BUILDING INDIVIDUALS, BUILDING THE ECONOMY: LABOUR FORCE DEVELOPMENT IN CANADA’S TERRITORIAL NORTH

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ABSTRACT

Building Individuals, Building the Economy: Labour Force Development in Canada’s Territorial North

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This thesis explores the neoliberal governmentality approach to education for Northern economic development that was prevalent from 2006 to 2015, during Stephen Harper’s period as Prime Minister of Canada. Using a grounded theory approach, this thesis identifies three themes – Indigenous integration, education, and employment for labour force/ economic development – to direct an analysis on programs and funding supported by the Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency, Employment and Social Development Canada, and Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada. This examination suggests that Federal programming and funding encouraged neoliberal governmentality approaches to Northern development and education. Specifically, the former Government interest in developing an Indigenous work force to serve labour market needs is brought to light.

Keywords: Neoliberalism, Territorial North, Indigenous education, economic development, labour force development.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEDP: The Aboriginal Economic Development Program
AHRDS: The Aboriginal Human Resources Development Strategy
ALBE: Adult Learning Basic Education
ASEP: Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership Program
ASETS: Aboriginal Skills and Employment Training Strategy
ASTSIF: The Aboriginal Skills and Training Strategic Investment Fund
CanNor: Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency
CNIM: The Centre for Northern Innovation in Mining
ESDC: Employment and Social Development Canada
FNJF: The First Nations Job Fund
FNIYES: The First Nations and Inuit Youth Employment Strategy
ILDP: The Inuit Learning and Development Project
INAC: Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada
NABEP: The Northern Adult Basic Education Program
NAEOP: Northern Aboriginal Economic Opportunities Program
PSE: The Post-Secondary Education Program
SINED: The Strategic Investments in Northern Development Program
SPF: The Strategic Partnerships Fund
SPI: The Aboriginal Economic Development Strategic Partnerships Initiatives
INTRODUCTION

ABSTRACT: This introduction frames the challenges that faced the educational landscape of the Territorial North during the period when Stephen Harper was Prime Minister of Canada. Through discussions of the region’s mineral potential and the labour market circumstances that negatively affect its growth, the interests that drove the Conservative Government’s activity in the North are highlighted.

An educational crisis has been occurring in Canada’s Arctic region. Through supports such as funding and advertisement, Federal Governments such as the former Conservative Government under Stephen Harper targeted and encouraged youth particularly from Indigenous backgrounds to pursue education that leads to employment in non-renewable resource industries (Abele and Delic 3). Some scholars suggest that with programs predominantly focused on training for this resource sector, education in the region has been used as a neoliberal governmentality investment tool used by the State (McCreary, Olssen and Peters, Young and McDermott). As my research will demonstrate, this was apparent in the strategies/ funding programs implemented by former Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s Conservative Government that problematically positioned Indigeneity, education, and employment for labour force/ economic development.¹

¹ The use of education for neoliberal governmentality purposes precedes the Harper era. Programs and policies began before Harper’s time and carried over after he was Prime Minister. This thesis does not address this issue as an isolated problem, but instead, provides a snapshot of this ongoing educational crisis by demonstrating what such
Understanding the “Great Opportunities” for the North and Indigenous Peoples

A notable excerpt from a speech former Prime Minister Stephen Harper delivered in Hay River, Northwest Territories encapsulates how the Federal Government conflated Indigenous integration, education, and employment for labour force/ economic development:

We also want to specifically encourage aboriginal peoples with their young, fast-growing populations, often living close to mining areas, to make the most of the great opportunities before them.

How great are these opportunities?

The mining sector is already the largest private employer of aboriginal people in Canada, and current estimates show that by 2017, the mining sector will create thousands of new direct and indirect jobs in this territory alone.

So northern mining has the potential to permanently change many lives for the better.

That said, in order to benefit from Northern opportunities, aboriginal peoples must have greater access to education and skills training.

That’s why our Government is investing in northern basic education programs.

policies, programs, and funding look like and how neoliberal governmentality becomes prevalent.
It’s why we created the Skills and Partnership Fund.

It’s why we’ve invested in post-secondary scholarships and bursaries for First Nations and Inuit students.

And it’s why our Government has supported a northern success story called the Mine Training Society (PM delivers remarks in Hay River, Northwest Territories).

As this excerpt demonstrates, the Conservative Federal Government positioned employment in the mining sector as a critical path northerners should take, specifically Indigenous peoples, in order to improve their well-being. In turn, the Government invested in major education projects as a means of ensuring that employment and the supposed betterment of life occurred. While the apparent benefits were to be reaped by the Northern population, the mining sector would also be highly rewarded, as securing skilled employees in the industry is essential for the progress of its development.

To demonstrate the interests that the former Conservative Government had in extractive industries, we need to first consider the potential that the mining industry offers the North for economic growth. As will be highlighted, the interest in education for natural resource employment largely stemmed from these economic prospects.

**Targeting Extractive Industries**

According to *The Future of Mining in Canada’s North*, mineral development is not only the “future of growth” in the north but also to Canada as a whole (1). In a report
entitled *Opportunity Found: Improving the Participation of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada’s Workforce,* the Canadian Chamber of Commerce stated:

There are more than 20 new mining projects in the territories at various stages of feasibility and regulatory assessment. Collectively, these opportunities represent $2 billion in resource royalties and tax revenues to the federal government in addition to existing mining royalties. The chambers of mines for the three territories have estimated that mining companies will invest $19 billion in projects over the next seven to 10 years. This represents a significant body of additional tax revenues to the federal government (16).

The economic gains from mineral development are seemingly promising. Production has been growing since the early 2000s and such growth will likely continue. According to *Resource Development in Northern Canada: Report of the Standing Committee on Natural Resources,* there was an increase of 53% in production between 2006 and 2010 (8). Moreover, economic forecasts prepared by the Canadian Chamber of Commerce projected that metal and non-metallic mineral output from Canada’s north would “grow by 91 per cent from 2011 to 2020” (*The Future of Mining in Canada’s North* i).

The expected growth in mineral development is largely a result of the global demand for metallic and non-metallic minerals (*Toward Thriving Northern Communities* 18). With industrialization happening rapidly in countries such as China, India and Brazil, demand for mineral commodities are expected to be high (*Future of Mining* 4).
Rapid industrialization brings about an increase in standard of living and in the aforementioned countries, this has lead to “the emergence of a larger middle class” (5). According to *The Future of Mining in Canada’s North*:

This new and rising middle class will no doubt drive the need for new products and the rate of consumption. Add the application and use of new materials to this mix, and ‘markets for mineral commodities can expand considerably’ (5).

This statement is significant. It means, for example, that although China is a leading producer of several minerals, the country is still considered an “export destination of choice” as it imports a substantial amount of mineral commodities (6).

Evidently, over the past decade or so, the demand for mineral commodities has been increasing, and as a result, Canada’s north attracted 16 to 19 percent of the mineral exploration that occurred globally since 2004 (House of Commons 8). Despite competition from other mineral producing countries, mineral resource extraction in Canada has received significant attention. Several factors contribute to this attraction: Canada is a top five producer of several major mineral and metals; the country is amongst the most active mining regions in the world; and historically, Canada has been the site of major mineral deposits (*Future of Mining* 7). As a result of the economic potential, the increasing demand for mineral commodities, and the global attention being put on the region, large investments have been made to help foster the industry. For instance, $100 million was invested between 2008 and 2013 in geo-mapping initiatives to identify mineral resource locations (*Developing the Economic Potential* 9).
The opportunity offered through mining activity in the north was of high interest to the Conservative Federal Government and it prioritized this economic growth. Economic recovery and prosperity was a key priority for Prime Minister Stephen Harper throughout his time in office (Prime Minister of Canada 2011). He made it publicly clear that the economy was the Government’s main concern (2008; 2010; 2011; 2013; 2015). For instance, Mr. Harper declared in a speech delivered in Nunavik, Quebec, that “our Government’s top priority is well known – the economy” (2013) and in this, the creation of jobs and generating prosperity through responsible resource development were centralized (2013). As such, natural resource projects such as mining activity in the north and the vast economic potential the industries offer were of great interest. Yet, issues concerning the labour market that have perpetually existed in the north created a troubling obstacle for the sector’s growth.

