses that could provide economic sustainability for the Band and employment for its Band
members. For instance, Conne River Building Supplies, currently known as Conne River True
Value, opened in the mid-1980’s. This locally Band owned and operated business provides
building and other household supplies to the homeowners of the Band members as well as
employment opportunities. Thirty years later, Conne River True Value is one of the Band’s most
socially and economically successful businesses.

Gerrard Joe, the EDO explains the way that the Building Store shapes and is shaped by the
double-sided coin of social and economic development. "Pretty well 90-95 % of all the material
for construction comes from Conne River Building Supplies. There is little leakage of Band money out of the community on that. Also, the building supplies business creates employment. Let's say the building supplies store has an annual loss of $30,000. It actually creates 10 jobs so if we were to shut it down that's a service that is gone from the community, but you're also shutting down 10 jobs that you are going to have to transfer somewhere else like a job creation program. This is an example then of a business that does not create a net profit but it does create a social profit.”

In 1996, the Band opened small gas station, Conne River Gas Bar that also employed Band members. This gas bar was located off the main road into the community and has since been moved to a new location on the main road near the beginning of the community. This was a strategic move as the new location is now one of the Band’s most viable and profitable businesses on the reserve. The move attributed to its operational success on the business side however, attributed to the social success of its members. As the Band initiated businesses such as the gas bar, they invested in training to fill accompanying trade positions.

Also in 1996, the Band embarked on a pilot project in the aquaculture industry raising ocean grown rainbow trout. The Band saw this as an investment opportunity for its community and proceeded with partnerships with the local private sector while receiving assistance from The Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency and Aboriginal Canada. This project provided employment opportunities for community members and helped the Band learn about public-private partnerships. In 2002, this business venture failed because of changing market conditions which resulted in a $3.5 million Band deficit (Goss Gilroy Inc., 1996; 2005). The Band administration and leaders in the community took responsibility for this loss and made considerable strides to resolve this issue to prevent this from occurring in the future.

Chief Mi’sel remembered the tension in the General Assembly meeting when this was reported. "I remember somebody in the back of the room saying 'who in the hell is responsible for this three million dollar loss?' I said 'Me. Talk to me.'" Our Council all stood up and that that we were all responsible for it and that we were going to fix it. We had a team all ready."
As one community leader noted, "We were so close to going into a third party management, it was unreal. We took layoffs but we came to work anyways. When we froze wages we froze them at the top. And we made sure the job creation and all the essential programs were status quo. It was three years and it was tight. I'm telling you we were counting pennies but you know, lessons learned. Out of that the Band came back and said we will never take core Band money ever again and jeopardize our programs." Chief Mi’sel recalled this worry as well. "I said no way is co-management coming in here. We got ourselves in trouble and we'll have to find our way out."

Although INAC accepted their five year plan (which was addressed in three years) they had to negotiate with their bank about trusting their plan. The bank finally agreed and they are still dealing with this bank today.

3.5.3 Building Community Commitment Through Annual Assemblies

As the Miawpukek Band grew and developed since federal recognition, it became clear to the Band leadership that feedback from the community would be essential for improving programs and services together with measuring their impact upon community development. The Band Council thus established ways to measure the impact of their programs, by gauging from members how Band initiatives impact their quality of life (Goss Gilroy, 1996).

The Band leadership began to arrange focus groups with the community members to assist the Administration with the direction and vision of the community. The Band has worked to be accountable to its Band members through transparency of operations, an open door policy, regular reporting to the community members, and Annual General Assemblies. (Goss Gilroy Inc., 1996). The community has an ongoing opportunity to provide input as to whether they are in favor of a policy, program or service.

As one community leader said, "During the Annual Assemblies we all take our knocks, and we take some hard ones sometimes from the community but I am also knowing the intent of what they are saying. They tell us if they don’t like the path we are going down, and if we want to continue going down that path [they challenge us to] tell us why we should be going down that path. You talk about your department and how many jobs you created, and the programs you
developed. You have a question period where each Band member will ask you questions, from the general to the specifics. What this is about is feedback, and you use that feedback to make adjustments."

3.5.4 Integration of Health with Social Development

Although the Band was administering health services from 1975 under a provincial contribution agreement, it wasn’t until 1991 that “…health services were delivered under a contribution funding agreement with Health and Welfare Canada. Programs and services were implemented to the terms and conditions of the contribution Agreement, and financial resources allocated by Health and Welfare accordingly” (FN Health Managers, 2009). Since the signing of this agreement, new programs and services emerged providing comprehensive community based health programs. The Health Director explains that social services is administered by Health as part of "an integrated health and social services program that started out as a work for welfare program. If you don’t go to work, you can’t go on welfare. You either have to work or you can go on long term disability if you have a disability." This program, which was shifted to be administered by health and social services in 1996, directs economic funding towards putting people to work within the community. This program started out in the late 1980s with a case load of about 40 people and now there are 180 that fall within the seasonal job creation program. Eligible community members will work for their social assistance through various projects implemented by the Band through Conne River Health and Social Services, for the time period that qualifies the Band members for Employment and Insurance Benefits. This budget is taken from the total social budget allocated by the Band (FN Health Manager, 2009).

One community leader indicated that in most areas of Band employment, the community has reached its capacity. "We have a capacity for another nurse and maybe two social workers, so [this saturation] then creates problems for the Band as a lot of these community members want to come back to the community."
3.5.5 Community Housing Strategy

The community housing strategy that was developed after the housing manager was hired in 2003 was an important watershed in social development for the community. It is evident that this strategy has gone hand-in-hand with community economic development. As the community standard of living improved, it became possible for a comprehensive housing strategy to be enacted. Prior to the creation of this position and strategy, the responsibility for administration of housing was shared between public works, capital and the Chief and Council.

The new strategy created a process that was arm’s length from politics. As one community leader indicated, "A focus group met with the community and the community came back with a recommendation that they wanted a separate entity from the Council which would oversee all the housing programs. At first it was to deal with tenant relations, rental arrears, maintenance, but then it has evolved to a loans program-of which we have two- and a renovation assistance program." For individuals who make over $45,000 there is a section 10 program that allows the Band to back loans for mortgages. There are internal loans for individuals that make less than $45,000 who do not wish to wait for a house or who wish to borrow funds to upgrade their home. The Band does not provide funds directly to Band members for house repairs. All repairs are facilitated through the housing manager through loans of Canadian Mortgage and Housing Commission grants. The Housing strategy is based on a points system that has two components. The first component is related to existing home owners and the other is if you are living with a family or are renting. Each of these points systems is based on a range of factors such as income level, kitchen and bathroom facilities, and the number of people in the unit looking for support. One community leader confirmed that this has been significant because it highlighted the issues that were constantly coming up and created a fair, transparent and equitable system to apply the rules. "So all that is looked at, reviewed and determined on the point system. Since I have been here, we have never gone against the point system. Whoever tops out is the individual that gets the home. There is no one specific thing that made us go there. This is what works for us. How we got here was just time. It was changing attitudes and growing pains."
3.5.6 The Economic Development Office: Leading Holistic Social Development

The Band administrative and traditional leaders are committed to finding innovative ways to improve the social, cultural, and economic way of life of its Band members through local, provincial and federal partnerships. The Economic Development Department and its qualified trained staff work hard to meet the needs of the members of the Band. “The role of the economic development department is to enhance the economic, culture, social and spiritual aspect of the people of Miawpukek….The goal of the economic development ventures is to operate as commercial business providing a social and financial return to the Miawpukek Band Government, while employing Band members” (Miawpukek First Nation, 2009).

In 1996, the Band entered into a federal agreement with Human Resources Development Canada called the Aboriginal Human Resources Development Agreement (AHRDA) that enabled a more direct linkage between training and community economic development. “Training and Economic Development started in April, 1996 and provides training assistance to status Indians registered with the Miawpukek Band both on and off-reserve. Tuition costs, books, travel and in some instances, living allowances are provided to students attending Post-Secondary Institutes. TEDD is made possible through financial contributions from HRDC which are specially ear marked for aboriginal peoples. TEDD is administered within regular HRDC guidelines” (Training and Economic Development, 2005). Since the signing of this agreement, the Band department’s qualified personnel were able to assess the training needs of its members and match their needs with the local labor market information. The community members also have assistance to the developing and starting up of their own businesses in the community, entrepreneurship under the AHRDA.

A few community Band members took advantage of this program in the hopes of providing a better future for their family. However, most of them closed their businesses and returned to the make work projects or sought employment with the Band. It is beyond the scope of this work to explain the factors that led to this retreat from private small business development.
The AHRDA together with the “Local administration of the Post-Secondary Education Program has also proved advantageous to the community and, as in other areas, the flexibility provided under the agreement has been utilized. In particular, the Program has been used extensively to educate individuals for employment in the community” (Goss Gilroy Inc., 1996).

3.5.7 Infrastructure

Around the same time as the AHRDA, the Band embarked on improving their communication with neighboring communities and the world by investing in and setting up as an Ontario based dial-up internet service provided called CANCOM. This would serve to connect the community more closely and immediately with other communities across the country as well as open up some commercial opportunities (Goss Gilroy Inc., 1996). This significant shift in technology allowed the Band to increase their communication access to potentially ascertain new partnerships.

Eventually, under the Tobin government, the provincial government built an all-weather road into Miawpukek in 1997. This was after considerable lobbying by the Chief and Council over a 20 year period from the time the logging road was connected in 1975. In 1997, the Band celebrated the opening of this community access road. This enabled faster access in and out of the community. Prior to this construction, transportation in and out of the community was very challenging especially during spring thaw and during the harsh winters. At times, the roads were impassable. Medical response service improved and freight services for the local businesses increased.

3.5.8 Self-Government Processes

In 1998, the Band submitted a Self-government proposal to the Department of Indian Affairs under the inherent right policy (Miawpukek Self-Government, 2008). “In 1999, the Department suggested a developmental phase with MFN as a means of jointly addressing issues. Both MFN and the Department of Indian Affairs agreed to work together on an innovative process to explore issues related to Self Government” (Miawpukek River Self Government, 2008).
The process of self-government began with a series of community focus groups facilitated by the Institute on Governance that included Band participants of different age groups. The objectives of the workshops were to “assist participants in gaining a better understanding of governance, sound governance and why governance matters; To develop some common language and concepts among the participants to aid community awareness, understanding and discussion of self-government; to assist in identifying issues, barriers, concerns and opportunities associated with self-government; and to develop an Action Plan to help address all matters of concern to community and federal officials” (Conne River, 2000).

“On September 12th, 2003 Sagamaw and Council passed a motion that formal Self Government negotiations commence. Since this time, Miawpuek First Nation Negotiation Team have been diligently working with Federal and Provincial Governments towards a Self Government Model” (Miawpuek Self Government, 2008).

3.6 2005 to the Present: Managing Success through Partnerships and Integrated Services

The Band is now taking stock of its development of integrated services and its impact on employment and social development. While there are mixed opinions of the overall value of some Band programs such as job creation the general consensus of individuals that we interviewed was that social development has had experienced tremendous strides since 1985. As the one community leader said, "In terms of economic development, I think the impact socially is great and in some respects is somewhat measureable. In terms of peoples outlook on life, better quality of life and the general attitude of the community it has been greatly impacted by the Band's efforts in economic development." One community leader stated, "you have to combine your resources together and talk to each other because you both might be writing the same proposal. What we look at when we talk about social profitability versus economic profitability is do we have a business that is generating a loss that is less than what you would be paying out on job creation. So that is the social benefit for us."
3.6.1 Outfitting: A Fully Integrated Business

The Band now has the administrative capacity and the economic stability to analyze how to add greater economic integration to its operations such as outfitting. The outfitting business now has mostly Band members as guides. One community leader told us, "Prior to seven years ago we were putting out between $70-120,000 a year to go to an aviation business to charter for those camps. So we did a feasibility study and a business plan and looked at buying a 185 that would provide the service for us. It's was going to have a loss of $10-20,000 per year, but if you don't do this we are never going to own our own aircraft. We got a pilot trained and we got him employed. Now 100% of that business belongs to the Band."

3.6.2 Assessing the Pluses and Minuses of Social Job Creation

The Band has been able to create full seasonal employment for its members, largely through a strategic focus upon social job creation. While this situation represents a remarkable transformation from the 1970s when unemployment and poverty this transformation has not been without its added complications for the community. While poverty has all but been eliminated, there are differing views as to whether this strategy is leaving the community is a good economic place for the future. "In 2000 onward, we are seeing some impacts of life that we created here and the environment that is starting to swing the other way in terms of benefits. It is creating negative impacts and it is creating a reverse effect from what we saw from the 1970s and 80s. We created the environment that saw a profound impact in people's quality of life in that we've created opportunities in the community such that the generation going into adulthood now has not fully appreciated how profound these opportunities are. As such they are taking it for granted and are not pursuing post-secondary opportunities to the degree that they should. I think the reason is we have created a social security net whereby we will employ everyone seasonally. As a 21 year old, if you can be seasonally qualified for EI and bring in $400 every two weeks and buy a snowmobile or four cylinder Japanese car, that's your world, that's your future. It doesn't go beyond that. Now as time goes on and kids get older they do appreciate that there is more than that and they go on. That is one negative impact of the economic development efforts that we made." (Community Leader Interview, 2009).
One community leader also confirmed this as a recent trend. "We're finding that now more of the kids that are graduating at 18 want to come directly to the job creation program." Several Directors speculated that this appears to be related to the duel factors of the increase in the community as a desirable (community desirability) place to live and bring up a family and the limited evidence that higher paying professional jobs are going to be there in the community in the future (employment saturation). "Some of the youth are saying, so what's the point [in pursuing higher education] we are only going to come back here and go on job creation anyway." Several Band employees felt that this was the beginnings of dependency (Band Employee Interviews, 2010).

The members of the youth focus group were quite concerned about the negative impact of the job creation program on some of the youth. One youth said, "I think that the policy makes the youth lazy cause you can see them in high school saying 'I don't care. I don't need to do this. I can get a job when I turns 19 anyway' I'm on social job creation now [while] I'm in university." Another youth confessed that she was a prime example of this policy situation. "I did not finish high school. I dropped out and I turned 19 and I was going to get a job anyway. Then reality hits you in the face years later. Back then I really didn't care as I had a job. Now I'm on social and I have two children. What am I going to do with my life. If I had it back, there are so many things I would have done with my life. I think that policy should be looked at."

The youth focus group thought that a change in bi-laws that influenced people more to continue with schooling would help. There was some agreement that this would be partially influenced by the new policy that made it such that the only youth under 19 that are eligible for work are those that are going away to school. There was a strong consensus by the youth that there was a need for a career counselor to assist youth with making these decisions, as there was a sense that many youth were naïve about their potential future under job creation and that they needed someone to help the re-align their unrealistic expectations. "They really need a career counselor and a guidance counselor here because none of the kids [that I graduated with] knew what they wanted to go to school for. You should be able to come up here [to the Band office] and ask someone to help you with that but it doesn't seem like anybody is educated on that."
One community leader has reported to the Band that they are going to reach capacity for employment within the community. "There is going to be a limit in terms of how we are going to handle this as we are going from 40 to close to 200 placements now. The community only has so much infrastructure in which to place people and once all the positions are filled with Band members qualified in these areas and them people get placed within the community and what do you do when you don't have enough placements?"

However, there is strong anecdotal evidence that full employment has led to a greater sense of individual and collective self-worth in the older generation. One community leader said, "What we have found is that when you get people to work it creates a sense of self-worth. People are proud about what they are doing. For instance, we have a project this year that is creating a Mi'kmaw village. You look at that crew. They are creating a project that the community walks through and sees the trails being done. Then you are instilling some pride in those people that they pass on to the next generation and the next. Do you want to build a society where everybody is on welfare or do we want build a society that your kids and your grandchildren are going to feel good about themselves by saying I've contributed to my community and to the region. You want to build a good society that feels good about themselves then you don't have the drug, alcohol, family abuse problems. Where people are not working and are on social welfare there are a whole bunch of negative social aspects that come with that." One of the members of the adult focus group also felt that this was good for the self-esteem of individuals and he noted that many First Nations had not taken this pathway. "I find that the infrastructure set up here by the Chief and Council in the past is that they make us work for our money. I find that if you work for a dollar that you are going to find it hard to throw it away and you will spend it wisely and appreciate it more. This is something that this community doe that a lot of other reservations never done. They set up infrastructure and developed businesses."

The job creation, make work projects administered through Conne River Health and Social Services were initially set up to help avoid the stigma attached to recipients receiving welfare on-reserve. The Director of Education indicated that he believes one of the biggest challenges the community faces is employing all the students that have been encouraged to pursue post-
secondary education that want to come back and live in the community. "Originally when the plan was initiated we had tons of jobs but now we know that our employment opportunities within the Band are getting less and less." (Interview with Director of Education, June 10, 2010).

Also, the youth have learned of this project and instead of pursuing post-secondary education tend to fall back on this job creation initiative. “The living conditions on the reserve and the guarantee of work with the Band have created an unintended impact in that a significant number of young people are setting job creation as their goal rather than pursuing education. This in essence is undermining the MFN goal of community and individual self-sufficiency, and is a current challenge that requires a rethinking of the job creation policy to provide incentives to leave and disincentives to choosing the program” (Goss Gilroy Inc., 2005).

The other element of this is the community expectation that the Band is always going to have money to put people to work. According to one community leader, there is likely going to need to be some counseling about this across the Band sectors that helps people become aware that if they don’t have skills or there is not enough money coming in to the Band, that they will need to consider what they are going to do. One community leader noted, "We are actually at a cross-road right now that we are getting to a point where we are not going to be able to maintain 100% employment.”