Labour Shortages

Attracting, developing, and retaining a skilled workforce was and continues to be a significant impediment of mineral development in Canada’s north. The mineral sector worldwide has been facing a shortage of labour. The issue will only increase according to the Canadian Chamber of Commerce who explained that “mining companies worldwide will soon be scrambling to find workers to meet the industry’s requirements, as skilled workers are becoming increasingly difficult to find while demand for metal and non-metallic minerals” are on the rise (Future of Mining 36). Globally, the need for a workforce in the mineral sector is an impending issue, and Canada is no exception. According to the Mining Industry Human Resources Council, “[h]uman resources challenges are one of the largest threats to the future competitiveness of the Canadian
mining industry” (1). Certain factors further exacerbate the issue for Canada’s north, namely, the low population and the difficulty of attracting and retaining Indigenous employees. We will explore these at greater length below.

_Low Population:_

The Territorial North comprises approximately 40% of Canada’s physical geography (Abele 179). Yet the region’s populace makes up less than 5% of the nation’s total population (Bone 104). As seen by Statistics Canada’s recent Census population figures gathered in 2016, the number of inhabitants in Canada’s territories was approximately 113,604, a comparatively small number given that the total Canadian population was an estimated 35,151,728 (Statistics Canada). The small and sparse population of the north makes attracting, developing, and retaining a workforce for the mineral sector quite challenging. Mining operations are typically located in remote areas, and these locations have a very small number of inhabitants compared to urban centers. For instance, according to “Indigenous People in the Cities of Northern Canada: The Importance of the Rural Economic Base”, approximately 21,000 people reside in Whitehorse, the capital city of Yukon, whereas the total population of the territory is approximately 31,000 residents (180). Thus, employing local community members in the mines is quite difficult as there is not enough people living near the mine sites of remote areas to fill all of the needed employment positions.

_Indigenous Populations: Attraction_

While the small size of the population creates a challenge for the labour market, attracting and retaining employees from the populace that does exist further contributes to
the issue. The population of the north is predominantly Indigenous. According to geographer Robert Bone, Indigenous, Inuit, and Metis inhabitants comprise just over half of the Territorial North’s population (104). In Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut, those who identified as Indigenous respectively comprised approximately 23 percent, 51 percent, and 86 percent of the inhabitants in 2016 (Statistics Canada). With high birth rates, Canada’s Aboriginal population is the fastest growing and youngest populace in the country (Developing the Economic Potential 4). As Indigenous peoples make the vast majority of the Territorial North’s population, attracting Aboriginal individuals, particularly the youth, is an industry and Government strategy for overcoming labour force needs (CanNor 4; Abele and Delic 1; Future of Mining, 37). In numerous strategy documents, the Canadian Government, mineral industry, and various associations involved with economic development have identified the promise that Aboriginal peoples offer for addressing labour shortages (CanNor 2013; Canadian Chamber of Commerce 2010; 2012; 2013).

While the Indigenous population appears as a promising “untapped resource” (Todd 58; Future of Mining 38), there are many issues that deter Indigenous peoples from wanting to work in the mineral sector. One significant issue is differing cultural perspectives regarding the workplace. According to the views of a business representative working in Iqaluit, “[t]here is a cultural issue regarding what we see as being work ethic and the desire to work. … We come from a nine-to-five- culture and we are trying to superimpose it on a culture that never has had nine-to-five” (Developing the Economic Potential of Canada’s Territories 13). As stressed by Developing the Economic Potential of Canada’s Territories, southern Canadian populations typically have work around a
nine-to-five structure. Yet, this structure can be problematic for Indigenous community members whose seasonal harvesting of food and cultural practices have a significant role in their lives (13). For example, a mining industry representative expressed that cultural differences make it difficult to retain workers as certain seasonal practices such as hunting lead to a number of Indigenous employees leaving their positions to participate.

A number of Indigenous communities disapprove of working in the mining industry and more broadly, the natural resource sector due to the destructiveness the extractive activities have on the environment and subsequently, their culture. Indigenous spirituality is highly interconnected to the well-being of the earth, its land, and all its life forms (Akwesasne Notes 33). Due to the interconnectedness, the protection of the environment is highly important for spiritual and cultural continuity. Extractive natural resource activities however are highly disruptive and harmful to environmental preservation. Robert Bone provides a detailed explanation of the negative impacts that result from natural resource extraction: first, linear effects impact small areas, such as wildlife that are impeded from following their migratory routes due to the construction project infrastructure. Secondly, there are areal effects that impact huge geographic areas, such as hydroelectric projects that divert rivers and reverse their seasonal peak flows. Thirdly, extractive industries also result in cumulative environmental effects. This includes issues such as oil spills, chemical discharges and climate change (193).

Cultural continuity is not only harmed by environmental destruction. Angela C. Angell, society and health specialist, and John R. Parkins, resource economics and environmental sociology specialist, contend that resource development projects have contributed to a number of health issues that impact the cultural well-being of northern
Aboriginal communities. In the Northwest Territories’ Indigenous population specifically, Angell and Parkins state that the peoples “have significantly higher rates of substance abuse, crime, and suicide” in comparison to “their non-aboriginal counterparts” (67). This in turn, leads to cultural discontinuity and oppression (67).

Ginger Gibson also addresses the cultural impacts Aboriginal peoples face due to mineral development in “Canada’s Resilient North: The Impact of Mining on Aboriginal Communities”. Gibson notes that extractive mineral activities has resulted in a shift in community values, namely, from community centered perspectives to more individualistic views. For instance, she explains that the wage labour system that forms the basis of mining operations has led to changes in how the younger generations view the importance of hunting in a group as a means of provision (Canada’s Resilient North 128).

As a population whose culture and spirituality has undergone significant devastation, preserving cultural identity is integral to Indigenous peoples as they move forward in the process of decolonization. Mining activities and natural resource projects in general negatively impact Indigenous culture by interfering with seasonal practices, destroying the natural world, contributing to poor health conditions, and influencing shifts in community values. For these reasons, a number of Indigenous peoples are deterred from working in the mining industry.

Indigenous Populations: Education and Skill

While a number of Indigenous peoples are not interested in working for the mining sector for cultural reasons, an unfortunate reality prevents many of those who are
attracted to the work from securing employment in the sector. Created by a devastating history of racist and destructive educational policy, Indigenous populations suffer from a lack of educational opportunity and attainment (Abele and Delic 13). This in turn, impacts their ability to secure employment positions. Frances Abele and Senada Delic have made use of 2006 census data to highlight how the issue of education impacts Aboriginal and Inuit peoples hoping to find jobs:

In 2006, the proportion of northern Aboriginal youth who have not graduated from high school is much higher than the proportion of their non-Aboriginal counterparts. According to the 2006 Census, the gap between the proportions of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal youth without a high school diploma in Yukon, was 16.9 percentage points for men and 9.6 percentage points for women. In the NWT it was 37 percentage points for men, and 45.2 percentage points for women. For Inuit the gaps are greater: in Nunavut, they are 46.5 percentage points for men and 45.5 percentage points for women; in Nunavik, they are 49.5 percentage points for men and 41.8 percentage points for women; and in Inuvialuit, they are 26.0 percentage points for men and 41.4 percentage points for women. Among Inuit youth in Nunatsiavut, 65.2% of men and 68.6% of women have not graduated from high school (14).

Meeting educational requirements is an important part of attaining wage work. For this reason, northern communities and businesses identified that increasing graduation rates of Aboriginal northerners is their first priority in building workforce capacity in the region (Building Labour Force Capacity in Canada’s North 17).
However, northern educators have found that encouraging Indigenous students to stay in school and pursue further education is quite challenging. In *Developing the Economic Potential of Canada’s Territories*, educators expressed the view “that one of the fundamental reasons Aboriginal peoples do not succeed in school and the workforce is because they cannot see where they fit into either” (14). The report states that many educational programs fail to retain Aboriginal students because they do not provide the participants with a sense of “empowerment, self-worth and pride in themselves and their histories” (14).

Racism is a factor that contributes to the difficulties many Indigenous individuals face when trying to receive an education. As explained by sociologist Rosina Agyepong, many Indigenous students “are devalued and usually blamed for problems they may be facing in school…. Students from these backgrounds are streamed to special education and non-academic programs” (*Building Labour Force Capacity in Canada’s North* 11). These students suffer discrimination that limits their ability to excel and ultimately, negatively impacts their sense of self-worth. Discriminatory experiences surely contribute to the educational success of Indigenous peoples. Feeling a sense of encouragement and self-worth is a necessity for completion of an educational program. This is severely hindered by educators who demonstrate a lack of support and actively attempt to prevent students from excelling.

Even for northern Indigenous peoples who do complete high school, the transition into secondary programs is challenging. According to the *Future of Mining in Canada’s North*, those who graduate “find that their education is not on par with that of their Southern counterparts; ‘Northerners are leaving high school without the skills necessary
to transition smoothly into post-secondary schooling” (39). As such, the issue is often rooted in the education being provided. Typically, education in the north receives very limited funding. According to Building Labour Force Capacity in Canada’s North, high schools in northern communities do not always offer the Grade 12 courses that are needed to fulfill basic requirements for entry into apprenticeship programs (10).

Moreover, some schools located on reserves are required to “stretch their limited education budget” meaning that the school will only offer “the minimum number of Grade 12 courses required for a high school diploma, instead of including courses that are required for a career in the trades or post-secondary education” (10). Furthermore, schools in remote locations have difficulty attracting specialized teachers. For the schools that offer specialized courses in math and science, this becomes a very serious issue as non-specialized persons fill the position and in turn, students do not receive an adequate education that will effectively prepare them for future courses in those disciplines (10).

Regardless of what sector they hope to work in, lacking in education and skill adds a great deal of stress to northern Indigenous peoples who want to enter and succeed in the workforce. While the lack of adequate education is an issue for broader social reasons, the mining industry and the Conservative Federal Government unsurprisingly focused on the challenge it created for establishing a suitable workforce. Hilary Jones, the General Manager of the Mine Training Society, expressed the extent of the problem in Resource Development in Northern Canada: Report of the Standing Committee on Natural Resources:

The problem or challenge is that people who are available for jobs do not have the skill sets to meet the requirements for employment in the mining
industry. Let’s keep in mind that 78% of those jobs in the mine site are for skilled and semi-skilled workers. Fewer than 5% are for those individuals who would qualify as labourers (Canada, House of Commons 17).

Conclusion:

Indigenous peoples in Canada’s Territorial North have faced the reality of not having access to quality educational opportunities. Additionally, the devastating history of culturally destructive educational programming has left a legacy of distrust for schooling. Addressing this issue should be a concern for ensuring the well-being and equality for Indigenous peoples of Canada’s north. Yet, the much needed educational opportunity and attainment was framed by the Harper Conservative Government as a measure needed to be taken in order to ensure that Indigenous peoples were “positioned to seize these unprecedented opportunities” (Northern Strategy 5) in natural resource industries such as mining.

In a problematic way, education for Indigenous peoples became seen as a solution to labour market issues and was positioned as a neoliberal governmentality tool for enhancing economic prosperity by the former Conservative Canadian Government of Stephen Harper between 2006 and 2015. This thesis will explore the use of education as an instrument for advancing neoliberalism by examining the relationship between what can be considered to be neoliberal governmentality, and Federally delivered programs and funding of post-secondary education in Canada’s Territorial North that were supported by Harper’s Government. It first examines the relevant literature to develop an understanding of neoliberalism, natural resource extractive industries, and how they have
been impacting Canada’s North. Next, through analysis of the *Northern Strategy*, it identifies the way in which the Conservative Government under Stephen Harper approached the North with regard to education, Indigenous integration, and employment for labour force/ economic development. Discussion then turns to exploration of the Federal Government’s imposition of this agenda upon Federal funding programs that operated in Canada’s North during Harper’s time as Prime Minister. In so doing, it analyzes the intersection of Federal activity (i.e., Federal funding programs) with Indigenous integration, education, and employment for labour force/economic development and ultimately, identifies how this intersectional activity reflects a neoliberal governmentality.
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<http://pm.gc.ca/eng/node/33716>.


CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW: EDUCATION IN THE TERRITORIAL NORTH AND NEOLIBERALISM

ABSTRACT: This chapter reviews scholarship on education in Canada’s Territorial North, and how neoliberal governmentality activity and the expansion of the non-renewable natural resource sector is impacting educational programming. This will be discussed in five sections. First, “Education in Canada’s Territorial North” will look at foundational works for understanding current issues. Next, a review of neoliberal governmentality’s central tenets is provided in “Neoliberal Governmentality”. Following this is a discussion of, “Neoliberal Governmentality and Education”, which will assess literature addressing neoliberal governmentality’s impact on education. Next, “Theoretical Approaches in Critiques of Education: Comparative Analysis” analyzes different theoretical approaches used in critiques and highlights the strength of assessing education through critical reflection of neoliberal governmentality practice. This is followed by a section on “Neoliberalism, Natural Resource Extraction and Indigenous Labour in Canada” which reviews various works discussing employment and the non-renewable natural resource sector to provide further context for education in Canada’s Territorial North. Following this, my research methodology is outlined.

Introduction

Education is recognized as an essential tool for building better futures for young generations and enhancing their well-being (Martell 1). Through the teaching and learning process, people become equipped with knowledge that allows for them to contribute to the development and maintenance of healthy, vibrant, and productive
societies (Kennedy Dalsag 4). Positive learning experiences are integral to the facilitation of individual self-actualization, that being the ability of people to feel fulfilled (Burleson 436). Fundamentally, education plays a pivotal role in the growth of individuals and societies. As the impacts of education are significant, access to education is absolutely essential to fostering the well-being of people and sustainable communities.

Unfortunately, not all educational programming leads to brighter futures for youth. Misappropriations of the term “well-being” hold some responsibility for this issue. As a general term, “well-being” elicits a number of interpretations. While holistic perspectives acknowledge the many aspects the term well-being encompasses, namely, good physical and mental health, and adequate standard of living, being in strong and safe communities, respecting vibrant cultures, and having good government (Hayward et al. xix), the meaning of “well-being” is often construed to be much narrower. Take, for instance, the findings of Karen Hayward, Linda Pannozzo, and Ronald Colman in their work on education for the Canadian Index of Wellbeing (CIW). The CIW highlights that contemporary indicators of educational attainment do not always further an individual’s well-being as they are focused on “returns on investment to stakeholders rather than broader contributions of knowledge and learning to society” (Hayward et al. xx). Hayward et al. contends that “[p]reparing students for the job market and a secure livelihood is important, but it is only one element of what is needed for quality of life and wellbeing” (2). This narrow understanding of well-being does not encompass the multiple factors that holistic understandings consider – this thesis views well-being from this holistic perspective.
In Canada, opportunities for individuals to better their well-being by striving for educational attainment in the pursuit of knowledge and learning may seem unlimited. While southern regions of the country certainly have their fair share of academic institutions and programs that allow for such learning, Canada’s Territorial North does not fare so well. To date, Canada is the only circumpolar nation that does not have an Arctic University (Simon, *A New Shared Arctic Leadership Model*). Indeed, there are three exceptional college institutions that offer a breadth of programs, however, scholars have noted that establishing an Arctic University is integral to supporting sustainable and healthy Arctic communities and economies (Abele and Graham 4, and Simon, “A Time for Bold Action 7).

Fortunately, Yukon College is currently going through the process of becoming a university (“Yukon College to Yukon University (YukinU)”). Nevertheless, the post-secondary educational landscape in the North has historically been much more limited than that in Canada’s South. In turn, the inhabitants of the region have not had access to a broad range of educational options, and this issue will continue until opportunities in the region are expanded.

Amidst the narrow window of access to post-secondary educational opportunities that are available, there are a number of programs that are highly focused on meeting labour market demands. With limited local options and a lack of equitable access to other educational experiences, such programming seems ideal. Certainly, programs focused on labour market needs (and in the north, these are largely centred around extractive industries) offer exceptional returns and entice many. Choosing this educational path is absolutely rewarding and unproblematic should an individual do so without being subject
to unjust limitations. However, issues arise when people do not have access to other opportunities and instead of determining their own educational path, their fate becomes moulded by their inequitable circumstances.