The Band recognizes the need to seek employment for its Band members and as part of their strategic development process, “MFN has identified opportunities in: mining, partnership development, entrepreneurship development, culture and recreation, investments, tourism, aquaculture, and agriculture. From preliminary research, these proponents show the greatest opportunities to develop partnerships and create sustainable employment for MFN Band members” (Miawpukek First Nation, 2010). By continuing to including culture and recreation into this equation, the Band remains consistent in maintaining a traditional and cultural balance in its infrastructure for its community members.
3.6.3 Gray's Aquaculture: A Public-Private Partnership

One community leader explained that a new program that the community has recently taken on through Service Canada called the Aboriginal Skills and Training Program enabled the Band to partner with Gray’s Aquaculture to find long term employment for 26 Band members. That is giving us some breathing room. "That is giving us enough time to start looking at opportunities in the St. John's area and off-reserve. In total Gray's invested more than $400,000 in the community related to land development, purchasing fuel, supplies and jobs. Gray's is an example of the increased leverage the Band has within the wider Coast of Bays geographic region. The Band sits on the Coast of Bays Communities board and has input into what is happening in the region. One of the economic challenges is that there are only 8000 people in the whole area across 22 communities within a 75 mile radius. Thus the trading area is small, and limits local expansion. And also, Band businesses are generally competing with similar retail businesses in the surrounding communities while the Band costs are greater because their wage scale is higher and there is an increased number of Band holidays." (Band Administration Interview).

It can be concluded that this opportunity with Gray’s would not have existed if the Band had not built some capacity in aquaculture in the past. At the time that the AST program began, there were already 8 Band employees working for Gray’s. One community leader confirmed "We already had a partnership in place which was good for us. Gray's will be an excellent opportunity to learn from such that those that rise to this occasion will have an excellent opportunity for their earnings potential." As a business operating on-reserve that is not Band owned, Gray’s is not subject to the same personnel policies which require the Band to pay for more holidays. Individuals are noticing the differences in this business and that the Band is very generous with its holidays. However, this creates a disincentive for Band members to partake in private enterprise jobs.

It was noted by one respondent that the work ethic of the current Band labor force “runs a gamut from laze fair to a work ethic that would create a standard for the outside world.” One of the challenges noted by several interviewees is that some Band businesses face personnel challenges
related to the work ethic of some individuals. It was stated that there are individuals in some positions that are not performing at a level that would be considered competitive with off-reserve labor. Yet it was also said that there is no easy way to exercise management practices that raise their performance because of the difficulties such management practices have for the long term harmony in small communities.

3.6.4 The Fisheries: A Private Venture by a Public Organization

The Band investment in the fisheries could be described as the next generation of private enterprise that is in a similar vein as the Band’s original investment in aquaculture. However, the Band has entered this project with a lot of experience that was learned through the early aquaculture project. The fisheries fleet was described by one community leader as being created from "Marshall case crumbs" since 2000. The fisheries fleet was initiated against a backdrop of having no previous human resource history with commercial fisheries. Therefore the community developed, with the Maritime Institute, a program that would enable the identification and training of people with the aptitude and interest in the fishery. Initial efforts to attract Band members to engage in and remain with the fisheries have so far met with limited success. A number of reasons have been put forward to explain this, ranging from a foreign harsh seafaring work culture and other obstacles such as being away from home during key cultural celebrations that clash with Miawpukek cultural ways. However, it is noteworthy that those who pursue this pathway have the opportunity to take home more than $1500 per week in the crab season and $500 a week during ground fish season, leading to an annual salary with EI of over $40,000.

Today the Miawpukek fisheries fleet consists of four vessels and employs four Band members at sea and five on shore. The current employment policy aims to hold on to all workers (Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal) that remain with the crew for the season, and only replaces these crew with Band members when new vacancies become available. This has led to greater workforce stability which is more likely to ensure profitability (Interview with community leader). This community leader also notes, “some of the business units have to work in the mainstream and others don’t and commercial fishing is one that we can’t subsidize. Our debt financing has gone from five million to $200,000. We had to convince the community that we were not going to put Band
funds at risk like in the [early] aquaculture operation, and NFL is undertaking debt financing as a standalone company with no Band guarantees. Where the Band doesn’t want to be subsidizing operations like commercial fishery that can consume millions of dollars, we’ve got to be a bit more mainstream in our human resources practices. The short of it is that we are looking to get vertically integrated and play a bigger role with the processors association." (Interview with Community leader).

3.6.5 Opportunities for Youth: Where Go Community Development in the Future?

The Band has a mission statement that states that everybody goes to work and this is applied to everyone from the age of 20-65 that is able to work. One adult noted that although this is good economically to have full employment, it is not always clear that youth are seeing that this is an advantage for them. "My niece is 21 and she didn't have any ambition to go to school because she says all I have to do is just wait a year and the Band is going to put me to work. For myself and my age group, I think we appreciate the fact that we have to work and we knew what we didn't have before so we appreciate it more. I think it is probably half and half the students that are graduating and want to go on [and those] that are quite aware that if they stick around they are going to get a job for 14 weeks."(Interview with adult, Oct 22, 2009). Another Band worker described this as creating a sense of complacency that creates a human resource challenge.

A number of elders expressed their worry for the future of the youth in the community. They cited drugs as being a particular worry. "Drugs for teenagers and children are more accessible. They maybe could get it before but now it seems they are more into it. They are getting drugs more younger than they did." Some of the adults also felt there were too many drugs and alcohol.

The elders lamented the loss of some of the cultural ways of living that they grew up with, and mused about the impact on today’s youth. "There is only a few people at trapping now. One time there was quite a few. I don't go trapping any more. They don't see the need for trapping. The price is not there for the market. This is one bad thing about everything. When our children was growing up they couldn't sit in front of a TV because they didn't have it there so they were more
used to the outdoor sports. They were healthier than what children are now because they got a lot of outdoor activities."

Yet the youth focus group were very clear that they saw the culture as being strong here and that this was a major reason that was drawing them back to their community. "The culture is here and it is safe. It is just a place that you want to come back to. We've only started to embrace our culture once we've grown up and realized what it really means."

Most of the members of the youth focus group planned to come back to their community to settle. One youth noted the linkage between benefits and cultural identity as central to her value system. "Everybody enjoys the benefits of being Native but why not embrace it? You should be taught to embrace it. I don't understand how you could love all the benefits of this and not love the culture itself." They felt the strong cultural focus of the school was a major attraction as a supportive place to raise their children. "In the school system here, [our children] are going to be learning their Mi'kmaq language and about their culture and that is not something [you would get] if you left Conne and went away to school." Another youth commented about the special academic attention that pupils receive in the ban operated school. "If a child is struggling, they are not left behind. They have special things put in place and no child is left behind. They really cater to individuals."

However, the adults were much more optimistic about the opportunities for youth in the future. "I say for the future too, next generation is going to be better than this one. Well educated ad more educated people." Youth whom we talked with felt that the school system prepared them quite well for their future. "They did prepare me in what I wanted to do and made sure that I had this and that done to apply. Being thrown into bigger classes and a bigger school setting they can't really prepare you for that. Other than that I felt quite prepared."

The wage level that is associated with job creation is not considered a living wage by youth. "[Those who take job creation] are not going to be able to afford anything that they think they can because it doesn't pay a hell of a lot. Your unemployment is nowhere near the top."
3.6.6 Linking Human Resources and Economic Development

One Community leader told us how the strategy of linking human resource development and training with economic development was paying off for the development and self-determination of the community. "Our human resources capacity is very high here. We have electricians, plumbers, carpenters, truck drivers, all of our teachers. We have a lot of qualified people." In 2009 the Band combined economic development and Human resources into one department calling it Training and Economic Development. This community leader explained, "The reason for that is that we recognized that there was a gap between what we were doing and what Human Resources were doing. We said let's combine them so we know what our requirements are and they know what we are doing regarding employment and partnerships. I believe that is one of the best moves that the Band has ever done."

This integration of human resources training and economic development has led to the development of a career resource library, and the further training of a receptionist to develop her career counseling skills. This is an area that youth identified as needing further attention. This has led also to a clearly articulated policy on post-secondary funding priorities so that youth will be aware of the evaluation criteria. The Director of Education noted that he is working with training and development to try to provide through a special needs coordinator and through further links with outside professionals. It is part of the five year plan to add a qualified person in this area.

3.6.7 Creating Social Profits: A Strategic First Nations Priority

"In the past we always said that there is a social aspect to business and there is a business aspect to business. We never went out and canvassed the community to see of this was true or not, but last year with the self-government process they did that and its right there in black and white. The community said that yes there has to be a social aspect to it. We are saying internally, if it's less cost than it would cost somebody on job creation that should be a social plus and a good viable business."
Most of the community leaders that we talked with commented that, although they have found ways to achieve social and economic development despite the barriers that they feel it would be so much easier if there was more recognition in policies of the diversity and the uniqueness of First Nations communities. "They are trying to run a program from Ottawa and they are not listening to the EDO’s on the ground. The challenges that are faced by us are not the challenges faced by Membertou. I think INAC has got to understand that economic development is not just about jobs. EDOs are involved in a wider range of activities such as housing, education, and health. For instance, we just sent a proposal to ACOA to build an outdoor rink and chalet. That's going to have an impact on education, health and social. When kids are involved in activities there is less drinking. It is almost like a spider web. We are kind of in the middle and we touch all those things out there."

3.6.8 Community Well-Being

One elder said, "Back to when we had nothing to what we got today, a developed community. When I came here it was nothing at all. This is the wealthiest community in the Bay now."

The average income in Miawpukek is in the vicinity of $32,000 which is still considered below the poverty line, although it is higher than the surrounding communities (Health and Social Development Interview, June 10, 2010). Other individuals felt that the community is not really poor on Newfoundland standards like it was before 1984. However, although the job creation projects pays a bit above minimum wage, when combined with Employment Insurance it is still below the poverty line (Community leader Interview, June 10, 2010).

The community has worked diligently to ensure that the community-based justice system is linked with the work of the RCMP. It is noteworthy that this community currently has only one RCMP officer. There are comparably sized First Nations communities in other parts of Atlantic Canada where the number of officers is more than ten. The types of crimes that exist today in Miawpukek tend to be more related to damaging community property, such as "tearing siding off the Youth Center, and breaking out windows at the school." (Justice Manager Interview, 2009). The justice department indicates that the age of youth committing such crimes has gotten
younger to 14-16 in recent years, but the types of crime are still petty. Overall, the assessment of
the justice center staff is that the youth of the community are really quite well behaved, and that
they are mostly respectful of adults and elders. The adult focus group also concluded that the
crimes of Miawpukek were considered normal to low in relative severity to similar communities.
"Our crimes are speeding, drinking and driving damage to property, mischief and nothing
serious like murder. There might be some criminal code charges like to do with assaults." The
Director of Education concurs that the crimes and drugs are not affecting his community as
adversely as comparable communities.

Community members have access to free day care and pre-school in the Health Center. There are
after-school programs available in the youth center up until age 11. It is felt by the Director of
Health that the services available are comparable to provincial services anywhere else in rural
Newfoundland. "While there are challenges in terms of chronic diseases such as diabetes, hyper
tension, poor circulation and obesity, we are very similar to other First Nations communities [in
that] we are prone to certain disorders. But Newfoundland is probably rated the highest obesity
rate in Atlantic Canada and we have higher cancer rates too. But if I compare our community to
surrounding communities I would think that the wellness is impacted definitely by employment,
by housing and by the infrastructure of the community such as the playground, the gymnasium,
the youth facility and the walking trail. So if you want to look at the overall wellness, absolutely
the community has a factor of wellness. There's toms of people that walk that wouldn't
necessarily walked maybe years ago. Wellness has definitely improved." Yet the youth were
frustrated that the after school center was interfering with their youth center. "They should have
a separate center for the after school program. The more younger kids that came, I guess the
more the older kids just didn't want to come down and we saw a big turn over in the youth."

The adults, elders, and youth all commented on the access to high quality health care. One youth
stated, "Here in the community with everything we have, it's just as simple as bring your child
up to the clinic and you know the nurse that is working with him and it just gives you peace of
mind."
Although the elders worried about what they perceived as a rising drug problem, the adults were much less concerned. They were more inclined to see that the previous generation had more alcohol problems than their generation. "There was a lot of alcohol problems back in those days and there wasn't nothing much to do. We have 100% employment for one thing and now the housing or the living conditions are better for people." The youth commented that there were quite a number of sports programs now, including basketball, volleyball, junior rangers, and weight lifting.

Through a gradual process the Band has encouraged and supported Band members to invest in their homes, which means that today there are almost 300 housing units on the reserve. One community leader recalls the changes in her lifetime "so you go from old dirt roads and run-down houses to probably some of the better houses around the Bay. It is a big transformation. To me, the bigger nicer ones are actually those where the people have gone and taken the initiative either through loans or through savings and constructed themselves." Moreover, there are more of these houses being built by Band members each year than the smaller ones that are being built by the Band. "They would not be able to do that if they didn't have jobs."

The housing strategy, together with the economic well-being of the community has allowed people to borrow money with the Band co-signing to build their own homes. With close to 300 housing units in Miawpukékek, for a population of 900 this means there is an average of 3 people per unit. As one community leader confirmed, "If you talk to other First Nations, they have 9 to 10 persons per house. Otherwise for the most part, we have the same issues as other First Nations. The housing management division is not core funded anywhere. So that certainly is a weakness. There is no specific training for housing managers."

The birth rate is between nine and 12 a year, and despite the relatively good ratio of people per house, there is constant pressure on various aspects of community infrastructure. One community leader reported that there were 25 people applying for houses in the 2009-10 fiscal year and the Band was only able to build two. There is no core funding for housing upkeep, but despite this, the housing program has been able to assist through grant applications in renovating 120 houses,
but there are still 100 more requests on file. The community is growing and people are no longer leaving at the rate they would have before there was economic stability.

One community leader contends that the community has gotten healthier because of its housing strategy. "If you look at the social aspects, if you have your own space and you are not in an over-crowded environment, you don't have as many mental illnesses or stressors. There is certainly mental well-being, and then it is better for their overall health. And back to a sense of pride and ownership, if people get a new home, for the most part, they care for their new homes and maintain it too."

Yet there is still a need for alternative housing arrangements for a small segment of the population. One community leader explained that there are some people on long term disability and with mental illnesses that could benefit from special assisted living facilities. She would like to see about five units reserved for this.

INAC’s policy says that First Nations communities are responsible for the up keep of their member’s homes. However this is not core funded. She notes the gap between this policy and practice when she says, "How can they be responsible if there is no core funding?"

Whereas many First Nations communities in Atlantic Canada and beyond are turning to gambling revenues to fuel economic development, Miawpukek is not for two reasons. One is that there has not been a legal decision in Newfoundland that asserts that there is an Aboriginal self-government right such as has been worked out in other provinces. Secondly, it is noted that the location on the southwest coast means limited local customers, and the worry that “the predominant users will be our members and the families would suffer." (Community Leader).

The economic success of the community together with the social development has made Miawpukek an attractive community for its Band members. One of the adults commented, "Right now we got people moving back to the reserve because we do have 100% employment here. All our families are staying here because of the work here."
An Adult viewed community well-being in relation to the Mik’maq culture. "Our community is hanging on to the little bit of stuff that we got. We hang on to our culture by our crafts, our craft store. We hang on to our culture by our powwows. We hang on to our culture by teaching our kids in school about native ways and the native language. Teaching us that stuff that we lost because of the Europeans that came here." Another adult linked well-being even more closely to identity. "The people in the community itself they are not shy or ashamed to say they are Indian anymore. It's a privilege to be an Indian."

3.6.9 Community Cohesion

One elder said, "You don't get so many people to those meetings like the general assemblies like first when it started because things is moving good for them so why should I show up?" Another elder agreed, “You got the free will to vote and the same ones went back into Council again so you got to be satisfied or otherwise they wouldn’t have done it.”

Despite what is perceived by some as consensus related to the community direction for community development, one community leader is aware of the challenges of communicating with the membership, and is exploring a new communication strategy. He proposes to use a Facebook site to reach its members on a more timely basis. "By creating a Facebook site for economic development where you can go in there and you can leave your comments. The good, the bad, and the ugly. Tell me why you think we are doing bad, then I can change that." The youth indicated that they were not generally well informed by the assembly process and felt that there should be other ways developed to send out information to the community. The current approach of pamphlets being available in the Band office did not seem to be working for them. The youth called for youth representation on Council meetings and a separate youth director to represent youth more directly in governance.

Part of the explanation for what is considered a positive self-efficacious community culture is attributed to the different way that colonialism was manifested in this particular community, from that of most other First Nations. "What I find is that we don't have the baggage here that other First Nations have. We didn't come under the Indian Act until 1985. We didn't have
residential schools and we didn't have Indian Agents. I think that puts us head and shoulders above everyone else." (Band Employee). One community leader summed this up as a cultural phenomenon. "We don't operate in isolation. It's not a policy. It's a culture." (Community Leader Interview).

One of the adults spoke about how he saw the community as being very united. "Conne is a strong united family. Don't make no difference what last name or where you are from. I seen this over the years because of the leadership and our parents. That is how it is today. Who we are and what we stand for will not change, and this community will always be a strong community as long as we stay united."

As one elder said "It would never work if we didn't work together. You know you've got people what don't agree, but you also got more people agreeing with it. Otherwise it wouldn't work if we didn't work together. Our government is working well because they tries to help everyone. Even the ones that don't agree with them they don't hold it against them." Another elder recalled his experience on Council and how it was always for the common good of the community. "When you are in around the Council table, you are talking business about the community to help the community and the people. It is not personal things."

It is also important for Band workers to feel supported and able to make decisions on their own that advances the general political direction of the Chief and Council, and the Annual Assembly. One Community Leader said, "What it takes for me to do what I am doing [with confidence] is knowing that you have the support from the Chief and Council, knowing that we all want to go down the same path. All my managers, directors and staff might have different ideas but we all want to get from point A to point Z." Chief Mi’sel noted that it was important "to let the managers do what they got to do. We don't micro manage at all. We give them the autonomy to do what they got to do. Why have Directors in place if you don't give them the autonomy to do their job."

An adult noted, "It's funny how this community is because we fight among ourselves and we have our differences but when it comes to a really hard decision, that's when we see all the
different [factions] coming together and going okay let's tackle this." It was confirmed by several participants that this story of community cohesion is also held by other surrounding communities. One community leader recalled a story in the local Coaster newspaper of several years prior in which this same concept of the community working together was noted. It said, "when it comes time to move ahead, they put their differences behind them and they look at what is best for the community."

3.6.10 Good Governance through Caring, Sharing, and Respect

Chief Mi’sel stated, "I think that we learned a long time ago that you have to be transparent and accountable to the people that put you there. Like making sure you have the minutes and making sure that all your Council meetings are opened to the public, that we have group sessions periodically with Band members and then we take smaller groups to meet. And we have general assemblies that last a few days once a year. We give portfolio reports and sometimes a few people show up and sometimes none. It all depends on the mood of the community. We have a notion that says that any Band member with a concern no matter what the agenda we have to hear their concern first. None of the doors of the offices of the Band office are closed so no sense of secrecy."