As defined in the CIW, education is an opportunity that helps strengthen an individual’s holistic well-being (Hayward et al. xix). The individualized learning process allows for people to explore passions, develop distinctive identities, and build critical reasoning skills that equips them to challenge wrong doings they identify and in turn, incite meaningful social change (Jorgensen 5). However, developing this sense of self-actualization and self-directed social advocacy is greatly challenged when broader forces hinder individuals from being able to access academic paths. As such, choosing one’s own educational path and having the ability to do so is highly important for the well-being of people and society. Yet, as John McMurtry notes, there are key elements that prevent such educational opportunities from being established. He states:

[W]e need to be clear […] as to what education is and what it is not. It is not propaganda on behalf of the social status quo… It is not public opinion or interest group mollification … It is not acquiescent to prescribed doctrine …Its final authority lies not in political pressure groups, principals, or even ministers of education, … The education system, in short, is governed …not by special interests and demands, or it is not education (McMurtry 41).

As will be demonstrated in the review of relevant scholarship, such key elements impact post-secondary educational training in Canada’s Territorial North.
The following literature scan examines the scholarship on the relationships between the State, its interests in extractive industries, and education, paying particular attention to the role of neoliberal policy and practice. In so doing, it will provide a sound understanding of how neoliberal governmentality and the expansion of the non-renewable natural resource sector impacts education in the Territorial North. First, scholarly work discussing the current challenges affecting education in the region will be highlighted. Next, neoliberal governmentality and its essential tenets will be discussed followed by a review of scholarship addressing neoliberal governmentality’s impact on Canadian educational programming. Next, a comparative analysis of various approaches analyzing education will demonstrate the strength of using neoliberal governmentality as a theoretical framework for such assessments. Finally, a review of other notable works addressing employment, neoliberalism, and the non-renewable natural resource sector in Canada’s Territorial North will further help contextualize the landscape of education and its planning in the region. Ultimately, this literature review will demonstrate the educational crisis that has been impacting Canada’s North. With Federal Governments pushing Indigenous youth towards training-to-employment programs for the non-renewable resource sector, Government investment in post-secondary education in the Territorial North has been more so a tool of neoliberal governmentality than an effort to support the well-being of people and communities.
Education in Canada’s Territorial North

Political scientist Frances Abele has contributed an exceptional body of work to literature addressing political issues of Canada’s north. Amongst this work are her critiques of the contemporary challenges impacting the development of high quality education in the Territorial North and the strong emphasis placed on employment training for Indigenous youth. In collaboration with political scientist Senada Delic, Abele demonstrates the impact that the non-renewable resource sector has on education for young Indigenous peoples in the report *Aboriginal Youth Employment in Northern Canada*. Framed as a knowledge synthesis, Abele and Delic draw upon publicly accessible research on northern Aboriginal youth employment and present several significant findings. These include the fact that “federal programming and industry activity are heavily focused on attracting northern Aboriginal youth to resource sector jobs”; that “multiple agencies and governments have a uncoordinated impact on the employment prospects of Aboriginal youth, with little capacity for the communities and

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regions to link primary, secondary, post-secondary and vocational training in ways that would improve the progression of students and youth adults into viable occupations” (3), and that “[there is an] apparent imbalance in policy attention and program funding. These emphasize training for natural resource sector employment” (1) and portray a highly compelling picture of current issues impacting Indigenous youth living in Canada’s Territories.

Abele and Delic support their findings through an analysis of key Government intervention initiatives that includes the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada’s (AANDC) First Nations and Inuit Skills Link Program, the First Nations and Inuit Summer Work Experience Program, and the First Nations Job Fund that is co-delivered with Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC). They also examine and critique ESDC’s Skills and Partnership Fund and Aboriginal Skills and Employment Training Strategy (20). Through this analysis, Abele and Delic demonstrate how a majority of programs have been focused on increasing the Indigenous workforce in the mining and energy sectors. As well, they discuss the expansion of the non-renewable natural resource sector in Canada more generally and note that the “sector provides a disproportionate number of jobs to Aboriginal workers. So far, however, these workers are generally employed in the less skilled and lower paid positions relative to the non-Aboriginal population” (26).

Abele and Delic’s article is highly critical and far-reaching. It highlights many significant issues such as a lack of transferable skills learned in training programs for the non-renewable resource sector and how consequently, mining expansion is taking priority over improving primary, secondary and post-secondary education in the Territorial North.
Overall, the work of Abele and Delic is invaluable for understanding the contemporary landscape of education for Indigenous youth in Canada’s Territorial North.

In another related body of work, Abele and political scientist Katherine Graham undertake a scan of the scholarship discussing Inuit-post secondary education in, “The Literature on Building Post-Secondary Success”. They divide their review into five categories: “the hidden curriculum of colonialism and the possibility of bicultural education”; “the importance of a northern university”; “the tension between adult education (including but not limited to vocational training) and post-secondary education”; “new approaches to curriculum design and delivery”; and “gender differences and the post-secondary experience” (2).

Abele and Graham note that analysis of hidden curricula demonstrates how “education… is not only a matter of acquiring skills, accumulating knowledge and developing insight; it is also a process of socialization that changes behavior, attitudes, and self-image, and supports the internalization of certain norms” (2). They scan a range of literature, yet, the most relevant works covered address how socialization is embedded in education’s hidden curriculum for a number of Indigenous populations (3). Furthermore, Abele and Graham’s literature review and commentary on the importance of a Northern University is quite noteworthy. In this section of the review, they reflect on scholarship addressing the many benefits that can be offered by establishing a university in northern regions. Following the consensus of the scholars they review, Abele and Graham contend that the “absence of a northern university system in Canada likely limits northern young people’s access to post-secondary education and hampers social and economic development” (4).
Abele and Graham’s discussion of vocational training is also insightful. They contend that pressure from both the political and market spheres for employment training in extractive industry negatively affects the chance that broader educational purposes will be served at northern academic institutions. They also highlight the emphasis that has been placed on vocational training in northern regions and note that “vocational training has been powerfully shaped by the stronger forces in territorial economics” (6).

“The Literature on Building Post-Secondary Success” demonstrates the urgent need for focused research on post-secondary education experiences for Inuit peoples and highlights how all governments and Inuit organizations have a role to play in developing post-secondary policy for the Inuit (10, 11). Ultimately, Abele and Graham’s literature review and Abele’s work with Delic provides an essential foundation for understanding the challenges impacting education in Canada’s Territorial North.

**Neoliberal Governmentality**

The following sections of this literature review examines a body of scholarship that analyzes education, both generally and in Canada specifically, through the analytics of neoliberal governmentality (Foucault). In order to develop a sound foundation for understanding the literature in this field, this section of the literature review will discuss the principles of neoliberal governmentality.

Neoliberal governmentality stems out of neoliberalism – the political ideology and model that emphasises the value of free market competition and steps away from welfare-state beliefs by focusing on individualism and laissez-faire economics. Neoliberal governmentality was first discussed by Michel Foucault in his 1978 and 1979
course lectures on the Birth of Biopolitics at the Collège de France (Hamann 37). He defined governmentality as “an apparatus of administrative power ‘that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument’” (38). Government, as understood by Foucault, meant the “conduct of conduct”, a form of activity that aims to “shape, guide or affect the conduct of some person or persons” (Burchell, Gordon and Miller 2). A rationality of government, or governmentality, is then a “system of thinking about the nature of the practice of government (who can govern; what governing is; what or who is governed)” (3). In modern terms, Foucault had said that governmental rationality is “simultaneously about individualizing and totalizing: that is, about finding answers to the question of what it is for an individual, and for a society or population of individuals, to be governed or governable” (36).

Neoliberal governmentality, social theorist Thomas Lemke explains, “feature[s] not only direct intervention by means of empowered and specialized state apparatuses, but also characteristically develop[s] indirect techniques for leading and controlling individuals without at the same time being responsible for them” (201). Through such indirect techniques, neoliberal governmentality “governs by giving the impression that it is not governing” (Cotoi 114). As explained by political scientist Colin Gordon, governmentality is “the idea of a kind of power which takes freedom itself and the ‘soul of the citizen’, the life and life-conduct of the ethically free subject, as in some sense the correlative object of its own suasive capacity” (Burchell, Gordon and Miller 5). In this, the freedom of individuals is complicated, as outlined by Burchell:
When we are governed, when our behavior is managed, directed or conducted by others, we do not become the passive objects of a physical determination. To govern individuals is to get them to act and to align their particular wills with ends imposed on them through constraining and facilitating models of possible actions (119).