The adults felt that the community is where it is today because of Band leadership. "Good leadership. That's what started it." They were particularly appreciative of the humane, caring approaches of their leaders. One adult talked about how she received unconditional support when she was struggling to overcome her addictions with alcohol. "Booze got the better of me so I went to Chief and Council and told them what was going on so they gave me time off. I will always cherish what they've done for me."

3.8 Conclusions and Recommendations

Miawpukek has experienced remarkable social and economic changes since the 1970s. From preliminary economic development initiatives that were rooted in traditional land-based activities such as trapping, outfitting and sawmill, the community has gradually evolved its economic
activities to the place where the community is among the most stable and economically viable along the south coast of Newfoundland. Concerted efforts by Chief and Council to build the human resource capacity of its Band members and to develop the community in such areas as sewer and water, transportation, and housing have led to a relatively well developed community. Miawpukek has 100% seasonal employment, one of the lowest number of occupants per household, and a comparatively low crime rate. Its Band operated school system is considered of high quality for both its role in academic preparation for further studies and its attention to cultural and language identity reclamation work. Miawpukek has become an attractive community for its residents, and most youth are now electing to either remain in the community or to return to the community after completing post-secondary education.

The impact of economic development in Miawpukek is such that community members have essentially climbed out of poverty. While there are no high wages in the community, there is a general evenness of income across the adult population. There is more activity devoted to the construction of private homes then Band homes. Most professional positions in the community are now occupied by Band members. The graduation rate from high school is close to 100%. Reasons for this transformation are related to the following four factors that have been explored in more depth in the previous section.

- **Leadership for community self-determination** that fosters community self-determination through education capacity building as a main focus of economic development.
- **Social development as the main communal priority** for, and primary measure of, community economic development.
- **Integration of services for social profitability** across the social and economic spectrum.
- **Good governance** manifested in a transparent approach from and for the values of communal sharing, caring and respect.

The following recommendations are made for consideration by Miawpukek First Nation, APCFNC, and INAC.
It is recommended that Miawpukek First Nation:

1) Continue to pursue communication strategies as identified such as Facebook engagement and youth involvement in leadership decisions with a goal of more fully engaging youth in the governance and leadership of the community.

2) Continue to review its job creation policies with a goal of providing individual counseling to all youth who are job creation participants with a goal of helping them consider further educational options.

3) Continue to enhance private investment opportunities such as fisheries, with expansion into potential sectors such as culturally-based agriculture that would enable residents to live and work from within the community.

4) Continue to develop private-public partnerships such as aquaculture that foster partnerships with potential industries and to link these partnerships to human resource capacity building.

5) Pursue entrepreneurial development in its school programs and link this to pilot projects which aim to enhance private entrepreneurship opportunities for on-reserve and off-reserve private business development.

It is recommended that APCFNC:

APCFNC might seek to find meaningful ways of sharing the findings from this case study with other similar communities (that are geographically isolated) with a goal of understanding how Miawpukek developed its approaches to community development. How have each of these concepts been achieved in Miawpukek and what can be learned from this for other communities?

a. Integrative social development strategies such as health and social.

b. Strategies for building community commitment to social development policies through assemblies and social media.

c. Housing development.

d. Social profitability.

e. Human resource development strategies and their linkage to economic
Development.

f. Leadership approaches to community self-determination including good
   Governance.

It is recommended that INAC and APCFNC together:

INAC and APCFNC might consider how the findings from this case study may help develop
differentiated policies for communities of similar typologies to more meaningfully support
sharing and development. In particular, Miawpukëk is a case of a geographically isolated
community that has worked diligently to implement comprehensive social development
approaches which build an economic model for this community. INAC and APCFNC could
support more flexible policies for:

a. Integrative social development strategies such as health and social.
b. Communication policies through assemblies and social media.
c. Flexible Housing development policies.
d. Economic development projects that are accountable for social profitability.
e. Human resource development strategies that link directly to economic development.
f. Leadership development approaches that foster community self-determination including
good governance, especially for youth.
g. Special funding for entrepreneurial development projects that connect school and EDO
   offices.
4. A CASE STUDY OF THE SOCIAL IMPACTS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN TOBIQUE MALISEET NATION

Tobique First Nation is a Maliseet community located in northern New Brunswick. The Tobique Band presently has two physical locations. The first of these is Tobique #20, an area of 2724 hectares is on banks of the Tobique River 27 km south of Grand Falls and 9.6 km from Perth Andover. Most of the on-reserve Band members live in this semi-urban community. The second section of the Band’s land, an area called The Brother’s #18, is made up of two small islands in Kennebacasis Bay 4 km north of Saint John in the southern New Brunswick (INAC 2010a). In 2009 the Department of Justice validated a specific land claim made by Tobique in relation to another section of land near Tobique #20. Negotiations for compensation are underway. (Thau Eleff 2009) In addition, Tobique First Nation has access to land for its fishery on Grand Manan, NB and Digby, NS.

4.1 Historical Context

The Maliseet or, as they often call themselves the Wolastoqiyik, are the Indigenous people of the St John River Valley. Speaking an Algonquian language, they are closely related linguistically and culturally to the Mi’kmaq of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Quebec’s Gaspé Peninsula and to the Passamaquoddy of Maine State and, historically, the Maine and southern New Brunswick coast.

Prior to contact with Europeans, the ancestors of today’s Maliseet people had a subsistence strategy based on the gathering and collecting of wild plants, fishing for many species in the St John River and its tributaries and hunting and snaring of large and small animals. Evidence of several cultigens, including maize and cupule (Zea mays), and possibly tobacco (cf. Nicotiana rustico) has been found at the Wolastoqiyik Ajemseg site on the Lower St John River. These plant remains could indicate that the pre-contact Maliseet were horticulturalists, however, this has not been confirmed (Blair 2004).
Earliest contact between Europeans and the ancestors of Maliseet-Passamaquoddy probably occurred during the 1500s when Basque, French, Spanish, Portuguese and British boats sailed to the Grand Banks and the Gulf of St Lawrence to harvest the abundant fish resources found there (Erickson 1976: 123; Patterson 2009: 28). In 1603 Samuel de Champlain encountered a group of Indigenous people at Tadoussac on the St Lawrence River. Champlain called them the Etechemin or Etchemin and, a year later used the same name to describe people living at the mouths of the St John and St Croix Rivers (Erickson 1976: 123). Scholars have speculated that these people may have been the ancestors of the present-day Maliseet and Passamaquoddy (Erickson 1976: 123; Hoffman 1955; Wallis and Wallis 1957). Deaths of Indigenous people from infectious diseases carried by European fisherman resulted in the New England coast, including the area inhabited by the Passamaquoddy, being depopulated around 1617 (Hoffman 1955; 69-72).

Ancestors of the Maliseet used the resources of the St John River and its surrounding lands from the St Lawrence River to the Bay of Fundy. Their territory covered regions now in the jurisdiction of the US State of Maine and the Canadian provinces of New Brunswick and Quebec. By the late 1600s, the Maliseet of the St John River Valley were in contact with French missionaries who began to convert them to Christianity and introduce European technologies. The Maliseet maintained independence from the French who left them alone except when they engaged them as military allies against the encroaching English.

From the early 17th to the late 18th centuries, the Maliseet maintained pre-contact settlement patterns, spending their summers in large villages, such as Meductic and later Aukpaque, and dispersing during the winters to smaller settlements (Erickson 1976). The Maliseet continued to use the land and rivers for hunting, collecting and fishing even as they adopted European technologies and religion. While their subsistence base, settlement patterns and culture were not profoundly affected by European intrusion, they were inevitably drawn into the colonial battles being fought between the French and English for control of eastern North America. During the 1700s, the British tried, with limited success, to make separate treaties with the Mi’kmaq, Maliseet and Passamaquoddy rather than developing general treaties which none of the groups would sign (Patterson 2009: 33). In the early 1700s, however, the British had little power in this
region since Indigenous people, Acadians and the French military in Cape Breton, outnumbered them. This situation had reversed by 1760 after the French were defeated at Fortress Louisbourg, the deportation of the Acadians by the British had begun and the British were able to put more military pressure on the Mi’kmaq and the Maliseet. By the mid-18th century, the Maliseet had joined the Penobscot, Passamoquoddy and Mi’kmaq, in the Wabanaki Confederacy, an alliance which linked these groups to other tribes to the West, including the Abenaki and the Mohawk at Caughnawaga, Quebec both of which were allied with the French (Erickson 1976: 132). Although these networks were important for maintaining political and cultural connections between Indigenous peoples, it was not long before the Maliseet began to lose their land to Loyalist settlers moving North in the aftermath of the American Revolution.

After decades of relatively peaceful coexistence with the French, the Maliseet of the St. John River Valley began to feel more pressure of European settlement toward the end of the 18th century with the extensive settlement of English-speaking United Empire Loyalists in the region. The newcomers, granted land by the British crown, cleared it to create farming communities along the river. The Maliseet who, until this time, had used the forest and aquatic resources of the region in a foraging economy either settled on newly formed reservations where they were encouraged by colonial authorities to become farmers or continued to live as hunters and trappers in seasonal residences (Erickson 1976: 124). It was in this context that Tobique was first settled.

The land occupied by the reservation at Tobique had not been used by the Maliseet as a settlement before the end of the 18th century. On September, 4 1801, 16,000 acres of land was set aside for the use of the Maliseet led by Neville Bernard. This land was located “…on the east side of the River Saint John, from the Tobique Rocks to opposite the mouth of the Arestook, and embracing both sides of the Tobique for about three miles up…” (Thomas Baillie cited in Hamilton and Spray: 1977: 81). Tobique residents soon faced challenges from squatters who cleared and farmed fields, built homes and cut lumber on their land. Beginning in 1818, the community issued several unsuccessful petitions to the government trying to stop this activity.12

The extent of the problem the Maliseet at Tobique had with squatters was described by Moses H Perley who the colonial authorities of New Brunswick sent to Tobique and other Maliseet and Mi’kmaq communities in 1841 to write a report on the “state of the Indians”. Perley’s report, dated August 12, 1841, describes Tobique as a community of about 123 residents living in “…eleven framed houses and twelve large, standing wigwams. (Perley cited in Hamilton and Spray 1977: 84). Although colonial policy was to encourage Indigenous people to develop agricultural economies, the residents of Tobique had allowed much of the land that had been cleared to return to bush and were cultivating only a few crops including many potatoes. Perley notes that during his stay, the people of Tobique were carrying-out an intensive salmon fishery at the foot of the Tobique Narrows rapids using spears and torches at night. His response to this subsistence strategy was to encourage the granting of a Mill Privilege to a White settler who wanted to construct a mill, dam and lock that would flood the Tobique Narrows and make them navigable. In a Council meeting, the Maliseet told Perley that, even with a fish-way to allow salmon to pass the dam, they were concerned that the Tobique salmon fishery would be destroyed over time. Perley’s response was to note that: “The destruction of the Salmon Fishery would perhaps induce the Indians to adopt more settled habits of industry, and to pay more attention to the cultivation of the soil than they do at present (Perley cited in Hamilton and Spray 1977: 86).

Perley was a man of his times and considered the “civilizing” of the Maliseet through religion, education and agriculture his duty. He also believed, however, that the Maliseet at Tobique should control the land that had been granted to them. In his report he criticized the squatters who refused to pay for use of the land they had settled as well as those who were cutting timber without permission or payment or paying below the normal price for hay moved on Maliseet land. When Perley visited Tobique non-Indigenous settlers, many of whom claimed they had the right to live, farm and cut timber there, were using almost half of the land granted to the Maliseet. Perley noted that land at the mouth of the Little Pokiok, where a mill had been erected, actually belonged to the reserve and that, due to surveying errors, 550 acres had been granted to the Parish Church on land that did not exist between the boundary of the reserve and that of a settler. The result of this was that other parties were claiming their right to what Tobique
residents considered their land. Perley suggested that if a dam were built on the Tobique River, the terms include a fish-way, fair rent, an obligation to improve the navigation of the river and the maintenance of Maliseet control of the valuable roofing slate resource (Perley in Hamilton and Spray 1977: 86-87).

The colonial government encouraged further non-Indigenous settlement in the St John River Valley and resolved the land claim problem at Tobique and other Maliseet communities, not by upholding the original land grants to the Maliseet, but by providing legal means of selling or leasing to settlers land that had been granted to the Indigenous people. In 1844, the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick passed the “Indian Reserves Act, 1844 An Act to Regulate The Management And Disposal Of The Indian Reserves in This Province” (See Hamilton and Spray 1977: 114-116) This Act created a system of Local Commissioners who were charged with periodically surveying the Indian Reserves to determine what land was “unproductive” as a result of “neglect”. They could then lease or sell this land at a public auction. Monies raised were to be directed to local Indian Funds which were to be used by the Local Commissioners “…First, towards the relief of the indigent and infirm Indians of the several Tribes: Second, towards procuring seeds, implements of husbandry, and domestic animals…” (See Hamilton and Spray 1977: 115). Perley accepted that reservation lands would eventually be sold to settlers, but did not think the system of Local Commissions and Indian Funds would benefit either the Indigenous people or those settlers who were leasing reservation land at low rents and would lose their claims when prices rose. However, despite objections from the Maliseet and Mi’kmaq, the Act passed and became law. Between 1854 and 1868 some of the reserve land at Tobique was lost as lots were granted or sold through the process put in place by the Indian Reserves Act, 1844.

In a report dated May 11, 1865, D. Wilson notes that 111 people in 37 families lived on the point at Tobique. Even as the amount of land they controlled diminished, some of these Maliseet residents of Tobique cleared land and farmed although they did not cut wood on their land nor did they want others to take this timber. Wilson notes that men found work rafting logs on the river during the spring and that they hunted moose during the winter (See Hamilton and Spray 1977:131-134).
Squatting and timber cutting by settlers continued through the 1800s. Petitions by the Maliseet residents of Tobique in 1868 and in 1881 expressed these concerns to the Colonial authorities and then, after Confederation in 1867, to the New Brunswick provincial government. Despite these objections, with the opening of the New Brunswick Indian Land Sales Book in 1873, Tobique reservation land continued to be dispersed to non-Indigenous settlers.\(^{13}\) In 1890, the government of New Brunswick decided to sell much of the Maliseet land at Tobique, specifically the land “south of the Tobique River saving and accepting a tract of two hundred acres on the southern side designated as Indian Meadow”.\(^{14}\) A surrender of the reserve lands conducted in 1892 never obtained approval by an Order of Council. Nevertheless, the land was sold and occupied by settlers. This invalid surrender is the basis for a Specific Land Claim - the Tobique First Nation’s 1892 Surrender Claim - which the Government of Canada accepted for negotiation on May 23, 2008.

Through the 19\(^{th}\) century and into the early 20\(^{th}\) century, the Maliseet depended on a range of economic activities. In addition to cultivating their own land which they planted mainly with potatoes and grain, the men worked as agricultural laborers, as log-boom drivers, stevedores on the river boats and fishing and hunting guides. Hunting and fishing for subsistence became more difficult because settlers did not allow the Maliseet to use their land and other economic activities interfered with the seasonal hunts. Since the 1920s, the Maliseet have had limited access to non-reservation lands (Erickson 1977: 127). Over time they developed an economy based on seasonal income from selling fiddleheads, cutting seed potatoes, blueberry raking and potato harvesting as well as better paid work in industries such as constructions off the reservation.

A snap-shot of Tobique and its residents is offered by Wallis and Wallis, who spent ten days there in July, 1953. At that time about 400 Maliseet and a number of non-Maliseet lived on the Tobique Reserve. The community was small with “four or five short streets…[that]…converge

\(^{13}\) [http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/al/ldc/spc/nws/fs/tob-eng.asp]

on a group of White-owned and operated buildings: school, church, priest’s house, and combined convent and hospital” (Wallis and Wallis 1957: 16). Until the hydroelectric dam and road built across the river opened in 1953, Tobique was isolated from nearby communities such as Perth now only a few kilometers away by road. In 1953, Maliseet residents of Tobique were employed as temporary agricultural workers cutting seed potatoes and pulling mustard, making 8 or 9 dollars a day. More permanent, well-paid employment was available to some of the men from Tobique in communities such as Limestone, Maine, where they were able to find work in the construction industry (Wallis and Wallis 1957: 50-51).

Work regularly took many members of Tobique First Nation to places such as such as Maine and Connecticut in the United States where they worked in trades, manufacturing and as agricultural labour. Some families relocated far from Tobique during the periods when employment was available. Other people stayed in Tobique, traveling to work during the day and returned home in the evening. One participant told us about his family members’ experiences working away as, what she called, “migratory natives”:

*Back in the 50’s, 60’s and probably in the 40’s, a lot of native men left to seek employment. Some, my family, in particular, my father went as far as Connecticut. He carried many jobs everything from chef to sheet worker, farm work, there were a lot of things. But his passion was construction that is where his focus was.*

People returning to the community after periods of time away noted that Tobique is where they have the strongest sense of belonging and safety within extended kinship networks. The strength of kinship networks remains today. One participant told us that:

*I think, the economics of living off the reserve were really difficult for them but they did survive. So, when we came back, we initially came back to live with an uncle, myself and my brother, and my father went back to get my mother because there was another child coming. So, we eventually stayed here permanently. We moved as a group, and when one came, the rest followed.*

During the 1960s, the Maliseet joined other Indigenous people across North America in organizing themselves politically so that they could lobby for control of their own communities. To this end the Union of New Brunswick Indians, made up of the six Maliseet and nine Mi’kmaq
Bands in the province, was formed in 1967. Tobique was represented in the executive by Vice-President Andrew Nicholas and Secretary Charles Paul (Erickson and Hunsley 1970). By the early 1970s, Chief Dennis Nicholas was trying to convince Indian Affairs to get rid of the Indian Agent and allow the community to govern itself. He believed that providing Tobique with funds directly was the way to encourage community economic development. As money for various projects, including funds for house construction from Indian Affairs came into the community, some on-reserve construction jobs were created.