Governmentality uses various apparatuses to develop subjects who will be active in the market economy. This subject is termed by Foucault as the *Homo economicus* (Hamann 38). As explained by philosopher Trent H. Hamann, “the central aim of neoliberal governmentality is the strategic production of social conditions conducive to the constitution of *Homo economicus*” (38). This subject, as explained by Lemke is a “manipulable being” who has an “artificially arranged liberty” to be an “entrepreneurial and competitive… economic-rational individual” (Lemke 200). These individuals are constructed to “assume market-based values in all of their judgements and practices in order to amass sufficient quantities of ‘human capital’” (emphasis in original) (Hamann 38). In the case of education, governmentality utilizes education and training programs to construct such individuals. As Gordon notes:

Human capital is composed of two components, an innate component of bodily and genetic equipment, and an acquired component of aptitudes produced as a result of investment in the provision of appropriate environmental stimuli: nurture, education, etc. (44).
Thus, governmentality can use educational programming to build economically rational individuals. In order to do so, such programs are carefully constructed to ensure the aims of the governmental practice. For Burchell:

because individuals attach a value to their ‘self-image’ they are most deeply affected by political power when it impinges on this relation they have to themselves. They are most profoundly affected when the way they are governed requires them to alter how they see themselves as governed subjects. It is then, as … when a ‘line of conflict’ is found to pass not just between distinct subjects but through the individual person, that individuals may be led to resist or even revolts (119).

The values of self-image and identity to individuals thus become a barrier to successful measures of governmental activity. In turn, governmental practice, as we shall see in the following chapters, seeks to utilize strategies to overcome the challenge. In other words, values of self-image and identity are positioned as central tenets of programming in order to avoid conflict and resistance.

**Neoliberal Governmentality and Education**

An exceptional critique of education and training for Indigenous peoples, neoliberal governmentality, and employment for the non-renewable natural resource sector is offered by geographer Tyler McCreary in “Mining Aboriginal success: The politics of difference in continuing education for industry needs”. Using the School of Exploration and Mining in British Columbia as a case study, McCreary argues that Aboriginal self-determination and the neoliberal restructuring of education to serve
labour market needs has led to “neoliberalism, under the banner of social justice” acting as a “vehicle for a limited version of justice demanded by marginalized communities” (280). In this, he maintains that post-secondary educational regimes, particularly training programs, have been restructured to build students into subjects for the labour market (281). Focusing specifically on training for the mining industry, he contends that, “[c]orporations and the state have incorporated Aboriginal Peoples within their strategies to rationalize and enact development. This has shaped the institutional emergence of minerals industry educational programming designed for Aboriginal students” (281).

McCreary draws upon the concepts of neoliberal governmentality to explain the restructuring of educational programming. He explains that:

Funding regimes directed to certain populations, particularly unemployed Aboriginal students, serve to foster particular regimes of subjectification through inducing and seducing Aboriginal enrolment within minerals industry training programs. A constituent element of neoliberal governmentality, the development of vocational programs serves not only to discipline workers, but also to cultivate the reconciliation of Aboriginal populations with designs for economic development (284).

To demonstrate his arguments, McCreary analyzes the teaching and design approaches used for the School of Mining program and finds that they are constructed to incorporate cultural Indigenous traditions and pedagogy. Additionally, they are designed for students who might struggle with mainstream approaches to education, drug and alcohol addiction and chronic underemployment (285). Ultimately, he finds that “[t]hrough this education,
a population is established not simply as a labour force but also as a collectivity integrally bound to and dependent on industrial development for its well-being” (285). As such, he explains how education is used not only to build Indigenous peoples into labourers, but also to develop a dependency of Indigenous populations on the mining industry.

McCreary’s work exceptionally interweaves analyses of Canada’s non-renewable resource sector, Indigenous self-determination, and educational programming. His use of neoliberal governmentality as a theoretical framework for his research gives real strength to his assessment as it allows for him to develop a highly critical understanding of how education is used as an instrument for control and manipulation. McCreary illustrates how by analyzing funding regimes through the lens of neoliberal governmentality it becomes apparent that the Government indirectly governs and intervenes while giving the impression that they are not playing a direct role in labour force development.

R.A. Young and Peter McDermott’s “Employment Training and Acculturation of Native Peoples in Canada’s Northwest Territories” examines how educational freedom and choice are pre-constructed through practices of neoliberal governmentality. In this paper, the authors assess job training programs administered in the Northwest Territories from 1971 to 1983 to identify whether employment training was used as an agent of cultural change to assimilate Indigenous populations or not (Young and McDermott 195). They find that “most programs operated by governments have been delivered in such a way as to stimulate rapid acculturation” (195).

Young and McDermott discuss how the Government poses the freedom of choice, or “choice of futures” (195), for Indigenous learners to decide how and if to preserve
their heritage while engaging in employment training. They assert that this choice is “subtly shaped” (195) as the likelihood that Indigenous peoples will choose to preserve their cultural traditions is slim given the significant acculturation that occurs when they are immersed in non-traditional economic and social activities (196). Despite the apparent freedom of choice for constructing one’s own future, Young and McDermott find that the State ultimately aims to provide only one choice; to not preserve cultural tradition in favour of acculturation to mainstream, wage-based living systems. As such, the choice of futures has no choice in it at all, and instead, the futures of individuals are pre-determined. Like McCreary, Young and McDermott illustrate how education is used as a tool to manipulate and construct individuals.

Although they do not discuss Canada specifically, Mark Olssen and Michael A. Peters deliver a similar analysis and provide a comprehensive understanding of how the State and neoliberalism impact education. In their article “Neoliberalism higher education and the knowledge economy: from the free market to knowledge capitalism”, Olssen and Peters touch on central components of neoliberal governmentality and argue that the ascendancy of neoliberalism has led to shifts in the role played by higher education. They demonstrate how Governments have come to recognize the economic importance of higher education institutions and encourage institutions to build connections with industry and business. Rather than emphasizing the need for intellectual exploration and debate, Governments stress the need for strategic economic planning and output in education institutions (313). As such, Olssen and Peters maintain that neoliberalism in education has brought about “a new mode of regulation or form of governmentality” (314).
Olssen and Peters draw from Foucault and James Buchanan to support their argument. Drawing on Buchanan’s theories of protective or productive States - the former being a State concerned with acting within the constitutional framework and the latter being concerned with the production of goods - Olssen and Peters state:

[T]he positive arm of the productive state effectively extracts compliance from individuals in order to engineer a market order. In doing so it cuts across the traditional guarantees of classical liberalism regarding the spaces it sought to protect – a domain of personal freedom, the rights of privacy involving freedom from scrutiny and surveillance, as well as professional autonomy and discretion in one’s work. The shift… is both theoretically and practically important for understanding the changes in high education (319).

With this, they build their argument of how “state-engineered ‘market-driven’” (326) educational programs are developed. In these programs, the freedom of individuals to engage on their own paths of academic pursuit is dismissed by the State and instead, notions of neoliberal governmentality are practiced as individuals, guised as acting on their own freedom of choice, embark on State constructed educational paths that develop them into subjects in the market order.

Olssen and Peters provide an excellent understanding of how neoliberalism has impacted education. They discuss the neoliberal concept of pre-constructed futures masked as individual choice and freedom, a compelling notion also drawn upon by both McCreary and Young and McDermott. Returning to Abele, we see how she too touches upon this concept in her discussions of the evident advertising done by the State to
encourage Indigenous youth to participate in training for the resource sector; this encouragement is made while unbalanced funding is provided to non-renewable natural resource industry training programs at the expense of other educational programming. These simultaneous actions lure Indigenous youth to the resource sector while pushing them away from work in public and para-public sectors (Abele and Delic 2). As review of the works produced by McCreary, Young and McDermott, Olssen and Peters, and to a lesser extent Abele demonstrates, neoliberal governmentality is an effective theoretical approach for critiquing education that results in a capturing of the negative impacts that government involvement in education has on individual liberty.

**Theoretical Approaches in Critiques of Education: Comparative Analysis**

Scholarship critiquing education through academic approaches other than neoliberal governmentality also offer insightful findings. However, building neoliberal governmentality critiques into such works provides stronger analyses. This section will highlight literature that uses sociological, social investment state, and inclusive liberalism approaches and will demonstrate the strength offered by including neoliberal governmentality in the assessments.

*A Sociological Approach*

Scott McLean’s “Objectifying and Naturalizing Individuality: A Study of Adult Education in the Canadian Arctic” uses a sociological approach to analyze adult education in Canada’s Territories. McLean argues that the making of individuality is a central part of contemporary practices of formal education (6). He highlights an insightful passage from Philip Corrigan to emphasize his argument:
Schooling attempts to construct political selves through the operation of definite techniques, tactics, and practices. We emphasize that school operates not simply through ‘ideology’ – that is cerebral or attitudinal transformations – but through a much more extensive process of subjectification and embodiment. Schooling seeks to make selves (qtd. in McLean 6).

Much like the arguments made from analyses of neoliberalism’s impact on education, McLean’s article is critical of influences that shape individuals. For instance, he contends that in “the processes of schooling the student is compiled and constructed both in the passive processes of objectification, and in an active, self-forming subjectification (6).

Indeed, McLean’s sociological approach that analyzes education as a means that both actively and passively shapes individuals is similar to critiques of neoliberalism, however the two approaches have differing components. As seen by McCreary, Young and McDermott, and Olssen and Peters, critiques of neoliberalism take specific interest in how a given party, and in the cases of their work government bodies, intervene in educational programming to conduce shaping and manipulation. In contrast, McLean’s sociological perspective does not critique the bodies responsible for the influencing nor their motives for doing so. Rather, he focuses on the processes impacting the individuals. In this, he discusses how bureaucratic practices such as filling out forms, enrolling in programs, undergoing testing, and other administrative and school tasks objectify individuals and how classes, through following curricula, inform the making of an individual’s identity (McLean).
Evidently, McLean’s sociological approach is concerned with the process of manipulation. While insightful, this approach does not address the party responsible for conducting the manipulation. Critiques using neoliberal governmentality, on the other hand, highlight both the processes of manipulation and those responsible for its conduction.

Social Investment State and Inclusive Liberalism

In their article, "Educating for a high skills society? The landscape of federal employment, training and lifelong learning policy in Canada", Tara Gibb and Judith Walker analyze ten Canadian Federal Government training and employment policies. They draw on social investment state (SIS) and inclusive liberalism theories to argue that despite policy goals of establishing a knowledge economy, there are too many contradictions in Federal Government activity for that to be a reality (Gibb and Walker 381).

Gibb and Walker draw upon D. Saint-Martin to define SIS:

Saint-Martin describes the SIS as one in which economic and social policy become blurred and the state adopts an entrepreneurial and risk-management approach to investing in citizens through education and social programmes to ensure that people are included in the economy. Instead of a welfare state, the SIS has shifted the emphasis away from social and employment security to individualized and continuous skills investment for future, near and far, employability (qtd. in Gibb and Walker 384).

Inclusive liberalism is quite similar. Gibb and Walker state that:
An inclusive liberal state would be one which focuses on the notion of ‘inclusion’ in terms of bringing in those who have been excluded from the benefits of a rapidly globalizing economy, and … bringing together social and economic partners in supplying programmes (in this case, education) (384).

Building off the SIS and inclusive liberalism theories, Gibb and Walker demonstrate how education is used as an investment tool that shapes individuals into contributing members of the economy. They do so by highlighting passive and active roles the Federal Government plays in education planning. They argue that while the Federal Government appears to be active in supporting learning and education, it devolves responsibility for outcomes to organizations and provincial governments and instead, takes care of learning through passive means such as loans and funding allowing the individual to actively engage in education to improve his/her employability (393).

Drawing on neoliberal governmentality would strengthen Gibb and Walker’s discussion of passive and active roles of the Federal Government. Gibb and Walker’s critique recognizes the indirect role the Government plays in supporting education through loans, and building education as an investment tool, yet they do not go further to discuss how this impacts the individuals. Indeed, they address how the Government invests in individuals to develop their employability skills, but they do not deepen this analysis to demonstrate how this is an active method of control and manipulation. Instead, they view Government intervention as passive.
As exhibited through works using neoliberal governmentality perspectives, we see that despite the guise of being non-interventionist, the practice of neoliberal governmentality is highly interventionist in shaping individuals into active workforce members. Analysis of Gibb and Walker’s work demonstrate how critiques using SIS and inclusive liberalism provide insightful assessments of education. Yet, similar to McLean’s sociological approach, more insight would be gleaned if neoliberal governmentality concepts were included.

**Neoliberalism, Natural Resource Extraction, and Indigenous Labour in Canada**

Other scholars such as political economists Jacqueline Medalye, Ryan Foster, Todd Gordon, Suzanne Mills and Brendan Sweeney, and historians Heather Green, Frank James Tester, Drummond E.J. Lambert, and Tee Wern Lim, contribute excellent understandings of neoliberalism and its impact on the inhabitants of the Canadian Northern Territories, particularly Indigenous peoples. Their work is highly critical of State activity, the non-renewable natural resource sector, and Indigenous labour force development. This body of work provides a good contextualization of the role post-secondary education plays in Canada’s Territorial North as the training to employment programs are essential the growth of the non-renewable resource sector and labour force.

In “Climate Change and the Capitalist State in the Canadian Arctic: Interrogating Canada’s ‘Northern Strategy’, Medalye and Foster analyze Canada’s “Northern Strategy” to demonstrate how capitalism, the capitalist State, and climate change intersect in the era of neoliberalism (88). Through their analysis, they find that “the melting and reduction of Arctic sea ice is understood as a new opportunity to extract more of the very resources
that create climate change in the first place, while deepening Northern communities’
dependency on the multi-national extractive sector” (88). They contend that climate
change “creates new conditions for production, new spaces for accumulation, and new
frontiers of dispossession that are being proactively identified and secured on behalf of
capital by the Canadian State” (88). Madelye and Foster’s illustration of how the
Canadian Government prioritizes non-renewable resource development helps establish a
foundation for understanding the State’s interests in post-secondary, training-to-
employment education. For instance, if the State is interested in expanding extractive
industries, educational training for the sector is important as it builds the workforce that
is conducive to developing the sector.

Todd Gordon’s work, “Canada, Empire, and Indigenous People in the Americas”,
also helps contextualize training-to-employment education in Canada’s Territorial North
through discussions of neoliberalism, accumulation by dispossession of Indigenous
peoples, labour force development, and the mining industry. He argues that in the era of
neoliberalism, the Canadian State facilitates capital growth through exploitation of
“spaces of accumulation” (47). He contends that use of Indigenous land and labour is
central to Government success in this exploit (47). Moreover, Gordon demonstrates the
increasing “proletarianization” of Indigenous peoples and their perceived value as a
“significant pool of cheap labour” in the eyes of the government (56). He states that
“[r]eservations were organized, and are still viewed by government… as a pool of cheap
reserve labour. This focus on the labour potential of Indigenous people seems to have
sharpened since the emergence of neoliberalism” (56).
Gordon further pushes his analysis by noting that the only pre-occupation of the Canadian Government that matches its promotion of market integration of Indigenous peoples is the State’s promotion of resource development on Indigenous lands (57). More specifically, he analyses the Canadian mining industry and the explicit identification of Indigenous labour as a central component to its expansion. The reason being, he notes, is best explained by the stated labour shortage in the industry and the close proximity of approximately 1200 Indigenous communities to mine sites (58).

Furthermore, with regards to reluctance of Indigenous peoples to engage in the mining industry, he states “[t]he mining industry and governments have responded by developing promotional material aimed at selling mining and wage labour to Indigenous peoples” (59). The promotion of non-renewable natural resource sector employment training, as identified by Abele and McCreary, is an excellent example of such promotional material. Gordon’s work provides a backdrop for understanding the position and role of training-to-employment education in the Canadian Territorial North as the growth of the non-renewable natural resource sector and Indigenous labour force is central to development plans in the region.

Political economists Suzanne Mills and Brendan Sweeney also help provide an understanding of the role that training-to-employment education plays in the Territorial North in their article “Employment Relations in the Neostaples Resource Economy: Impact Benefit Agreements and Aboriginal Governance in Canada’s Nickel Mining Industry”. Focusing on mining development in Voisey’s Bay Newfoundland, Mills and Sweeney analyze how Impact Benefit Agreements (IBA) affect Inuit employment in the mining sector (7). While the emphasis of their work concerns how Aboriginal
governments and employees empower themselves in order to effectively maintain their demands and negotiate with mining representatives, labour provisions within IBAs is a key area of their analysis. Mills and Sweeney highlight how Indigenous governments stressed the importance of including provisions for employment training in IBAs. However, the discussion of education and training is quite scant and unspecific. Issues concerning labour such as the lack of Inuit employment and the preference of “fly-in-fly-out” labour sources from southern regions are more predominantly addressed. Nevertheless, Mills and Sweeney’s case study of the Vale Inco IBA for Voisey’s Bay mine site provides a compelling perspective on how mining education and training is viewed by Indigenous governments.