The 1970s saw another important political development in Tobique, one that would have repercussions in Aboriginal communities across Canada. This was the struggle of Sandra Lovelace, supported by the women of Tobique, to change the Indian Act so that women marrying non-Native men would retain their Indian status. In 1977, Lovelace, a woman who had lost her status after marriage to a non-Native, took her case to the United Nation’s Human Rights Committee. This brought national and international attention to the Indian Act’s systemic discrimination against women. To publicize their struggle, in 1979, women from Tobique organized a one hundred mile Native Women’s Walk from Oka, Quebec to Parliament Hill in Ottawa. In 1981, the UN Human Rights Committee found Canada in breach of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. This put pressure on the federal government to change the Indian Act, which it did in 1985 by passing Bill C-31 (Silman 1987). As a result, other Tobique women who had married non-Native men returned to the reserve. The experience in political organization and lobbying as well as awareness of their power as a group remains with the women of Tobique today.

The late 1970s, 1980s and 1990s were a time of optimism in Tobique. Compared to other Maliseet communities, a fairly large number of young people were attending and graduating from post-secondary educational institutions and some were attaining post-graduate degrees in professions such as law, medicine and social work. The community had greater political and economic autonomy than it had ever experienced and was looked up to by other First Nation communities in the region.
One reason for this was that, in the 1970s, Band Councils became more significant sources of employment opportunities. Attractive community jobs however, were going to outsiders who had certificates or degrees. For First Nations people this acted as a catalyst for seeking post-secondary education so they could return to the community and occupy the jobs held by outsiders. By the 1980s, Federal transfer payments for post-secondary education made those dreams reality for a chosen few. A participant explained to us the impact of these employment opportunities on youth:

_You know a grant would come in from the Department of Indian Affairs. You put x number of men to work at x number of dollars doing certain things—sanitation and water, housing. There were some health things, but they were mainly geared for somebody from the outside coming in. So, it sort of gave you the opportunity that you could do those things if you went to school. So at that time, kids were really starting to push themselves into post-secondary facilities._

In 1989, the Band Council, on the advice of their administrators and a study funded by Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA), formed the Tobique Economic Development Corporation (TEDCO) as a way of managing the Band’s assets in one unit rather than as a series of separate businesses. To the annoyance of some Tobique residents, TEDCO’s office was based in St Mary’s near Fredericton rather than in Tobique. TEDCO’s administration justified this location saying that, from St Mary’s, they would more have better access to business and government leaders in Fredericton.

During the 1990s and early 2000s, the Tobique Band, through TEDCO, invested in a number of businesses such as a supermarket, a farm, a forestry company and a truck stop on the TransCanada Highway. After the Marshall Decision, the Band purchased land, built a large building and bought several boats on Grand Manan Island off the coast of southern New Brunswick. The fishery business began by employing men from Tobique who, untrained in the fishery, soon left this work to be replaced by non-Native fishermen. The Band also invested in the scallop fishery in Digby, Nova Scotia. In addition, the Tobique Band continued to own and operate the Tobique Gaming Centre, opened in the 1980s, which contains the Two Rivers Restaurant, Lucky’s Entertainment and Bingo and a Poker Room.
One of the great disappointments the community has suffered over the past ten years has been the failure of many of these businesses and the demise of TEDCO itself. The supermarket was not able to compete with food outlets in the United States and larger communities such as Grand Falls, especially when community members enjoyed traveling out of the community for shopping. It went out of business and only a small convenience store, the C-Store, remains in its place. Likewise the farm and forestry companies failed, partly because of downturns in these industries at the time the Band invested. The Grand Manan fishery had serious financial difficulties. It still exists but employs only one or two Tobique residents. After the truck stop was built it soon went out of business. The Tobique Gaming Centre, the C-Store and the Digby scallop fishery are the only businesses still owned and operated by the Band.

4.2 Contemporary Community Life

This section explores economic development and the social impacts of economic development in Tobique by examining community organizations, government agencies and their policies and practices. The research team conducted one-to-one interviews and focus groups with members of Tobique First Nation to learn community perspectives on the positive and negative social impacts of economic development. During our conversations, community members explained the obstacles and challenges to achieving positive social impacts through economic development and discussed community policy and planning strategies for attaining sustainable, culturally aligned, and socioeconomically healthy communities.

As of April 2010, the population of Tobique #20 was 1,983 people with 1,405 members (685 male and 720 female) living on-reserve and 568 off-reserve (267 male and 301 female) (INAC 2010b). The latest available statistical information about Tobique comes from the Statistics Canada 2006 Census. This information, summarized below, gives us a picture of the community that probably continues to reflect the present situation.

According to Statistics Canada (2007), in 2006, Tobique #20 had a surveyed population of 875 people - 430 male and 450 female. Over 90% of the people living on the reserve were Aboriginal. Tobique was a young community with 29.7% of the population was aged 0-15 years
compared to 16.4% in this age category for all of New Brunswick. The median age of Tobique was 30.2 years compared to 41.5 years for New Brunswick. Tobique had a total of 225 families of which 125 or 55.5% were married couples or common-law couple families and 100 or 42.4% were lone-parent families the majority of which had a female parent. The median income, in 2005, for all census families in Tobique was $27, 579 compared to a median income of $52, 878 for all New Brunswick families.

Tobique Band members lived in 365 private households. Seventy-five of these households were made up of a couple (married or common-law) with children, 50 households were couples (married or common-law) without children, 135 were one-person households and 105 were other types of households. There were 95 lone-parent families. In 2005, the median income for all private households in Tobique in was $20,890 compared to a median income of $45,194 for all private households in New Brunswick. In June 2010, 375 Tobique residents were on social assistance. Band members receiving social assistance can earn up to $34.62 per week for a single person and $46.16 per week for a person supporting a family and maintain their full social assistance coverage. If more than these amounts are earned, that amount will be deducted from the total amount of social assistance received. Band members receive money to pay for electricity and heat if they are on social assistance. Those who live in Band-owned houses or apartments do not pay rent whether or not they are working. People who own their own properties must make their own mortgage payments. In 2006, Tobique had 365 private dwellings, 91.8% of these were single-detached houses, 4.1% were row houses and 2.7% were apartments. Many of these housing units required major repair - 46.6% compared to 9.7% for the entire Province of New Brunswick.

4.2.1 Governance and its challenges

Tobique is governed by a Chief and Council who are elected every two years because the Tobique Band uses the Act Electoral System decreed in the Indian Act Section 78(1). The current government is mandated until 11-28-2012. Six new Band Councillors joined re-elected Chief, Stewart C. Paul in elections held November 18, 2010. The current Band Council members are: Gerald Bear, Darrah Beaver, Edwin Bernard, Eldon Bernard, Brenda Hafke-Perley, Tim
Nicholas, Kim Perley, Ross Perley, Theresa (Hart) Perley, Tina Perley-Martin, Joanne Martin Sappier, Paul Pyres and Laura (Lara) Sappier.\textsuperscript{15} Many of the Councillors we talked to thought two years too short a period between elections since it limits what the Chief and Council can do before beginning another electoral campaign.

4.2.2 MAWIW\textsuperscript{16}

Tobique is a member of Mawiw Tribal Council incorporated in 1992 to provide more equitable benefits to each of the three largest Indigenous communities in New Brunswick, Elsipogtog (Big Cove) and Esagnoopiti (Burnt Church) and to attract INAC funding. Resulting from a split away from the Union of New Brunswick Indians, Mawiw acts as a Chief’s lobby group and provides advisory, administrative, and legal services in the three communities. The core advisory services are mandated under INAC’s District Council Policy and include: Band government/governance, financial management, community development, technical services and economic development. As far as administrative and legal advisory services, Mawiw’s services extend beyond INAC’s mandated services as reflected in the range and scope of portfolios developed in 2007 and divided among the executive officers. For example, one recently created portfolio includes: Assembly of First Nations/Atlantic Policy Congress Relations (AFN/APC), Bilateral/Tripartite Process, Health, Aboriginal Healing Foundation (AHF) Project, Justice, Sports and Wellness. A second portfolio includes Infrastructure/Housing and Environment and a third includes Education, Natural Resources, Energy and AHRDA. Each of these portfolio holders is also responsible for core INAC mandated operations as well as seeking outside funding to benefit the Mawiw communities collectively. Most of Mawiw’s budget and activities are mandated by Government Contribution Agreements based upon project submissions and thus limited by this structure.

\textsuperscript{15} http://pse5-esd5.ainc-inac.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/FNGovernance.aspx?BAND_NUMBER=16&lang=eng

\textsuperscript{16} All First Nations, Tribal Councils and Political Organizations that receive transfer payments from any federal government department are required to submit a Schedule of Federal Government Funding. Federal Government funding for Mawiw between 2001-2009 can be found at http://pse5-esd5.ainc-inac.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/FederalFundsMain.aspx?TC_NUMBER=9007&lang=eng
Tobique First Nation does not have a Band administrative office building. When interviewing community members we learned that that the Band administrative offices used to be located in a “lodge” that was condemned because of lack of maintenance. The Band administration was split up with the “education office” moving to the Band’s temporary school, the “social office” and the “membership office” moving to the building where the Gas Bar and Convenience Store are located. The Chief and the Third Party managers hired by INAC work on the top floor of the Fisheries building. The Council meets either at the Fisheries building or the Gaming Centre depending on how public they want the meeting. Band records are stored in various parts of the community making them difficult to access. The lack of a Band administrative centre has resulted in poor communication. Several participants said that communication between people in various administrative positions, between administrators and Chief and Council, and between leaders, administrators and Band members was poor. Not only does the Band administration lack a stable physical location but it has no on-line presence in the form of an official website.

Since 2007, Tobique has been in third party management. This means that administrators and accountants working for INAC control all of the Band’s finances. With no control of Band finances, Chief and Council are powerless because they cannot access funds to deliver the services they usually provide for Band members, such as new housing and economic development, and they have limited control over funds for services such as social assistance and education. One participant likened the Third Party managers to “Indian Agents” since they control all Band financial decisions. Furthermore, the enormous debt the Band incurred for reasons outlined below has severely damaged the Band’s credit rating and reputation so the Band is unable to get loans or mortgages from any financial institution.

When discussing the third party management system with a Councillor, we were surprised that Tobique Band was not in a joint management position and that there was no plan gradually to move the Band out of third party management and give it control of its own finances. According to some participants, the Band’s financial situation was so bad in 2007 when INAC stepped in, that INAC did not develop a timetable to work toward giving back financial control to the Band. Other informants suggested that being in third party management was a desirable position for the Chief and some of the Council members since they could blame INAC for the Band’s economic and social problems rather than take responsibility themselves. Consequently, the Chief would
not try to move toward Band management quickly since the status quo was politically expedient for him. Whether or not these claims are true, the consensus is that third Party Management creates economic and social problems for Tobique. None of the participants we interviewed saw hope for the community in the near future saying that, while in third party management, Tobique was unable to create new economic development opportunities and was experiencing cutbacks in social services, such as help with fuel costs for elders, assisted living programs and funds for post-secondary education. In short, the entire community is on hold.

We asked several participants how the Band accrued such a large debt. One participant told us that the debt, which triggered complete third party management, was the result of poor planning on the part of earlier Chiefs and Councillors. He attributed the debt to: (1) mortgages taken out by the Band on houses with no clear plan to pay back the loans; (2) a decision by a previous Chiefs and Councils not to pay the Province the tuition owed for Band children (the Premier of NB at the time had said that all New Brunswick children deserved an education so they took him at his word) while still receiving money for education from INAC. By the time this was discovered the Band owed INAC $13 million, money that could not be unaccounted for; (3) Band involvement in investment in forestry equipment through the Ulnooweg Development Group Inc. just before forestry failed in New Brunswick and (4) a business loan made by the Band to the Tobique Truck Stop, a Tobique business that went bankrupt. In addition to these business losses, Tobique also racked up a large debt in the Grand Manan fishery because of poor management attributable, in part, to the inexperience of Band members in the fishery (CBC News 2009a.) Several participants talked about the failure of the Tobique Economic Development Corporation (TEDCO) as a key reason for the Band’s financial woes. TEDCO’s failure was explained by participants in terms of a governance structure that did not sufficiently protect the corporation from political interference. Finally, the Grant Thorton audit of Tobique for the year ending March 31, 2007 showed overspending of INAC funding in the categories of “Indian Government Support” ($2, 231, 6596), “Housing” ($569, 920) and “Social Support Services” ($919, 311) (INAC 2008).

The people we talked to in Tobique, particularly the business people and politicians, were discouraged, frustrated and angry about the Band’s current economic and political situation. Comments included the observation that in contrast to the past, when Tobique was a smaller,
more integrated community where everyone came together to celebrate events like the departure of students to university, Tobique had now become large and fragmented with little social integration or cohesion. Social inequality was leading to jealousy. One person reported that people earning more money were subject to scrutiny by other Band members about personal purchases and lifestyle as well as requests for financial contributions and employment. There was a perception that employment relied on personal relationships rather than merit. This was not, as one interview made clear, an environment which held a future for his children.

4.2.3 Provincial-Aboriginal Bilateral Agreement

A Provincial and Mi’kmaq/Maliseet bilateral agreement was signed February 8, 2007 in response to Throne Speech commitments. The intent of the agreement is that, “The Chiefs of the Mi’kmaq and Maliseet Peoples of New Brunswick unanimously resolved to work in partnership and good faith with the Province to reinvigorate the Treaty Relationship and develop an equitable Bilateral Process that will address issues of mutual concern for the betterment of First Nations Peoples in New Brunswick and for the betterment of the people of New Brunswick and Canada.” The Union of New Brunswick Indians and the Mawiw Council work as a united front against previously divisive strategies of the state that weakened their negotiation powers. Through a non-binding, without prejudice process, the parties agreed to meet regularly to negotiate meaningful strategies to address:

a. Land and Resources;
b. Governance and Jurisdiction;
c. Economy Development and Sustainability;
d. Health;
e. Education;
f. Social Development;
g. Throne Speech Committee.

The process is to be open, transparent, respectful and striving to collectively balance equity in access to human, financial and material resources. However, the Bilateral Agreement protects the right of individual First Nations to advocate with the Province and is not intended to limit or

17 http://www2.gnb.ca/content/dam/gnb/Departments/aas-saa/pdf/bilateral-agreement.pdf
extinguish any applicable Aboriginal and treaty rights, titles and claims. A central Technical Negotiation Committee (TNC) works with the seven tables addressing the issues listed above and in partnership with the Aboriginal Working Group and Interdepartmental Committee on Aboriginal Issues.

This structure creates work for First Nation leaders and administrators who spend many hours in committee meetings and negotiations about every aspect of the communities’ lives. The complexity of the process and the level of provincial involvement in negotiating all aspects of First Nation community management is demonstrated by the responsibilities of the seven Tables.

- Table One Land and Resources Committee: Disposition of “Crown” Lands; Timber Harvesting and Forest Management; Aboriginal Title; Natural Resource Sharing; “Reserve” Lands; Specific and Comprehensive Claims; Fish and Wildlife; and Environment.

- Table Two Governance and Jurisdiction Committee: Fiduciary Relationship; Government to Government to Government Relationships; Implementing our Sacred Treaties of Peace and Friendship; Enabling the Meaningful Exercise of our Aboriginal and Treaty Rights; a Treaty Commission; Research and a Treaty and Aboriginal Right Research (TARR) Centre; Justice and Consumer Affairs and Policing; Consultation and Accommodation; Communications and Public Awareness; as well as Governance and Accountability.

- Table Three Economic Development and Sustainability Committee: Gaming; Revenue sharing and taxation; Parks and tourism; Economic development; Building First Nations’ economies, Housing and infrastructure, Employment and training and equalization.

- Table Four Health Committee: Health and Wellness; elders and Disability; Birth Rates and Population Growth and Substance Abuse.

- Table Five Education Committee: Education; Youth; Language and Culture and Sport.

- Table Six Social Development Committee: Social Assistance; and Family and Children’s Services.
- Table Seven Throne Speech Committee: The Ganong Line; Treaty Day and Establishing a Bilateral and Tripartite Forum.  

According to the Bilateral Agreement, disposition of “Crown” lands, timber harvesting and forestry management, consultation and accommodation, gaming, revenue sharing and taxation, parks and tourism, health and wellness, education and family and children’s services are the issues of highest priority for New Brunswick First Nations.

Conservative Premier David Alward, also the minister responsible for the Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat, was elected to office October 12, 2010. During this period of fiscal restraint in New Brunswick, cuts to budgets may thwart the Bilateral Process. Changes in political leadership at the provincial and federal levels create enormous challenges for First Nation communities which must constantly adjust to new policies and priorities as governments and bureaucrats turn over.

4.2.4 Education

The residents of Tobique have long valued education. In the 1950s, children attended a Federal Day School run by the Sisters of Mercy until Grade 4 or 5 when they moved to the provincial public school in Andover. The Sisters of Mercy provided a strict, Catholic education and several informants told us that they had bad experiences during their early school years. One information told us that:

   There was a lot of religious instruction and things were very structured. My father was basically very vocal about what he went through going to school with the nuns. [in] Federal Indian Day School. Here in Tobique. But I think a lot of it too was that we needed to learn our hymns and our songs for church so it was implemented within the school. All in English.

School off-reserve was also challenging because First Nation children suffered from the prejudice of both students and teachers. In 1953, nevertheless, compared to other similar reserve communities, Tobique had a large number of children—fourteen in total—continuing their education beyond the eighth-grade. These students went to school off the Reserve…”the boys at

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18 http://www2.gnb.ca/content/dam/gnb/Departments/aas-saa/pdf/bilateral-greement.pdf
collegiate schools in Antigonish, St. Thomas and Chatham; the girls at the convent in Newcastle and the school and hospital in St. Basile (Wallis and Wallis 1957: 51). Tobique has continued to have a high level of academic achievement over the years. In 1975, the Sisters of Mercy left the community and a local primary school opened its door to students.

The value Tobique residents put on education continues today. Educational attainment for members of the Tobique First Nation over 15 years of age differed only slightly from that of all residents of New Brunswick. In Tobique 34% of residents surveyed compared to 29% of New Brunswickers had no certificate, degree or diploma from an educational institution, 20% compared to 26% had a high school diploma or equivalency, 24% compared to 28% had received a post-secondary non-university education and 20% compared to 16% had completed a university certificate, diploma or degree.