Perspectives on mine training and employment are further explored by historian Heather Green. In her historical case study on mining employment at the Polaris Mines in Northwest Territories, Green discusses issues of attraction and retention for Inuit employees. She delves into the perspectives held by mining industry representatives in the late 1970s and also interviews local Inuit and former Inuit employees of the mine. Her findings demonstrate that the mining industry preferred to hire workers from southern Canada rather than local Inuit (47).

Green’s analysis provides insight on employment training education as she presents reflections made by local Inuit about training programs provided:

Some said that the skills they learned at the mine were not transferrable because they were specific to a certain job, such as mill work. Others said that the skills were indeed useful for other employment opportunities,
especially for those workers who had been heavy machine operators. …

Overall, employment and training were a disappointment to those Resolute Bay residents we interviewed. They believed that it would have been better if the community had been involved in planning, to ensure training for Inuit workers so they could attain higher-paying, and longer-lasting positions (51).

Historians Frank James Tester, Drummond E.J. Lambert, and Tee Wern Lim also provide a historical analysis of Inuit employment in the mining sector. They argue that employment in the mining sector was constructed as the cure of social ills, something that would “take care of other social and cultural problems” (29). Education is touched upon when discussing the roles of accumulation and legitimisation played by the State. According to Tester et al.:

Legitimisation refers to processes and initiatives by which the State attempts to maintain harmonious social conditions – and thus its legitimacy – thereby compensating for the inequities and worst ravages of capitalist expansion. The State’s other essential role is to aid and abet the accumulation of capital. It puts place rules and regulations to facilitate conditions under which capitalism can flourish (19-20).

They demonstrate how this occurs by discussing education. They state:

when expenditures on educational initiatives do not seem to produce citizens with marketable skills, this spending may meet the interests of a student population (i.e. is legitimising) but may be severely criticised if it
contributes little to training a workforce for roles related to capital accumulation (20).

Tester, Lambert and Lim also make note that lack of education and training was a major obstacle identified by the State for building an Inuit workforce (22).

The scholarship surrounding non-renewable natural resource extraction and the development of an Indigenous labour force helps to build an understanding of the role employment training education plays in Canada’s Territorial North. As noted in the works of Jacqueline Medalye, Ryan Foster, Todd Gordon, Suzanne Mills and Brendan Sweeney, and historians Heather Green, Frank James Tester, Drummond E.J. Lambert, and Tee Wern Lim, the Canadian Governments have been highly interested in the North’s potential for extractive industry and Indigenous labour. Training-to-employment education is essential to this growth as local workers must be equipped with the required skills that will allow for the sector to thrive. As such, understanding State interests in non-renewable natural resource and Indigenous labour force development is necessary for understanding where employment training education fits in development plans in the North.

**Summary of the Literature**

This literature review has scanned the body of scholarship that critiques neoliberal governmentality, employment and employment training for the non-renewable natural resource sector, and education in Canada and elsewhere. A discussion of Frances Abele’s work with Senada Delic and Katherine Graham outlined the issues impacting education in the Territorial North. Following this, a brief description of neoliberal governmentality
set the foundation for understanding the critiques of scholars addressed throughout the review. The works of scholars assessing neoliberal governmentality’s impacts on education was then addressed, demonstrating the emphasis the Canadian State and Governments more generally place on establishing educational programming aimed at meeting labour market needs. These critiques were then proven to be highly insightful and effective as a comparison against approaches relying on sociological, SIS and inclusive liberalism perspectives demonstrated the strength of using neoliberal governmentality as a theoretical framework in educational assessment. Lastly, this review reflected on works discussing the role of neoliberalism, the natural sector, and employment for the industry more generally to provide further context of education’s landscape in the Territorial North.

The findings presented in this literature review highlight that there is an educational crisis occurring in Canada’s Territorial North. Through supports such as funding and advertisement, the Federal Government has been targeting and encouraging youth, particularly from Indigenous backgrounds, to pursue education that leads to employment in non-renewable extractive resource industries. With programs predominantly focused on training for this sector, education in the region has been used as a neoliberal governmentality investment tool by the State. Neoliberal governmentality is a form of activity that seeks to mould, guide, and/or affect the conduct of populations to create labour force participants. This thesis will highlight the neoliberal governmentality practices used by Harper’s government by analyzing the instances of three concepts in government programs and funding: education, Indigenous integration, and labour force/ economic development.
1.1 Methodology

The research methodology used in this thesis took its inspiration from sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss’ grounded theory approach. As the scholars explain, grounded theory is “a qualitative research method that uses a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon” (Strauss and Corbin Basics of qualitative research 24). While my research approach did not subscribe to all procedures, I borrowed from the following principles of this approach to guide my process:

- There is a continual interplay between data collection and analysis
- The identification of central concepts and categories
- The significance of the relationships between those concepts and categories, and
- Theory development

Data and Analysis: An interconnected process

As explained by social theorist Roy Suddaby, in grounded theory “decisions about which data should be collected next are determined by the theory that is being constructed” (634). That is, the constant comparison of collected data and analysis drives the direction of the research and the developing theory. My research process began through my interest in Canada’s North and the way the Canadian Government positioned non-renewable resource extractive industries to the region’s development specifically but not exclusively during the period in which Stephen Harper was in office between 2006 and 2015. In delving into the relevant scholarship, the integral role education played in
economic development and the neoliberal activities of the Canadian Government in Canada’s North became quite evident.³

Findings from the literature review directed my research to Government documentation. I wanted to explore neoliberal approaches to Northern development and uncover the Government’s intentions for supporting education related to economic development. To develop an understanding of how the Canadian Government under Stephen Harper directed its approach to the Arctic, I analyzed the Northern Strategy. As the overarching plan for the Canadian Government’s strategies in the North, I used the Northern Strategy as a foundational piece of documentation. My findings from this analysis acted as branches that guided the research. As such, my examination of the Northern Strategy was a grounded theory exercise used to direct the thesis. Figure 1.1 shows the process of data collection and analysis that directed the research. The following discussion further outlines the process of the research and how my theory was developed.

³ Notable scholars in this area include political scientist Frances Abele, who has thoroughly researched the landscape of education in Canada’s Arctic, and geographer Tyler McCreary, whose research astutely demonstrates the problematic entanglement of neoliberal governmentality, education, and the employment of Indigenous peoples in the non-renewable natural resource sector. This scholarship will further be explored in the literature review.
Figure 1.1: Process of Data Collection and Analysis

The Identification of Central Concepts and Categories

As outlined by sociologist Juliet Corbin and Strauss, grounded theory positions concepts and categories as “the cornerstones of a developing theory...they provide the means by which a theory can be integrated” (“Grounded theory research: Procedures, canons and evaluative criteria” 7). As such, researchers who are collecting and analyzing data identify apparent concepts and categories that are central to the phenomenon at hand. In my grounded theory analysis of the Northern Strategy, I borrowed from this approach
by pulling out essential apparent themes: education, indigenous integration, and employment for labour force/ economic development.

These three themes acted as the guidelines for the research. As they are quite broad in scope, I narrowed their meaning to be relevant to their contextualization in the *Northern Strategy*:

**Education:** the program incorporates support for educational programming relating to training-to-employment and skills development/ upgrading for employability purposes. Programs supporting the elementary/secondary schooling system were out of the scope of the education theme.

**Indigenous Integration:** the program is specific to or heavily targeted towards Indigenous populations.

**Employment for labour force/ economic development:** the program addresses labour force development by positioning employment/ job creation as a central outcome/ objective.

The three themes were used to narrow my collection of further data. In search of findings relevant to the Harper Government’s approach to the North, I scanned Government departments who had mandates for Northern development that offered programs and/or funding supports that included each theme. The departments that were selected were the Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency, Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, and Employment and Social Development Canada. While other Federal departments operate in the North, they fall out of the scope of this thesis as their mandates are primarily concerned with other issues.
In analyzing the programs and funding, I examined Government documentation for each department’s programming. This included:

- Program descriptions from Federal Government departments and northern post-secondary institutions;
- Government department annual reports, briefs, performance reports, backgrounders, program evaluations, and audit reports;
- Media releases from academic institutions, Government departments, and relevant news providers; and
- House of Commons’ standing committee reports.