Although they have educational attainments similar to those of other New Brunswick residents, members of the Tobique Band have lower rates of participation in the labour force. The percentage rate of Tobique residents 15 years old in the labour market—that is, the percentage of people who were working or looking for work, was 65% compared to 64% for all New Brunswickers. The unemployment rate at the time of the 2006 census, however, was 38% for residents of Tobique compared to 10% for all New Brunswickers. Furthermore, the kinds of work experience Tobique residents had differed from that of other New Brunswickers. Relatively fewer Tobique residents had experience in manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade, finance and real estate and business services than did other residents of New Brunswick. Instead Tobique residents had greater participation in the labour force than did other New Brunswickers in jobs related to construction, health care and social services and other services. The reason for this is the lack of non-public/government service jobs in Tobique. Given the dearth of businesses, and given that many people prefer to work on-reserve, unemployment is high and median income is half of that of non-Aboriginal New Brunswick population. The statistics do not effectively capture work in the informal economy, although in the section about unpaid work there is evidence that people in Tobique do more unpaid elder care (31% of Tobique residents compared to 20% of New Brunswick) and unpaid childcare (64% of Tobique residents compared to 39% of New Brunswick).
According to Assembly of First Nations Grand Chief Shawn Atleo, education is the key to sustainable, healthy Aboriginal communities across Canada.\textsuperscript{19} Tobique First Nation has prided itself on the community’s extraordinary academic achievement. Many of the research participants noted that education attainment levels led to the successes of the 1980s and 1990s. However people also talk about problems finding employment that suits their skill levels. One participant told us that:

\begin{quote}
Although we have a lot of educated people here on the reserve, we don’t have the financial ability to place them in their appropriate field of education. So, they have to leave. [or] A lot of them do not leave. They just settle for whatever is available because a lot of them don’t want to leave their homes. This is their home, they grew up here, and they went off to get an education so they could bring it back here and utilize it in the community. But that is very rare.
\end{quote}

One thing we noticed is that we have always said that Tobique has the highest educational attainment per capita for natives. I have heard that. That is easily proven. Sure, you can look at the stats. In the meantime, how many do we retain here? I bet we retain less than 20 percent which is just a guess but I wouldn’t give it any higher on that based on those of us who have come back with degrees.

Tobique residents are frustrated that many people face a difficult choice: either stay in Tobique and face under-employment or unemployment or move away to find jobs where they can use their education and skills.

\textbf{4.2.4.1 Tobique Headstart}

Evidence of Tobique residents’ interest in giving their children the best educational opportunities possible is found in the Headstart program which began in 1985 as a community daycare. For 25 years the curriculum remained consistent with Maliseet culture so that Headstart played a central role in creating a structured learning environment for pre-school children which taught them Maliseet culture and prepared them for further education. Recently New Brunswick implemented a new Early Childhood Curriculum Framework for Headstart programs across the province. The

\textsuperscript{19} http://64.26.129.156/calltoaction/default.html
new program is a child-centered program focused on developing six core components of a child’s growth in education, health and wellness, social, emotional, family, and culture and is much less consistent in its daily activities than the previous structured program used by the Tobique Headstart. While initial response to the new program is positive, the budget was not large enough to hire a Maliseet culture or language teacher. Aboriginal language and culture instruction are essential components in Indigenous education. The failure to provide these services has resulted in the cancellation of the annual graduation ceremony where students demonstrated their language and culture knowledge.\textsuperscript{20} This interruption in knowledge mobilization and transfer is of great concern to the Headstart program and to the community at large.

Tobique continues to emphasize the importance of education to its youth by hosting and participating in youth career fairs. These fairs expose students to academic and professional career choices. This is an initiative of Mawiw under the Aboriginal Human Resource Development Agreement (AHRDA). This program is concerned with improving the chances of Aboriginal youth in the three Mawiw communities in making successful career and educational choices.

4.2.4.2 The Mah-Sos School

The Mah-Sos School is an elementary school serving Tobique. The Band through a funding agreement with INAC operated the previous school building. To reflect Maliseet culture, the building that first housed the school was constructed to resemble a fiddlehead with classrooms radiating off a central corridor. Beginning in 1999, Health Canada assessments indicated concern over the quality of the building. In 2003, dangerous mold was reported in the furnace room. By spring 2008 significant safety concerns led parents to remove their children and forced school officials to close some classrooms. Over the years at least $300,000 were allotted to the community for repairs to the school, but the funds were insufficient to improve the quality of the facility. Parents, students and community members lobbied INAC to address the issues and went to the media to raise awareness.

\textsuperscript{20} “Tobique Headstart celebrates 25\textsuperscript{th} anniversary” Tobique News. June 9, 2010 (p. 5).
In 2008, then Grand Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, Phil Fontaine, visited the community school and described the situation as “discouraging and depressing, but not unique.” Indeed at least 80 reserve schools were in the same or worse condition and more than 40 communities did not have any schools. The Grand Chief indicated that Aboriginal communities were confined by a 2% cap on federal funding for education and housing and that this cap did not meet community needs in terms of population growth and thus negatively affected the most vulnerable of Aboriginal populations, the children.

The Mah-Sos School building closed in 2008; in 2009 a fire was reported in the building. Today elementary students attend school in makeshift classrooms in a smaller building with portable units. Students between Primary and Grade 5 can attend school on-reserve at the temporarily-housed Mah-Sos School or they can travel to Perth Andover for their education. Students from Grade 6 to Grade 12 have no choice; they must attend school off-reserve in Perth Andover, first at Perth Andover Middle School from Grades 6-8 and then at the Southern Victoria High School from Grades 9-12. Members of the youth group we talked to said attending school in Perth Andover could be challenging. They told us that Native students often get into trouble and are suspended. They did not tell us why this was, but said that they did not think racism was the reason. The distance between Perth Andover and Tobique—almost 10 km—made it difficult for students with no transportation except the school bus to participate in extra-curricular school activities. This made them feel less part of the school. The Southern Victoria High School in Perth Andover has several Native Councillors; nevertheless, the youth we talked to said it was difficult to fit into the off-reserve schools.

Today the temporary school hosts a math or science fair at the end of each school year. Students engage in activities to raise funds for their Breakfast for Learning program. The Tobique Wellness Centre has partnered with the Mah-Sos school for the past five years to help provide free, nutritious breakfasts and to promote the Centre’s healthy lifestyle initiatives throughout the community. At the end of the year the school hosts a culture day, a field day and the last day of school is celebrated with awards and a BBQ for parents.
In 2009, the Canadian Government announced that it would spend $8 million on a new kindergarten to Grade 8 school for Tobique First Nation. The new building would be able to house up to 268 students in a 2,500 square meter facility. Tobique-Mactaquac Conservative MP Mike Allen told the community that the new project would open up employment opportunities for natives and local residents during the school construction. Focusing on the shared responsibility of “…governments, communities, educators, families and students…” to improve educational achievements for Aboriginal people he added that he hoped the new facility would reflect Tobique's culture. Chief Stewart Paul commented in a press release:

*I am thrilled beyond words and very thankful to the Government of Canada for responding to what was obviously a crisis in our community."A new school will boost the morale of our entire community and is a key component for enabling us to continue towards self-determination and more importantly, will greatly assist us to retain our Maliseet culture.*

Tobique residents continue to see education as an important means of social and economic development. They hope that the new Mah-Sos School building will allow them to work toward embedding Maliseet language and cultural education more completely into the curriculum taught to children from Kindergarten to Grade 8. They are disappointed that Maliseet language and culture instruction has been dropped from the Headstart program due to lack of funds. Many residents think that teaching children about their language and culture from preschool to Grade 8 would strengthen the community in the future.

The challenge of providing education services for Tobique residents is further complicated by third party management and funding through transfer payments. The Mawiw Tuition Arrears Review is a report assessing tuition and other education payments made by the three Mawiw communities as part of a contribution agreement between the Province of New Brunswick, Mawiw Tribal Council, and the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (INAC), Atlantic Region. The Review’s authors, Arbuthnot, MacNeil, Douglas and Associate Ltd., found that Tobique received adequate tuition resources from INAC to pay the provincial tuition costs in the period between 2002 and 2008. Although students continued to be accepted into New Brunswick provincial public schools, however, Tobique’s payments to the province were made on an ad hoc basis or not at all. This was partly because of a misunderstanding by Tobique First Nation
administrators about whether the Band or the Province was responsible paying for public school education and partly because no provincial tuition agreement was signed. Tobique was placed in third party management in August 2007 and at the time of the Mawiw Tuition Arrears Review in 2008 owed $13,798,165.80 to the Province of New Brunswick for provincial education costs.\(^\text{21}\) The Review notes that paying the amount owed would further negatively affect Tobique’s financial position.

### 4.3 Economic Activities

At the present time, Tobique has few on-reserve businesses. The largest visible business is the Tobique Gaming Centre.\(^\text{22}\) Apart from this and the Convenience Store and a Gas Bar, there is little else to convey an impression other than economic demise. Tobique Fisheries, discussed below, has offices on-reserve but operates from Grand Manan, NB and Digby, NS with only a few Tobique employees on the boats. The fact that Tobique was considered an innovator in economic development in the Maritimes in the 1980s and now has such a stagnant economy has much to do with the experience of Tobique Economic Development Corporation (TEDCO).

#### 4.3.1 TEDCO

In the late 1980s, Tobique First Nation’s economic development strategy was tied to the formation of the Tobique Economic Development Corporation (TEDCO) which managed federal and provincial funds directed to fisheries, forestry, farming and supposed to generate investment and employment opportunities for economic development. Designed to be an arms-length corporation separate from the Tobique First Nation government, TEDCO had the potential to expand the jurisdictional foundations and institutional capacity necessary for genuine and effective Aboriginal self-rule in Tobique. Building sustainable, culturally aligned economies to answer the problems of poverty brought about through colonization and the resultant economic marginalization of indigenous communities, was at the core of the corporation’s philosophy.

\(^{21}\) Mawiw Tuition Arrears Review (Arbuthnot, MacNeil, Douglas and Associate Ltd.) 2008 (p.30).

\(^{22}\) (http://tobiquegaming.com/Home.html)
Although its offices were situated in Fredericton to easily access banking and financial services, TEDCO was expected to provide residents with substantive decision-making control over lands, resources, civic affairs and community life, including how profits were distributed to meet social needs, without direct “hands-on” by Chief and Council. One participant describes his initial support for TEDCO like this:

*I was in support of TEDCO. TEDCO was an idea to unite businesses under one umbrella and then strengthen each of those segments that were under that umbrella.....Also TEDCO was developed with the understanding that there would be no direct hands-on by Chief and Council because that was one of the criticisms of businesses that Chief and Councillors could dip into, or even have their say so the idea of TEDCO was like they were separate from Chief and Council. [It was] somehow still connected but not so much and that this corporate, non-profit organization would build and get stronger.*

One of the TEDCO’s challenges was strategic clarity. Tobique community members wanted transparency and accountability and they wanted to know what was being done with transfer payments funds and their investments. The long-term goals of TEDCO were not communicated clearly to all members of the community. The location of the corporation’s head office near Fredericton rather than in Tobique was also seen as an indication that TEDCO was not really controlled by the community as expressed by this participant:

*..I guess one of the criticisms from TEDCO was that we had our office in Fredericton and people would say, "What are you trying to hide? How come you don’t have it here in Tobique?" And I guess the idea to have it in Fredericton was because the banking institutions [and] government institutions were there and I guess in hind-sight you could have had both but most Tobique members just couldn’t get out of that mentality that ..[there was a] need to have an office here.*

The priorities of the community members were improvements to housing, education, health care and education. They hoped that TEDCO would generate revenue to advance these priorities and make them available to everyone in the community who needed them. Over time, many community members began to see TEDCO as having become embroiled in community politics. Critics argued that political connections outweighed need in determining who received access to housing, funding for education, and jobs. Many community members became cynical about TEDCO’s stated goals and it became difficult to accomplish the corporation’s objectives.
Many of the problems TEDCO faced are the result of how funds came into the community. At the time of TEDCO’s inception, Bands normally received funding when the Chief and Council identified business ideas and funding sources. They then applied for and received federal grants and other sources of revenue from partnerships to carry out their plans. This kind of funding encourages Band leaders to become hostage to whatever funding they could find rather than creating long-term economic goals. Furthermore, funding originating outside the community often comes with conditions and limits that dictate how it can be spent which severely limit a Band’s ability to work cohesively and comprehensibly. Indeed, competition over scarce resources among service providers and enterprises result in people and organizations working in silos. TEDCO was an inspired response to trying to solve these problems by creating an outside corporation that could engage in long-term planning, develop an over-all economic development strategy and avoid problems of real or perceived political favoritism.

The enterprises under the TEDCO umbrella were “big idea” schemes. The organic farm and the truck stop were to be self-sustaining, cooperative enterprises that would benefit the whole community. The Grand Manan fishery created from funds resulting from the Marshall Decision, was to provide new employment opportunities for Band members in a business they controlled. Unfortunately factors outside the community put an end to the optimism generated by TEDCO and, finally, to the corporation itself. Negatively affected by market and natural resource fluctuation and a collapse in the potato industry, factors beyond the Band’s control, as well as facing cost overruns and workforce turnover, TEDCO experienced volatility. As a relatively new institution, it was attempting to assert sovereignty and maintain distance from the Band political leaders, but was unable effectively to ride out market instability because investments and risks were too high and community infrastructure and support were too low. Furthermore, many of the projects were extremely ambitious and involved skills Band members simply did not have. The best example of this is the fishery, which required maritime skills that Tobique residents living far up the St John River Valley had never had to learn. Finally, lack of confidence in TEDCO led to micromanagement, politics and overregulation at the local, provincial and federal levels which further hindered business and economic development and reinforced relationships of dependency on federal funding policies and federal decision makers. Consequently, the Band’s elected
leaders became preoccupied with quick fixes, crises management, patronage and the distribution of resources as well as factional politics and an increasing debt problem. One participant explained that:

A lot of our own-source revenue, like our fishery down in Grand Manan, and our scallop down in Digby, our truck stop, our casino, the restaurant, the store and all those own-source revenue enterprises - their money, their surplus-- was being drained because of the need within the community itself to create financial opportunities for somebody and helping them out with that. But the managers in the various locations were accused of mismanaging and it started to deteriorate from there.

These trends led to failed enterprises, a politics of spoils, and an economy highly dependent on federal dollars and decision-making. Community members were left angry, disillusioned and disheartened. The impression of incompetence and chaos that permeated the community has undermined the Band’s ability to sustain its political and economic sovereignty and has led to a continuation of poverty and cultural stress in the community.23

4.3.2 Social Assistance, the Cost of Living and Employment Opportunities

Tobique residents’ reliance on social assistance is more significant today than it was in the past. This is partly because of the lack of employment opportunities, but also because of the weakening of traditional mutual support systems. Reflecting on the past, one participant commented:

That [social assistance] was what the Indian Agent gave out. It was very minimal. I don’t think a lot of people relied on it that is why they tried to take care of themselves. If you had extra of something, you gave it to someone. You would make cakes and breads, and canned things. You would all take care of each other. There may have been a family who had less than others, but I don’t think anybody ever starved because it was very communal back then.

Many of the Tobique residents we talked to said that they preferred to have meaningful employment rather than to receive social assistance. They recognized that increased dependence

on social welfare is associated with problems of depression and low self-esteem and that it has acted as a disincentive for young people to complete school and get engaged in entrepreneurial activity. It has also made access to start-up loans nearly impossible:

_There is no bank out there that is going to loan money to people who are on welfare to start their own business. I tell you that while I have listened to all those promises about there being loans, they just aren't there. I don’t think banks will lend to people on welfare. Those opportunities aren't there. I don't care what people say._

Not only are their limited opportunities for obtaining loans, but a savings culture and savings services appear to be extremely limited. While further research would be needed to develop a deeper understanding of residents’ attitudes towards savings and household financial management, our interviews suggest that the main focus of attention is on how individuals can find sustained, permanent employment and how the Band can generate income to provide some social services. There is little incentive to leave the security of social assistance when wage earners lose their qualification for Band subsidies to pay their bills but do not earn enough at their jobs to cover these costs themselves. Tobique residents are also frustrated by the limited opportunities to work on projects secured through the Band Office and the short term nature of that employment, which means repeated fall back on minimal social welfare benefits:

_Like I said, we get project employment which doesn't last very long and a lot of times, they can't even employ [people for long enough] so that they will qualify for stamps. That happens a lot and because of the growth of our community and the small welfare that they get, a single home-owner gets $73 a week. What can somebody buy for $73, maybe toilet paper and a jug of milk. The Band administration works very hard in getting projects in here, work programs and that stuff but it is all short term._

Opportunity for sustained employment is an obvious solution to problems of dependence on welfare; the challenge is how to rebuild that capacity to generate employment and nurture an entrepreneurial spirit after the disillusionment of the TEDCO experience. Tobique’s gaming centre provides some insight into this challenge, as discussed in the next section. With the population that Tobique has, there is certainly potential to stimulate business that can capture expenditures on basic commodities and services that are currently spent in nearby Grand Falls or Perth-Andover, but as the gaming facility demonstrates, substantial economic development relies
on attracting a customer base from outside Tobique as well, particularly in the short run when income levels in Tobique are low.

4.3.3 Gaming

Tobique has a large gaming facility. Lucky’s Entertainment hosts 375 slot machines and is an important business. Two Rivers Restaurant is a full service restaurant open seven days a week that also does event catering. The Soaring Eagle Poker Room hosts poker games five nights a week. Bingo games are played four nights a week with $1000.00 jackpots. Bar service is available seven days a week starting at noon. The facility prides itself on friendliness. According to the manager, 70% of the clientele are from Maine and New Brunswick, although clientele from the US have declined with the adverse exchange rate of recent years. It serves a social as well as an economic function for Tobique, though there are more opportunities for employment than are actually taken up by residents. A participant told us that:

*About 40-50% are non-community members. Everyone in the community [could be employed] but who wants to come in at twelve a clock at night and do the midnight shift? Who wants to be a janitor for $8.00/hour?*

In addition to providing employment for Band members, the gaming centre provides funds for the church and a social life for elders. Of the funds generated from the casino, it is estimated that approximately 30% are donated to the community Catholic Church, elder socials and the youth group and recreational activities. While some feel that this is an important way of redistributing the benefits, others consider this a lost opportunity:

*A better way would be to reinvest that 30% into the business, use it as leverage, and more could be employed, but there would be a lot of unhappy people if [this was] cut this off.*

Renovations to make Lucky’s Entertainment "look more like the Halifax Casino" are under consideration, despite its declining fortunes with the economic downturn and the decline in the US$. The Tribal Council is a strong supporter of the casino and two Band Councillors hold the
portfolio for the business. Should the casino close the socioeconomic impacts would be have an adverse effect on the Church and the elders’ social lives. Job losses would dramatically increase the number of people on welfare.

Gaming has a positive side since it provides employment and pays for community activities. It also provides community members, particularly elders, with a place to meet and socialize. Nevertheless, the operations of the casino are not without controversy. In addition to worries about gambling addiction, community members expressed concern about perceived unfair distribution of benefits from the enterprise, and accusations about pressure from the Band Council to finance some activities but not others. These conflicting sentiments are expressed below:

\[ \text{To the elderly, it's worth a million dollars because it is keeping them alive, having a social life. They would be stuck at home without any social interaction. The flip side is that they are chronic gamblers...There is probably a crazy burden. The pros and cons of gambling - I have seen it.} \]

\[ \text{Three years ago (2007) there was a group of people who thought that certain individuals on Council were benefiting from this building; so they occupied the building for 14 days, shutting it down for 5 weeks. It affected customers, community, and employees. When they walked in this place was flourishing. When [the business started up again], there was nothing.} \]

Whether or not these claims have substance, the residual mistrust about the gaming centre and other TEDCO enterprises has been a drag on entrepreneurial drive and initiative.

4.3.4 Fisheries

The 1999 Supreme Court of Canada upheld Aboriginal fishing rights in \( R \) \( v \) \( Marshall \). Thirty-four Bands in the Maritime Provinces were affected by the decision, including Tobique. Tensions between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal fishers over regulations and interpretations of the meaning and implementation of treaty rights led to negotiations between Atlantic Aboriginal communities and the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO). The negotiations led to a federally designed program called the Mackenzie Agreement to determine how Aboriginal and
commercial fishers would share the resource. In 2000, the government set aside $160 million for the DFO’s response to the Marshall Decision. The money was targeted to pay for retired licenses and economic development initiatives aimed at bringing Aboriginal people into the fishing industry.

According to the Chief who negotiated Tobique’s Marshall Decision allotment, "The Marshall agreement was the biggest thing to turn around the Band.” Chief Francis negotiated a $22 million dollar package that included capital and assets. Fishing boats, docks, gear, land purchases, buildings, houses, billets and lodging for fishers, training and mentoring to increase access to the commercial fishery. The deal was controversial and the community was split because there was significant concern that signing the agreement would undermine Aboriginal treaty rights and future land claims agreements. Knowledge and understanding of Aboriginal and treaty rights were often based on hearsay and fear mongering, rather than fact, but no concerted efforts to promote Aboriginal rights education were made during the Marshall Decision era. Aboriginal rights were not negotiated in the Mackenzie agreements.

Tobique thrived for two to three years after the signing of the agreement. Training programs and employment opportunities in a field that was culturally aligned generated great promise. Pride in the Supreme Court of Canada’s recognition of Aboriginal rights mobilized community activities and people began to dream of starting tour boat businesses and fishing lodges. The budget deficit of 2000 was eliminated and Human Resource policies and practices were put into place. There was another change in local government when the Chief who negotiated the agreement felt he had lost the confidence of half his Band Council during the controversial negotiations and decided to resign.

According to the INAC website Tobique received monies from Federally Funded Programs and Services Directly Funded by the Government of Canada Fisheries and Oceans. In 2000-2001, the Band received $3,189,805, which was adjusted to $1,431,726 for a total $4,621,531 of which the Band expended $4,770,502 and had a year-end deficit of $148,971. In 2002-2003 the Band received $442,500 and expended $492,462 and had a deficit of $69,962. In 2003-2004 the pattern continued, the Band received $1,767,002 and expended $1,857,072, leaving a deficit of
$80,070. In 2004-2005 $441,140 was transferred to the Band, $542,218 was expended with a deficit of $101,078 remaining. After 2005 there is no evidence of transfer payments from the Department of Fisheries and Oceans as the Marshall agreements expired.

Since November 2008, the Band Council has been developing an operational and business plan for the commercial fishery operations in the Bay of Fundy. A committee of three Band Councillors was formed to implement contracts for the operation of vessels and seafood harvesting licenses. The revenue from the contracts for the past three years were used to settled unpaid debts on fuel, repairs, mortgages, taxes and insurance. The committee promised to disclose a full report of costs and debts before the end of 2010. Many community members have expressed deep frustration with fishery operations because of the debt accrued and because the employment opportunities for Band members never worked out. In addition, the Marshall Decision was seen as a way for First Nation communities to finally exercise their Aboriginal and treaty rights in ways that would secure economic and social development. That this did not happen because of a lack of political will to recognize Indigenous sovereignty in resource management and regulation. Consequently First Nations people found that they still had to fight for their livelihood rights. This was a tremendous disappointment.

Aboriginal communities across Atlantic Canada are negotiating with the DFO about “Marshall Three” monies. The DFO has no mechanism to control Aboriginal commercial harvesting. Communities with capacity should be able to expand their presence in the commercial fishery once conservation is guaranteed. Some people suggest that the time is ripe to form an Aboriginal fishers union to negotiate more effectively as a collective rather than succumb to the divide and conquer tactics that marred the initial Mackenzie process. However, as with any natural resource or primary industry fishing and forestry livelihoods are vulnerable and dangerous since they are affected by large-scale economic trends. The frustration of Tobique residents is voiced by this participant:

We've entered into forestry and into fisheries in Grand Manan and well when you look at the whole economic picture of the Maritimes those are industries that are really depleting and governments are trying to, they've retrained fisherman. So Tobique was thrown into those enterprises and, of course, a lot of people wanted to work, they said, "Yeah, I'm prepared to work. It's good money". But then within a couple of, they invest
money through Ulnooweg, getting credit and getting machinery and getting outfitted in fisheries getting trained as deckhands or possibly captains of boats. Then the market just falls. The prices go down. Lobster's down. They're just, you know the cost there's no profit.

Participants also blamed problems with the fishery on bad management:

*Bad management, they didn't know what they were really doing. Although some of the people were trained to run the fisheries, but they did not run it right. I don't think that the community itself was really benefitting by it. And yet, it was the community's money they were using to buy their equipment or charging their equipment.*

So, how did people feel about that?

*They were angry but most people around here are afraid to speak up because even the ones, if they are backing up the Chief and Council, if they speak up, they will lose their jobs even if they are family. It is like we're in a dictatorship or something.*

A decade ago, the fishery seemed to offer Tobique residents the potential for economic development, employment and income. After years of struggle, some of this potential is beginning to be realized. Nevertheless, like the failure of TEDCO of which it was a part, the problems experienced in the fishery have left Tobique residents frustrated, angry and dispirited.

### 4.4 Culture and Community Wellbeing

Tobique is asserting itself as a nation. Despite extraordinary obstacles stemming from colonial histories, assimilation policies, jurisdictional disputes, inadequate program funding and management, and a legacy of dependency, the community is a haven for many. It is home. It is a place where being Maliseet instills pride and hope. The community is working together to encourage stable governing institutions that protect the day-to-day business and program management from political interference by keeping strategic decisions in the hands of elected leadership and putting management decisions in the hands of managers.

Visionary and effective leadership is needed to refocus the nation’s energy on building societies that work rather than using all their energy for crisis management and in the fights for treaty and Aboriginal rights recognition, the honour of the Crown and the implementation of those rights. Such leadership is occurring across Tobique as organizations work to establish strategic
orientations and objectives that are culturally aligned with the community’s values and experiences. Community health and wellness, youth programs and elder support are the priority areas in which cultural revitalization is manifest. By focusing on the assets of Maliseet identity, language, teachings, and healing practices to build capable institutions access to and use of resources becomes more effective. Tobique has a vital, educated and growing youth population concerned with ideas about how things should be done and gaining greater control of the community impacts of development strategies, enterprises and projects.

Culture embraces three intimately related dimensions of daily life, it informs how people think, how people behave and the materials with which they live. What people value and how they understand the world around them affects what they do, the relationships they have with each and with material things. Tobique has come together to challenge the catastrophic loss of lands and livelihoods and the imposition of outsiders’ rules and regulations. They have resisted assimilation and maintained political activism. They are actively seeking internal legitimacy while recognizing the remarkable diversity of their community. And they are trying to resolve the problems of cultural mismatch that is at the heart of the dysfunction experienced by communities responding to the consequences of the Indian Act. Community healing is very much a part of the process of nation rebuilding.

Part of the healing proves involves language revitalization and the reinvigoration of cultural activities. Most Tobique Band members speak English or another non-official language, probably Maliseet. Out of a census population of 880 people in 2006, 545 people named English, 10 French and 325 another language as their mother tongue. The language spoken most often at home in a census population of 875 was English (680 people), a non-official language (180 people) and English and a non-official language (10 people). This suggests that the Maliseet language, while used at home by some people, is in less frequent use than in the past. French, furthermore, is not spoken in this community. Wabanaki language classes are offered throughout the year at the Wabanaki Teaching Lodge or Gail’s house where everyone is welcome to participate in Maliseet language classes, cultural activities such as storytelling, cooking, medicines, bon fires and nature study. Community activities, events and achievements are advertised in the free local monthly newspaper, Tobique news.
There is a Tobique Youth Centre located near the Wellness Centre next to the old school building. Programs at the Youth Centre run after school and during the holidays. During the summer of 2010, for example, programs in sports—swimming, volleyball and skateboarding among others—and arts and crafts are planned. Events are announced on social networks like Facebook. A new youth group called the Next Generation Youth Group started in 2010. We interviewed some of these young people, most of who said they wanted to finish high school and leave Tobique. We also spoke to several people in their 20s and 30s who had left and then returned to make their lives in Tobique because they missed the sense of community the security of close-knit kinship. In times of extreme fiscal restraint youth groups are challenged to find support, space and funds for their activities. Tobique Little Brave Baseball Program fields teams in Tee ball, Novice and Peewee and was looking to expand to five teams in the 2010 season. Coaching is voluntary. A recent revitalization of the Indigenous summer games across the Atlantic region has triggered interest in team and individual sports. Fundraising events are held throughout the year to support Team Tobique. In addition to language classes, powwows and other cultural activities, Tobique hosts an annual Labour Day celebration with live music, fireworks, beer gardens, ball tournaments and Bingo. This participant described some of the activities in the community:

We do have our powwows and there are children who do dance. But not like what we had before, people sweat here every week.

For some youth who remain in the community substance misuse is a way of coping with boredom and community tensions. Lack of sustainable and meaningful employment opportunities perpetuate cycles of despair and dependency both on drugs and social assistance. Cuts to social programs make breaking these cycles all the more difficult. However, groups within the community rely on cultural teachings to help guide toward more meaningful lives.

So, a lot of them, once they are in the rehab they are kind of like exploring the traditional. They try it and if they like it, they stay there and they go on that path. A lot of them who have gone through are still at the traditional. We have a lot of sweatkeepers here. We have at least six.
They (elders and customary healers) are trying to capture the young people, they are. And that is not an easy thing to do because they, to me, they're the lost generation. It is too far in-between, I would say and they are the lost generation to me; but the people in the community, the traditional workers, are trying to pull them back. Health services are also trying to pull them back. We capture a few, not as many as we would like to but, it always starts with a few anyway.

4.2.1 Health and Wellness

The Tobique Wellness Centre (the Centre) provides health care for the community. Run by Executive Director, Roxanne Sappier, and a staff made up almost exclusively of women—the only male staff member listed on the Centre’s website was the physician who visits the clinic from off-research several times a week—the Wellness Centre’s mission is to “…promote, educate and provide primary health care services. To improve the health and well-being by supporting holistic health (spiritual, physical and mental) and encouraging self-responsibility of the Wolastokiyik people at Negootook” (Tobique Wellness Centre 2010). The Centre is currently housed in a building near the old school. A new building was constructed. The Centre runs numerous programs from basic medical care to addiction counseling to diabetes management to maternal and infant health to assistance for elders. The Tobique Wellness Centre has a nurse practitioner and a dental therapist available several days a week. In addition, the Centre’s staff is presently creating a community garden to teach community members how to grow their own healthy food. The Neqotkuk Community Learning Garden is a program funded by Aboriginal Diabetes Initiative Program of Health Canada and is organized through the Wellness Centre. Planting, seed sharing, rock painting, pruning, making preserves and learning about herbs are just some of the activities of the community garden. The interview we did at the Centre had an up-beat and positive feeling. Here were women who were working hard to make a difference in their community despite the many problems facing them.

When the Tobique Band was put under third party management by INAC, Health Canada followed suit putting the Centre under the management of an accounting firm located in Sydney, NS. Working with a firm so far away has proved difficult and cumbersome for Centre staff.

24 http://www.tobiquehealthcenter.ca/index.html
Furthermore, as of April 1, 2010, the Centre will have to pay the accountant’s annual fees if they remain in third party management. To avoid having to make these payments which, coming out of the Centre’s budget, would result in cuts to services, the Executive Director of the Centre and her staff have developed, in consultation with Health Canada, a governance structure that would make the Centre a not-for-profit corporation with transparent management and accounting processes as well as independence from the Band leadership and administrators. The staff of the Tobique Wellness Centre have worked to incorporate health services as a means of eliminating third party management control over their health care funding. Under not-for-profit incorporation, similar to Child and Family Services, Mawiw and the Tobique Youth Centre, the centre will be a legal entity that can protect health care funding from creditors and third party management and thus will remove any filtering of monies from Health Canada and targeting them directly to community services. The incorporation structure requires the establishment of a board of directors to represent the community. Board members will be both elected and appointed for a term of three years. Five appointed members include two Councillors, one community member, one health professional and one person with a social sciences education. Two elected members include a community professional service provider and an elder. All registered members of the community can apply to sit on the board. The Wellness Centre management team is responsible for annual budgets, audited financial statements, reports to the board and funding agencies, as well as planning the direction of programming. The goal of incorporation is to make transparent the use and distribution of health funding and implement an accountability strategy for the community, rather than to third party management. Part of the accountability strategy includes by-laws, which give community members access to financial, and other board documents, to post these on-line, and allow community members to provide input about operations at annual meetings. The director of the wellness centre and her management team see this strategy as part of a self-governing process that will enhance self-sufficiency, sustainability and help the Centre to be free of the control and stigma associated with third party management. Resistance from the community is based on fears that incorporation will negatively impact inherent rights to health services and government funding for those services. The Chief and Band Council have yet to endorse the Centre’s incorporation, but remain hopeful this may still be seen as a viable option and they are continuing to pursue strengthening their
governance relationship with Chief and Council through other supportive processes such as accreditation standards through Accreditation Canada.

Other health and wellness services include the Wolastoqwiyik Healing Lodge located in Tobique offers a regular schedule of 12-step healing programs including Alcoholics Anonymous, Narcotics Anonymous, Al-Anon, Gamblers Anonymous. Licensed psychologists, prevention workers, and treatment coordinators offers residential and non-residential healing, rehabilitation and addiction support programs. Tobique also has a Maternal Child Health Oluwikoneyak Wekuwapasihti program that runs a Dads Evenings support group. One a month fathers have an opportunity to get together for peer support and a supper to assist them with parenting skills.

4.4.2 Law and Order and Public Safety

Addressing public safety concerns is a significant challenge due to jurisdictional confusion. For example, the RCMP, do not hold the animal control mandate, and when called for assistance, did not deal satisfactorily with a dog attack in January of 2010, in which two unsupervised dogs killed a pet. The New Brunswick Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals does not have any jurisdiction on reserves. The provincial animal control officer who said “they were powerless to do anything about wild dogs in Tobique” because their mandate, based on an agreement with a previous Band Council, is to enforce the SPCA Act which deals solely with neglect and cruelty. Due to third party management, the Band finances cannot be used for animal control even though wild dogs are a widely acknowledged problem. The local animal control officer, who cannot recall the last time he was paid, estimates there are 450 dogs running free. Residents are afraid to walk within the community and carry golf clubs for protection when they do.  

During the period of this research it was reported to the authors that property crime was very high in the community. Members suggested that between January 2010 and August 2010 there had been at least 150 break and enters into Tobique homes. Homes were under surveillance and

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targeted when the occupants were away. Electronic goods, tools, equipment, jewelry, prescriptions and cash were the most common items stolen. People reported they were fearful to leave their homes in the event they would be robbed and some would cut short any trips or evenings out to make sure their property was safe. Other people reported concerns that someone would soon get physically hurt or killed because homeowners would arm themselves against intruders with weapons and dogs.

In the basement of the lodge is the community probation officer. Tobique is fortunate to have an Indigenous probation officer who will be sensitive to the unique circumstances of Aboriginal offenders and assist the courts in prescribing fair and effective remedies according to section 718.2(e) of the Canadian Criminal Code and as directed in R. v Gladue. Members of Tobique have expressed an interest in creating customary law and restorative justice programs, however due to third party management such undertakings will have to wait until the financial resources become available. Getting elders and youth involved in establishing dispute management and law enforcement roles will help revitalize customary teachings and engage people in the well-being of their community.

4.5 Community Diversity and Mobilization

Comments made by participants during interviews suggest that Tobique is a community with political factions and conflict. Problems range from lack of communication between political leaders and Band members to hints that some leaders have used their positions for their own financial gain or to ensure that their relatives, friends and supporters receive financial benefits and employment. One participant explained Tobique’s factionalism as the result of an influx of people who became members of the Band after the passage of Bill C-31.26 According to him, these newcomers did not grow up on the reserve so do not understand traditional, communitarian, Maliseet values. Other participants said factionalism at Tobique was the result of population growth and the resultant decrease in face-to-face contact between Band members or

26 Silman’s book Enough is Enough about the struggle for equal rights for women, initiated by Tobique women, that resulted in the successful passage of Bill C-31, caused divisions between their supporters, and those against it for reasons raised by research participants, particularly resistance to what they saw as cultural dilution.
the stress of living in a community with severe economic problems. In such circumstances people look for the source of problems and in several interviews people indicated that Bill C-31 led to an influx of “outsiders” and associated increasing of social problems, such as an increased availability of street drugs, with the arrival of newcomers and their extended families, most of whom did not express the cultural competency of those growing up in Maliseet homes.

We have our own divisions and our own prejudices among ourselves here. Tobique is a melting pot of people from everywhere. We have people from Texas, California, Manitoba - now because bill C31. A lot of the women are returning back and, don't get me wrong, I know that there was discrimination, but it was a tough call.

A female perspective on the changes resulting from Bill C-31 amendments indicates the complexities of dynamic communities:

So in addition to this C31, women were gaining voice and basically I think there was an ownership to the Chief and Council and the administration of what Indian Affairs brought in here. And I think too, at that time, I saw the transition that I saw in other communities. It was probably the first time that I ever took a good look at what governments were doing. I saw the old boys club. I saw Indian Affairs roam through this community like they were our best friend. I took a deep look at understanding how my community was ticking. I saw separation. I saw hardness. Separation and hardness, amongst families, friends.

We had probably the highest number of individuals from this community go off to get an education. We had doctors, lawyers, nurses, teachers. I remember being here in the early 90’s, lots of lawyers. Education became a way out but at the same time, we had those numbers but we were leaving others behind. People who have been here their whole life, generational families, and then you had families with the influx of C31 bringing things that we were not accustomed to or even fully understood. But these women were still members of this community even though they may have been gone for years. There were times that I remember them coming to visit.

Although the Tobique community may experience internal factionalism, Band members come together when faced with pressures from outside. An example of the community working together is the Band’s take-over of NB Power’s Tobique Narrows Dam in 2008 and 2009. We describe the story of the Tobique Narrows Dam in detail since it illustrates community cohesiveness in the face of a perceived threat to all community members. The story is an excellent example of the many obstacles facing the peoples of Tobique in their efforts to have their rights recognized and to negotiate meaningful, economically productive relations with the
Province and corporations. It details the complexities of the social impacts of economic development.

Tobique Band members were never consulted nor ever agreed to the 1950 construction of a NB Power hydroelectric dam on their reserve. When the province built the dam, Band members asked for exemption from paying electricity bills for all community members as compensation for the loss of salmon and medicinal plants as well as river-bank erosion caused by the dam. They did not receive this exemption and for decades paid NB Power for electricity. A participant told us about how Tobique residents reacted to having a dam put on their reserve land:

After the Council meeting, I was allowed to speak, so I spoke and I said, "well, Mr. Brewer, you have to take into consideration that that dam build was built on stolen land and we're not giving it back. You owe us a lot of money. You owe us a lot of money. That dam went into work in 1953, the first year of it being operational, it exceeded over 50% of its revenue."

Nobody had free power. Nobody. Because, I remember, the elders did do affidavits and they said, that at the time, they were told they would get free power and then all of a sudden, they got a light bill. The men from here who had helped work on the dam got heck from their wives. They said, "Why are we getting this. You said we were going to get free power and now we got a light bill!" Because that was the understanding for this community that they were going to get free power.

In 2008, the Band, now in third party management, stopped paying electricity bills for residents on social assistance that included some elders. Without the Band’s help, these elders were unable to pay their bills so NB Power threatened to cut off their electricity. In May 2008, Tobique community members decided to step in by blocking NB Power’s access to the dam. A participant described how anger over NB Power’s decision to deny electricity to elders who could not pay their bills galvanized the community into action:

We received a letter from NB Power stating that our elders were no longer suitable to receive this type of payment agreement that the community had with hydro. They were attacking our elders and we don’t put up with that. Nobody attacks our elders and gets away with it. So when we got that letter, a few of us Council members got together and worded a letter back to them...but there wasn’t anything we could do about it except go to our own-source revenue to make sure that the elders didn’t get disconnected. So we wrote that letter, sent it off to them, and that is when the correspondence started back and forth, back and forth, between NB Power and us. So, at one meeting, a community member
comes in and she goes, "I got a call from NB Power and they said they were going to cut me off tomorrow if I don't pay my bill." I am sitting there and I said, "I am so f---ing tired of these people coming to our community and threatening our members. We're the government of this community. What are we going to do about it? I am just sick and tired of it and I have had enough. Enough is enough." I said, "I'm going to challenge NB Power, I'm going to challenge them." And I looked at the Council and said, "Who's with me?" They all looked away, and the women in the audience said "I am with you sister." Alright, that is all I need. So we got two of our warriors to sit at the road. We made a sign that said, "NB Power must stop and report." That was how we started.

The blockade continued through the summer and autumn of 2008 until November when New Brunswick’s annual no-disconnect policy came into effect. Organized by Tobique women, other members of the community, including men and children, also took part in the blockade as this participant describes:

So we put warriors at the entrance over here by the bingo hall. That was when I called NB Power and I said, "From this day forward, your people are not to come into my community unless they report first. It's for their own safety." We started a series of meetings with our Band lawyer, and I went to meetings with their lawyer in Fredericton at their headquarters. We sat there and we presented them with the documentation that we had, showing that that dam was built on stolen land.

Once we start moving on it, there is no turning back. So, we talked and we decided to take over the Harbour neck to show them just how serious we were. That we were not going to take any more bullshit from anybody regarding Tobique First Nation. So, I went to a meeting with our lawyer in Fredericton. I got a phone call during the middle of the meeting. The Aboriginal Affairs representative was at the meeting at the time so I stepped out to talk. I went back in and said, "Just to let you guys know, because it was all men, the women of Tobique First Nation just took over Tobique's Narrows Harbour dam." I said, "Let me rephrase that, the Tobique First Nation's Harbour dam. And until everything is resolved, you are not getting it back." Boy, they got mad.

I came home and there the girls were, sitting on their lawn chairs at the V where you come in and then come down towards the dam and the other road, and there is a V, well that's where they set up camp. Well, of course, I stopped there. We're sitting around talking and I said, "Well, we kind of pissed them off. So we are just going to have to wait and see what happened, right."

The women are the decision makers here. We decide if we are going to protest, where we are going to protest, and how we are going to protest. And whatever physical and whatever has to be done, we tell the men and then they are the ones who do it.

The women left their blockade for the winter but continued it the next spring when the community took over the generating station. In June 2009, blockaders seized a NB Power truck
whose driver had inadvertently come onto the reserve (Thau Eleff 2009). The protest finished when, in December 2009, Tobique First Nation and the Province of New Brunswick signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) to reach a settlement and end the conflicts over the effects of the Tobique and Beechwood Dams on the community. The areas of concern were:

- remediation for shore erosion along the Saint John and Tobique rivers;
- investigation, assessment and remediation of dump site contamination;
- electrical energy development opportunities;
- a training and mentorship program to train Tobique First Nation workers to perform maintenance on hydroelectric stations, including the Tobique and the Beechwood dams. This activity will include normal maintenance related to the safe and efficient delivery of electricity;
- royalties;
- five megawatts of power generation allocated to the Tobique First Nation;
- other issues about the Tobique Narrows Dam including but not limited to power lines; ownership; and leases.  

As a part of the MOU, the Tobique First Nation agreed to ensure NB Power access to the restricted dam area so that normal activity related to the safe and efficient delivery of electricity would occur within Tobique. The provincial government and the Tobique First Nation agreed to continue discussions and establish implementation timelines over the next several months.

The blockade of the dam and the resultant MOU signed by Tobique First Nation and the Province of New Brunswick affected the community positively in several ways. First, the MOU addresses community concerns about the negative effects the dams have had on-reserve land over the decades. Participants pointed out that remediating erosion and cleaning up toxic sites from the dams was a priority for residents.:

"Indian Meadows which is across the river here at the mouth of the St. John and the Tobique but across the Tobique there, has deteriorated horrendously since they build the Beechwood dam and the Tobique Narrows Dam.

the River Bank restoration and the toxic dump cleanup. That's our priority for year one."

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Second, the MOU promises new training and employment opportunities for Tobique residents both working for NB Hydro and doing restoration work. A participant told us that these new opportunities, the result of community activism, boosted the moral of Tobique’s residents:

"...it will employ our community members and it would give them an opportunity to be trained in the various fields of hydro; it would give them an opportunity to be trained in the restoration of the river bank; it gives an opportunity for our community to lease heavy equipment; to restore the river bank; and to employ our trained people...NB Power is willing to train our community members in the various fields of hydro. ...[Community members]... are very much interested. They are tired of living on welfare. If they have the training to maintain this hydro dam, the way the people maintain the Beechwood Dam, that is employment for our people here."

Despite the optimism about new training and employment, residents realize that working with various levels of government to ensure that these opportunities really happen will be complicated and will take a lot of time:

"Right now, because of our relationship with NB Power, we do have a gate at the bottom of the dam where they access their station to maintain the oil drums and whatever else that needs to be maintained there. We put a gate, it is not a gate, but it is just a little shack where security sits and anybody going down there has to report in. They have to know who is going down there and so on and so forth. Just because of the relationship that we have built with NB Power and it creates jobs for the men here in the community, and the women. It looks positive for the NB Power aspect of it because of the comfortable relationship that we have with them now. But now, Aboriginal Affairs, which is NB Government, is giving our Chief a hard time because in order for us to start the training and the work that is ongoing, we need money. NB Power gave the money to Aboriginal Affairs, New Brunswick, to float to Tobique for this project. Tobique needs more money to keep going with this project. What they gave us the first time was, I think, $500,000, and Aboriginal Affairs is saying you only have $100,000 left. A $100,000, well obviously we need more money to make sure we fix the rock, fix the shoreline before September 26. If they do not commit to that money before they close the House, then we are not going to be moving rock until after June of next year.

At least with that letter of commitment, we are going to be able to keep the work going here in the community and that money is specifically for the project. We made sure that that was put in our MOU. That they can't send that money on anything else except the project. And that money is held in trust."

Third, the community activism that led to the dam blockade made young people in the community think about their rights. A participant told us that:
"...when we were there, babysitting the truck we had a lot of the young people, young men, that would come in and secure the place and that was a major help to us. They get their teachings from the men, who in turn get the teachings from us (the women). So it is like passed on that way because a lot of young fellows are scared to sit and talk with women. So that is how we pass on our teachings."

Community activism during the Tobique Narrows Dam blockade is an example of the sense of community and solidarity still felt by many members of the community, especially when they feel threatened by forces outside Tobique or when Aboriginal rights are in jeopardy. Despite factionalism and the enormous economic, social and political challenges Tobique has faced over the past decade, and still faces today, this story shows that community members can still work together to negotiate for a better future for their members.

4.6 Discussion

As is clear from the preceding evidence the prevailing view is that “There is no Economic Development” in Tobique at the present time. This is evident in the collapse of businesses associated with TEDCO, but also in the absence of small-scale retail or service businesses to capture local consumer spending, apart from the local convenience store and gas bar.26 Fishing and forestry, which should have benefited from the Marshall Decision, have been disappointing because of “bad decisions” or the distance from fishing grounds in Grand Manan, or the downturn in the forestry, agricultural and fishery sectors. Indebtedness and its consequence, third party management, have constrained spending, and so has the high level of unemployment. Nevertheless, the high dependence on “social” has not translated into stimulus for small scale enterprises: expenditure on basic goods and services is largely off-reserve. The notable exception to this is expenditure on gambling (bingo and VLTs) at the Tobique Gaming Centre.

Participants in our interviews provided several reasons for the economic malaise in Tobique, and these go some way to explaining how the social impacts of economic growth sometimes sow the seeds of its own destruction. During the 1980s, when economic success was at its peak, there was pride in the community and its leadership, reinforced by the positive attention Tobique

26 http://www.hks.harvard.edu/hpaied/ee_main.htm
received as an economic innovator and leader in educational achievement and governance in the Maritimes and across Canada as a whole. There were high levels of post-secondary education (with particularly strong leaders benefiting from the executive training offered through “the Harvard Project”). However, with success came mistrust and an articulation of an increasingly pronounced dissonance between introduced capitalist values and practices promoting individualism on the one hand, and the communitarian or “Indigenous socialist” values of Aboriginal life on the other. In practice, the uptake of economic opportunity by individuals has played out in increased wage disparity and social stratification. Expectations of communitarian values have put pressure on those individuals to help others in the community; if denied there is resentment and criticism. Political alliances have exacerbated these tendencies, resulting in factionalism. People we interviewed described how political interference repeatedly compromised business decisions, or how non-business decisions such as over-staffing in the interests of offering employment to community members led to business failure. What might be viewed as “corruption” or nepotism by some, would be viewed as “sharing” by others, or simply as a lack of strong entrepreneurial and management skill.

The Tobique Gaming Centre is an interesting example of both the determination to run a successful economic enterprise and the mixed blessings that such an enterprise can bring. When the TEDCO enterprises were generating employment, and when a weaker Canadian dollar relative to the US dollar was attracting customers from across the US border, the Gaming Centre flourished. Now it is struggling to survive, with both a decrease in customer numbers and an increase in the employment it provides. The TEDCO businesses were expected to generate revenue for social programs; with their demise, pressure to contribute to culturally aligned community services has fallen to the Gaming Centre to the point where, we were told, elders’ groups, churches and youth sports and recreation are dependent on this revenue stream. However, despite the positive benefits employment brings in terms of on-the-job training, experience of entrepreneurship, and increased self-esteem, opportunities for work for on-reserve residents has not been taken up to the full, despite a reported 86% employment rate on-reserve. Furthermore, earning income can actually result in a period of a lower standard of living when one transitions away from Band subsidies. Participants reported that minimum wage jobs, particularly those requiring late night shift work, were not sufficiently attractive to forgo the
benefits of social assistance. Off-reserve workers were therefore filling the gap. Recent provincial legislation to increase the minimum wage might make a difference, but the costs to the business may mean fewer employment opportunities can be provided.

The case for continued investment in the Gaming Centre – plans are underway for refurbishments – is that it continues to provide employment and provide a recreational and social outlet for people in the community, particularly elders in the community. With good management, and without political interference, there is confidence it can be economically viable. Nevertheless, the social and economic consequences of gambling can be severe. The ironies of economic success being associated with social and economic costs of addiction is not lost on people we interviewed, though there was reluctance to discredit an enterprise that has potential to salvage Tobique’s reputation and provide much needed employment.

Without more diverse job opportunities, young people who were interviewed saw little future for themselves in Tobique. They suggested, however, that it was more than simply the absence of interesting work. It was also a prevailing view that the community itself had lost its ambition and drive, and to get ahead relied more on personal connections than aptitude. In order to improve their lives, they felt they had to leave. Among the parents interviewed, one expressed the hope that young people would leave, get a taste of the world outside, and then return to Tobique with ideas, experience, and skills to contribute. The ability to move off-reserve to get this kind of experience relies on adequate preparation and strong sense of identity and skills inculcated in school, if young people are not to return discouraged by their experience off-reserve. In this regard, much hope has been placed in the opening of a new school on-reserve. Youth may be encouraged to stay in Tobique if the MOU results in the promised training and employment opportunities.

4.6.1 "Success", "Failure" and "Impact": Overarching Issues

While the question being asked of this study is the social impact of economic development, another question now surfaces which is the consequence and impact of economic decline (perhaps inadvertently caused by economic “success”) and whether there is there something to grasp onto for future recovery.
First, the immediate consequence is mistrust and anger at the current situation among leaders in the community (in addition to the despondency among youth interviewed and reported among those unemployed, on social, or having left the community). This mistrust and anger is directed at various causes of failure: internal and external in location, personal and structural in their character. Internally, frustration is leveled at particular individuals and political interference in business, factionalism and favoritism, and is also expressed in the resentment expressed towards those moving ahead (otherwise described as “the crab in the bucket” syndrome). On the other hand there is also frustration expressed at the demise of cultural values, threatened by the influx of capitalist values, and diluted by such legal changes as Bill C-31 which has broadened Band membership to non-native women married to Band members. Anger directed at external actors to some extent binds these factions together – as in the case of the action against the dam and NB Power – in a collective expression of rights and entitlements of First Nation status when these are threatened by economic developments initiated by non-native interests. The humiliation of third party management is expressed by some study participants as a return to the days of the Indian Agent with the added indignation of sometimes having to pay management fees. Those who blame the previous Band Council for this situation find themselves on one side of an ever widening factional chasm; others see the current Band Council as having an excuse to do little but wait passively for the management period to take its course.

These persistent tensions are reinforced by a governance structure in which different levels of jurisdiction -- Band Council, Provincial Government, Federal Government -- provide leadership and administrative structures at a time when the case for Aboriginal self-governance is being made across the country. The whole question of revenue sources and tax levying authority is one issue (and whether raising revenue through house rents or local taxation is viable culturally or practically enforceable), the responsibilities for education are another, and the role of Federal government in terms of transfer payments and their scrutiny is another. The possibilities for encouraging the development of community-based savings institutions in Tobique are also fraught with cultural and legal uncertainty. Despite mainstream economic assumptions that savings are an essential ingredient of economic growth, one participant viewed savings as indicative of individualistic capitalist values and contrary to the sharing mentality of Indigenous culture. At the same time, savings and banking facilities do not exist in Tobique for reasons of
commercial viability. For example, the absence of individualized land tenure means that there is little in the way of collateral for loans required by conventional banking systems. There was no mention of alternatives, such as trust funds established with lump sum land claim settlements as replacements for personal, family savings. Micro savings and loan schemes were not in place, according to our interviewees, and the residents of Tobique, they argued, would in most cases be considered too high risk for conventional loan schemes. National programs to address these issues are underway but lenders are experiencing difficulties in community and individual uptake.

These unresolved issues, and the factionalism that has fragmented a community that once saw itself as “one” suggest that the way through the impasse is leadership that is able to help community members navigate their way through competing or contradictory world views. From the vantage point of Tobique, according to one participant, Miawpukek is held up as an example of such leadership. We did see several examples of community leadership. One is the continuing push for culturally aligned on-reserve education. Another example is the Wellness Centre. Compelled to address the social determinants of health as well as the health consequences of social and economic decline, the Centre runs programs for youth, young parents and community members: health awareness, preventative health care, and a community garden to encourage local food production for food security. Another feature of the Wellness Centre is its emphasis on community resilience. A question to pursue is whether the stories of past economic success, and resistance and activism, can be the basis for a revival of economic activity combined with a strategy to rebuild social cohesion.

4.7 Conclusions and Recommendations

1) The economic and cultural health of Tobique Maliseet Nation requires the full recognition of their rights and title, meaningful consultation and the fulfillment of the fiduciary obligations of the Crown. Without rights education and the implementation of the Aboriginal treaties, systemic discrimination and poverty will continue to have deleterious impacts on effective and efficient governance and sustainable economic development.
Despite the destructive assimilation policies of the Indian Act, the Reserve System, Residential Schools and the loss of control over their traditional territories, Tobique has a strong history of survival. Tobique has great potential to develop policies collaboratively to ensure that wealth from future economic development achieves the social benefits of sustainable self-governance, whether through gaming, natural resource regulation and management or corporate partnerships. The recent change in Band Council membership is an indication that the community desires experienced leadership that will mobilize equality and limit factionalism through proactive, transparent and consultative goal setting. People are recognizing and articulating the necessity of exercising Aboriginal rights as an inherent responsibility that will let them live their culture. In order to achieve this, Tobique must get out of the Indian Act and develop their own governance and make laws that benefit their citizens and reflect their culture.

The restoration of the Tobique and St. John’s Rivers is an apt metaphor for the restoration of the Wolastoqiyik, the people of the river. Building on the cultural and spiritual values that define Tobique people and their relationship to the land and resources, can inform the reconstruction of the laws, jurisdiction and institutions needed to engage citizens in economic realization through territorial integrity. Mechanisms for meaningful information sharing and participation in decision making are essential to the revitalization of transparency, fairness and effective inter-governmental relations. The diversity of the community is an asset to human resource capacity and diverse revenue sources. Collectively, through the exercise of inherent rights to self-determination maintained within strong, stable and culturally relevant systems of government, the people of Tobique can be innovators of knowledge development and citizen entrepreneurship.

2) The restitution of Tobique through citizen-owned enterprises will generate jobs, decrease leakage, help build community wealth and retain local talent, of which Tobique has plenty. The psychological and emotional impact of business activity sends important signals to all citizens, but particularly youth. Economic development in Tobique can contribute to the community by refurbishing cultural considerations in employee relations, ceremonial cycles and spiritual beliefs as well as kinship obligations. When considered, these factors enhance Indigenous sovereignty rather than detract from it.
3) Clear codes of ethics, decisions about government oversight and separation of powers, jurisdiction, core governmental functions, and accountability strategies of the Band need to be negotiated within the community, not imposed from outside. With communal control over transparent decision making and clear, culturally aligned goals for development and resource sharing, Tobique will see its future as one of promises that will not be broken because the success comes from within.
5. OVERALL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The research findings related to each of these three cases yielded unique findings. These unique findings re summarized here before overall conclusions are presented.

Millbrook

In sum, the wealth generated by MFN has allowed the Band to provide financial support for community members in such areas as professional training, higher and continuing education, in-school support system, summer employment for students, community Day Care Centre; and additionally, the tobacco store funds many community sports and recreational activities. By all accounts, the financial benefits of economic development initiatives in MFN have been broad-based in the community. There is a high level of awareness among the community of the Band’s financial investment in social services. Factors contributing to success are 1) Leadership. Chief and Council have formulated a clear vision for the Band’s future along with well-articulated goals, strategy and policies, which are underpinned by a recognition that economic development occurs over time. 2) Value-led decision-making. There is one overarching value that guides decision-making and policies in Millbrook First Nation and that is community. 3) Entrepreneurship. By all accounts, the Band’s leadership has been very entrepreneurial in its economic development endeavours. 4) Effective governance. The effectiveness of the Chief and Council at governing has led to stability and economic success. 5) Capable staff. Skilled professionals manage the various facets of the Band. 6) Location. Truro is considered the hub of the region so the location is ideal with access to a large labour pool. 7) Communication. The Band’s administration actively communicates with Band members, and 8) Strategic alliances with the Province and other partners have enabled successful economic development.

From the outset, a very “top-down” development process has been adopted in Millbrook First Nation. In doing so, the Band leadership has been very paternalistic, whereby development is being initiated for the Band members, rather than by them. There remain several obstacles and challenges. 1) One of the challenges faced by the Band is the extent of dependency among Band members. 2) Personal finance is an issue among Band members and budgeting skills are lacking. 3) In the absence of on-reserve schools, the youth who participated in the focus group were
unanimous in stating that they often experience difficulties in school because school teachers and administrators lack an understanding and sensitivity to First Nations’ cultural practices.

Recommendations for improving the social impact of economic development in the Millbrook First Nation must take heed of the cultural undercurrents which have determined the leadership structure in the community. The consistent re-election of the Chief and several Council members combined with the community perception that their elected leaders have complete control over decision-making may raise questions regarding democratic accountability. Undeniably, there is a concentration of power within a group of traditional political leaders in MFN. Though this may typically be considered a negative trend, in this case, public opinion seems to range from indifference to a feeling of stability and support being generated by the continuity of leadership. The history of the community must be taken into account; the economic success of MFN and the resulting social impacts have occurred in a relatively short period of time and have brought about significant changes in lifestyle and quality of life for Band members. As such, there is a generally positive perception of the social impacts which have resulted from the economic development for which the current Chief and Council are responsible. As a result, perhaps the level of placidity among Band members should be unsurprising.

It is with these observations in mind that the following recommendations are made:

1) Develop entrepreneurial capacity: Arguably, if people find entrepreneurial behavior effective in meeting their needs, through time it will be institutionalized in the community’s culture.

2) It is recommended that MFN provide personal financial management training for its members. Provide incentives for people to exercise entrepreneurship and financial management practices.

3) Develop employment programs targeted at females.

4) Engage in leadership development for emerging leaders and youth so that emerging leaders in the community and young Band members who express an interest in Band affairs can learn more about the roles and responsibilities of the Chief and Council.
Conne River-Miawpukek

Miawpukek has experienced remarkable social and economic changes since the 1970s. From preliminary economic development initiatives that were rooted in traditional land-based activities such as trapping, outfitting and sawmill, the community has gradually evolved its economic activities to the place where the community is among the most stable and economically viable along the south coast of Newfoundland. Concerted efforts by Chief and Council to build the human resource capacity of its Band members and to develop the community in such areas as sewer and water, transportation, and housing have led to a relatively well developed community. Miawpukek has 100% seasonal employment, one of the lowest number of occupants per household, and a comparatively low crime rate. Its Band operated school system is considered of high quality for both its role in academic preparation for further studies and its attention to cultural and language identity reclamation work. Miawpukek has become an attractive community for its residents, and most youth are now electing to either remain in the community or to return to the community after completing post-secondary education.

The impact of economic development in Miawpukek is such that community members have essentially climbed out of poverty. While there are no high wages in the community, there is a general evenness of income across the adult population. There is more activity devoted to the construction of private homes then Band homes. Most professional positions in the community are now occupied by Band members. The graduation rate from high school is close to 100%. Reasons for this transformation are related to the following four factors.

1) **Leadership for community self-determination** that fosters community self-determination through education capacity building as a main focus of economic development.

2) **Social development as the main community priority** for, and primary measure of, community economic development.

3) **Integration of services for social profitability** across the social and economic spectrum.

4) **Good governance** manifested in a transparent approach from and for the values of communal sharing, caring and respect.
Miawpuek should continue to pursue communication strategies as identified such as Facebook engagement and youth involvement in leadership decisions with a goal of more fully engaging youth in the governance and leadership of the community. Continue to review its job creation policies with a goal of providing individual counselling to all youth who are job creation participants with a goal of helping them consider further educational options. Continue to enhance private investment opportunities such as fisheries, with expansion into potential sectors such as culturally-based agriculture that would enable residents to live and work from within the community. Continue to develop private-public partnerships such as aquaculture that foster partnerships with potential industries and to link these partnerships to human resource capacity building. Pursue entrepreneurial development in its school programs and link this to pilot projects which aim to enhance private entrepreneurship opportunities for on-reserve and off-reserve private business development.

APCFNC might seek to find meaningful ways of sharing the findings from this case study with other similar communities (that are geographically isolated) with a goal of understanding how Miawpuek developed its approaches to community development. How have each of these concepts been achieved in Miawpuek and what can be learned from this for other communities? i.e. 1) Integrative social development strategies such as health and social. 2) Strategies for building community commitment to social development policies through assemblies and social media, 3) Housing development, 4) Social profitability, 5) Human resource development strategies and their linkage to economic Development, 6) Leadership approaches to community self-determination including good Governance.

INAC and APCFNC might consider how the findings from this case study may help develop differentiated policies for communities of similar typologies to more meaningfully support sharing and development. In particular, Miawpuek is a case of a geographically isolated community that has worked diligently to implement comprehensive social development approaches which build an economic model for this community. INAC and APCFNC could support more flexible policies for: 1) Integrative social development strategies such as health and social. 2) Communication policies through assemblies and social media. 3) Flexible Housing development policies. 4) Economic development projects that are accountable for social
profitability. 5) Human resource development strategies that link directly to economic development. 6) Leadership development approaches that foster community self-determination including good governance, especially for youth. 7) Special funding for entrepreneurial development projects that connect school and EDO offices.

**Tobique**

As was noted earlier, the prevailing view is that “There is no Economic Development” in Tobique at the present time. This is evident in the collapse of businesses associated with TEDCO, but also in the absence of small-scale retail or service businesses to capture local consumer spending, apart from the local convenience store and gas bar. Fishing and forestry, which should have benefited from the Marshall Decision, have been disappointing because of “bad decisions” or the distance from fishing grounds in Grand Manan, or the downturn in the forestry, agricultural and fishery sectors. Indebtedness and its consequence, third party management, have constrained spending, and so has the high level of unemployment. Nevertheless, the high dependence on “social” has not translated into stimulus for small scale enterprises: expenditure on basic goods and services is largely off-reserve. The notable exception to this is expenditure on gambling (bingo and VLTs) at the Tobique Gaming Centre.

While the question being asked of this study is the social impact of economic development, another question now surfaces which is the consequence and impact of economic decline (perhaps inadvertently caused by economic “success”) and whether there is there something to grasp onto for future recovery. First, the immediate consequence is mistrust and anger at the current situation among leaders in the community (in addition to the despondency among youth interviewed and reported among those unemployed, on social, or having left the community). This mistrust and anger is directed at various causes of failure: internal and external in location, personal and structural in their character. These persistent tensions are reinforced by a governance structure in which different levels of jurisdiction -- Band Council, Provincial Government, Federal Government -- provide leadership and administrative structures at a time when the case for Aboriginal self-governance is being made across the country. The whole question of revenue sources and tax levying authority is one issue (and whether raising revenue
through house rents or local taxation is viable culturally or practically enforceable), the responsibilities for education are another, and the role of Federal government in terms of transfer payments and their scrutiny is another. The possibilities for encouraging the development of community-based savings institutions in Tobique are also fraught with cultural and legal uncertainty. Despite mainstream economic assumptions that savings are an essential ingredient of economic growth, one participant viewed savings as indicative of individualistic capitalist values and contrary to the sharing mentality of Indigenous culture. At the same time, savings and banking facilities do not exist in Tobique for reasons of commercial viability.

These unresolved issues, and the factionalism that has fragmented a community that once saw itself as “one” suggest that the way through the impasse is leadership that is able to help community members navigate their way through competing or contradictory world views. We did see several examples of community leadership. One is the continuing push for culturally aligned on-reserve education. Another example is the Wellness Centre. Compelled to address the social determinants of health as well as the health consequences of social and economic decline, the Centre runs programs for youth, young parents and community members: health awareness, preventative health care, and a community garden to encourage local food production for food security. Another feature of the Wellness Centre is its emphasis on community resilience. A question to pursue is whether the stories of past economic success, and resistance and activism, can be the basis for a revival of economic activity combined with a strategy to rebuild social cohesion.

1) The economic and cultural health of Tobique Maliseet Nation requires the full recognition of their rights and title, meaningful consultation and the fulfillment of the fiduciary obligations of the Crown. Without rights education and the implementation of the Aboriginal treaties, systemic discrimination and poverty will continue to have deleterious impacts on effective and efficient governance and sustainable economic development.

Despite the destructive assimilation policies of the Indian Act, the Reserve System, Residential Schools and the loss of control over their traditional territories, Tobique has a strong history of survival. Tobique has great potential to collaboratively develop policies to ensure that wealth from future economic development achieves the social benefits of sustainable self-governance,
whether through gaming, natural resource regulation and management or corporate partnerships. The recent change in Band Council membership is an indication that the community desires experienced leadership that will mobilize equality and limit factionalism through proactive, transparent and consultative goal setting. People are recognizing and articulating the necessity of exercising Aboriginal rights as an inherent responsibility that will let them live their culture. In order to achieve this, Tobique must get out of the Indian Act and develop their own governance and make laws that benefit their citizens and reflect their culture.

2) The restitution of Tobique through citizen-owned enterprises will generate jobs, decrease leakage, help build community wealth and retain local talent, of which Tobique has plenty. The psychological and emotional impact of business activity sends important signals to all citizens, but particularly youth. Economic development in Tobique can contribute to the community by refurbishing cultural considerations in employee relations, ceremonial cycles and spiritual beliefs as well as kinship obligations. When considered, these factors enhance Indigenous sovereignty rather than detract from it.

3) Clear codes of ethics, decisions about government oversight and separation of powers, jurisdiction, core governmental functions, and accountability strategies of the Band need to be negotiated within the community, not imposed from outside. With communal control over transparent decision making and clear, culturally aligned goals for development and resource sharing, Tobique will see its future as one of promises that will not be broken because the success comes from within.

**Final Summary:**

There were also several findings related to social impacts of economic development that stretch across these three communities. Although colonial structures continue to limit capacity of all three Bands to achieve equitable social development, they are all finding innovative ways forward. In the cases of two communities, innovation is related to stable leadership over time that has enabled central planning at the Band level. However, this has also had some unintended impacts such as the development of elements of dependency upon the Band leadership for individual economic well-being.
The study concluded that fiduciary responsibilities of the federal government cannot, at present levels, realize these First Nations community’s visions for cultural and economic justice. Historically, there were obvious challenges evident that manifested themselves in high levels of poverty in all three communities. At present these case studies show that there are promising examples of ways that this poverty is being reduced by the efforts of Band Councils. These First Nations communities are finding ways to be successful in economic terms and to distribute economic benefits towards the community and these economic benefits are usually relatively evenly distributed amongst community members.

Several important features that seem to be common in the First Nations communities in this study that are achieving effective social impacts are related to good governance that is stable over time; strong determined leadership that have been able to put in place and monitor long term plans over extended periods of time; transparent communication of goals and priorities; and a high priority being placed upon educational capacity building of Band members and the hiring of skilled qualified Band staff.

There continue to be tensions between competing values of the common good and individualism which prevent Band leadership in each of the communities from making strategic resource decisions. It was also noteworthy that even though some youth remain stuck in a culture of dependency, many more are motivated to shape the future. Building youth capacity through education, the full recognition of Aboriginal rights and title and fulfillment of the fiduciary obligations of the Crown, and further leadership and entrepreneurial capacity building are seen as important ways forward to meaningful and equitable social development.
### Appendix A

**Services offered by the Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq in 2008/2009**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aboriginal Diabetes Program *</th>
<th>Labour Market Strategy</th>
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<tr>
<td>Aboriginal Youth Suicide Prevention Strategy</td>
<td>Lands Additions Assistance *</td>
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<td>Aboriginal Health Transition Fund **</td>
<td>Lands Administration *</td>
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<td>Adult Alternative Care **</td>
<td>Legal Advisory Service*</td>
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<td>Archaeological Assessment</td>
<td>Maintenance Management Systems*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asset Condition Reporting System (ACRS) **</td>
<td>Majukwatmuan Awti’j Summer Camps</td>
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<tr>
<td>Atlantic First Nations Environmental Network ***</td>
<td>Maritimes &amp; Northeast Pipeline</td>
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<tr>
<td>Black Ash Initiative **</td>
<td>Scholarships (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Communications Services</td>
<td>Maternal Child Health *</td>
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<tr>
<td>CMHC Inspections (all Mainland Bands)</td>
<td>Membership *</td>
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<tr>
<td>Diabetes Initiative *</td>
<td>Mi’kma Knowledge Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>Early Childhood Intervention</td>
<td>Mi’kmaq Maliseet Nations News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Woodland Print Communications</td>
<td>Mi’kma Legal Support Network (MLSN) (2)</td>
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<td>Economic Development Advisory Services *</td>
<td>Mi’kma Court Worker Program (2)</td>
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<td>Elections/ Referendums *</td>
<td>Mi’kma Customary Law Program (2)</td>
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<td>Emergency Measures (911 database) *</td>
<td>Mi’kma We Debert Cultural Centre**</td>
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<td>Employment Advisory Services *</td>
<td>Native Hospital Interpreters ***</td>
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<td>Environmental Assessment ***</td>
<td>Peter Pierro Memorial Trust</td>
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<td>Envirotton **</td>
<td>Post-Secondary Education Guidance and Counselling (1)</td>
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<td>Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder Initiative *</td>
<td>Post-Secondary Scholarships/ Sponsorship *</td>
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<tr>
<td>Financial Advisory Services *</td>
<td>Sammy Gehue Awards (1)</td>
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<td>First Nations Forestry **</td>
<td>Species-at-Risk Research **</td>
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<td>Specific Lands Claims Research *</td>
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<td>GIS/GPS Mapping *</td>
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<td>Health Liaison Services *</td>
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<td>Wills and Estates *</td>
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<td>Justice Circles (2)</td>
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KEY

Service delivery area:

* All CMM Member Bands
(1) All First Nation Students
** All Nova Scotia Bands
(2) All aboriginal people living in NS
*** All Atlantic Bands
Appendix B

REFERENCES CITED


Interviews conducted March 1-3, 2010 in Tobique First Nation with Ross Perley, Beaver Paul, Roxanne Sappier, the Next Generation Youth Group, Chad Arnold, Kevin Bear, Tim Nicholas and Solomon Bear.

Interviews conducted August 19-22, 2010 in Tobique First Nation with Cindy Marshall, Chance Marshall, Wendall Perley, Theresa Hart Perley and one other person wishing to remain anonymous.

Interview conducted September 30, 2010 in Halifax with New Brunswick Deputy Minister of Aboriginal Affairs, Patrick Francis.


Miawpukek First Nation, (2010). Economic development strategy. (p. 4, 5)