I narrowed the research by noting the programs that met all three themes on a chart (see Table 1.1), and focused my analysis on those that did.

Table 1.1: Education, Indigenous Integration, and Employment for Labour Force/ Economic Development: Relevant Federal Programs and Funding Analysis in this Thesis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency</th>
<th>Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada</th>
<th>Employment and Social Development Canada</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- The Strategic Investments in Northern Development Program (SINED)</td>
<td>- The Post-Secondary Education Program (PSE)</td>
<td>- Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership (ASEP) Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The Northern Adult Basic Education Program (NABEP)</td>
<td>- The First Nations and Inuit Youth Employment Strategy (FNIYES)</td>
<td>- The Aboriginal Human Resources Development Strategy (AHRDS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The Centre for Northern Innovation in Mining (CNIM)</td>
<td>- The Aboriginal Economic Development Strategic Partnerships Initiatives (SPI)</td>
<td>- Aboriginal Skills and Employment Training Strategy (ASETS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The Inuit Learning and Development Project (ILDP)</td>
<td></td>
<td>- The Strategic Partnerships Fund (SPF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The Aboriginal Economic Development Program (AEDP)/ Northern Aboriginal Economic Opportunities Program (NAEOP)</td>
<td></td>
<td>- The Aboriginal Skills and Training Strategic Investment Fund (ASTSIF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- The First Nations Job Fund (FNJF)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1.2 illustrates how I used grounded theory to code the instances of the themes in the government program/ funding initiatives. Using a zig-zag approach, I analyzed the government documentation noted above to identify how the government activity related to the themes that were brought out in the *Northern Strategy*. When activity fell within the theme (as defined in the respective columns on the chart), the activity was noted in the table.
Table 1.2: Coding for Themes in Government Programs and Funding Initiatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Indigenous Integration (Specific to or heavily targeted towards Indigenous populations)</th>
<th>Education (Incorporates support for educational programming relating to training-to-employment and skills development/upgrading for employability purposes)</th>
<th>Employment for Labour Force/Economic Development (Addresses labour force development by positioning employment/job creation as a central outcome/objective)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Strategic Investments in Northern Development Program (SINED)</td>
<td>Not specific to but largely targets Indigenous populations.</td>
<td>Education is not the focus and funds for training was not considered as an eligibility, however supports for skills training to help stimulate economic development opportunities was still provided.</td>
<td>Focus on key economic sectors and economic diversification.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Northern Adult Basic Education Program (NABEP)</td>
<td>Not specific to but largely targets Indigenous populations - Territorial colleges (the recipients) worked with Indigenous communities to create culturally relevant curricula.</td>
<td>Focus on essential skills to help transition people into workforce - namely, vocational training or entry-level positions.</td>
<td>Programming was aligned to labour market needs to ensure greater employability of students.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Centre for Northern Innovation in Mining (CNIM)</td>
<td>Cultural content interwoven in the courses offered and is a central aspect of the centre’s programming.</td>
<td>Offers courses focused on developing entry-level employment for the mining industry.</td>
<td>Focus on Yukon’s mining sector.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Inuit Learning and Development Project (ILDP)</td>
<td>Specific to Inuit peoples who are beneficiaries of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreements.</td>
<td>Skills development through paid work experience in the public sector.</td>
<td>Focus on the Public Service Sector.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Aboriginal Economic Development Program (AEDP)/ Northern Aboriginal Economic Opportunities Program (NAEOP)</td>
<td>Specific to Indigenous peoples.</td>
<td>Program not focused on training education but support for this area was nevertheless provided.</td>
<td>Focus on economic development projects and important sectors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program</td>
<td>Indigenous Integration</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Employment for Labour Force/Economic Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership (ASEP) Program</td>
<td>Specific to Indigenous peoples. Program developed partnerships with Indigenous organizations.</td>
<td>Focus on training for employment through practical work experience in major resource development sector.</td>
<td>Major resource development sectors were the target, including mining, construction, tourism, oil and gas, forestry, hydro and public infrastructure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Aboriginal Human Resources Development Strategy (AHRDS)</td>
<td>Specific to Indigenous peoples. Focused on partnerships with Aboriginal organizations.</td>
<td>Focus on providing funding to support labour market training.</td>
<td>Focus on labour market needs of the specific communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal Skills and Employment Training Strategy (ASETS)</td>
<td>Specific to Indigenous peoples.</td>
<td>Offers skills training and development.</td>
<td>Focus on labour market needs, employee demands, industry skills shortages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Strategic Partnerships Fund (SPF)</td>
<td>Focus on Indigenous populations and partnerships with Indigenous organizations.</td>
<td>Vast majority of projects under SPF funding are training-to-employment initiatives.</td>
<td>Not specifically designed to target the natural resource sector like ASEP, but supporting these sectors was of importance to SPF.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Aboriginal Skills and Training Strategic Investment Fund (ASTSIF)</td>
<td>Specific to Indigenous peoples. Largely targeted people residing in more remote and isolated communities where fewer job opportunities exist and substance abuse, poverty, and illiteracy are more prevalent</td>
<td>Short-term training and skills upgrading needed to obtain employment.</td>
<td>Majority of projects focused on specific economic sectors, namely, construction, health care, mining and energy, fisheries and aquaculture, retail, hospitality and tourism, and the service sector.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The First Nations Job Fund (FNJF)</td>
<td>Specific to Indigenous peoples and helping Indigenous youth on-reserve transition off income support.</td>
<td>Skills assessment and training, and job coaching provided.</td>
<td>Focus on demand-driven areas and Canada’s labour needs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program</td>
<td>Indigenous Integration</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Employment for Labour Force/Economic Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Post-Secondary Education Program (PSE)</strong></td>
<td>The funding is provided to Chiefs and Councils, designated organizations, directly to individual registered First Nation, Innu, and Inuit participants, and to Inuit students who are residents outside of Nunavut or the Northwest Territories.</td>
<td>Supporting students to achieve high demand jobs.</td>
<td>Focus on meeting labour market needs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The First Nations and Inuit Youth Employment Strategy (FNIYES)</strong></td>
<td>Offered to First Nations and Inuit youth between the ages of 15-30 who are on-reserve residents or residents in recognized communities.</td>
<td>Help youth develop and enhance essential employability skills; get exposed to a variety of career options; understand the benefits of education as key to labour market participation; and gain co-operative education work and study opportunities.</td>
<td>Focused on increasing participation in Canada’s labour market.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Aboriginal Economic Development Strategic Partnerships Initiatives (SPI)</strong></td>
<td>Specific to Indigenous peoples.</td>
<td>While not the sole purpose, education initiatives concerned with skills training for labour force development is incorporated in the programming.</td>
<td>Focus on key sectors of the Canadian economy, namely, mining, fisheries, forestry, agriculture, and energy. Nevertheless, other major development opportunities such as pipelines, potash, and major hydro development projects have been supported.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Relationships between Concepts and Categories

Grounded theory not only emphasizes the identification of concepts and categories, but also is concerned in the ways that they relate to one another. In this, researchers hypothesize about the relationships between the categories and verify/validate those relationships through their research process (Corbin and Strauss 11). The thematic approach I used when analyzing the programs and supports was focused on the intersectional relationship of the three central themes. As my guiding research interests were on the manifestation of the thematic intersections and if they reflected neoliberal government activity, I observed how the themes came together in each program, recorded the activity that demonstrated the intersection (as seen in Figure 1.2) and in turn, examined the themes from a collective rather than segmented perspective. Doing so allowed for the identification of problematic issues resulting from the intersection and the subsequent analysis of the issues from a neoliberal perspective.

Theory Development

As explained by Corbin and Strauss when discussing the process of theory development in grounded theory:

... there is built into this style of extensive interrelated data collection and theoretical analysis an explicit mandate to strive toward verification of its resulting hypothesis (statements of relationships between concepts) (Strauss and Corbin “Grounded Theory Methodology” 274).
A significant aspect of grounded theory is to develop a theory based on the categories and concepts, and the relationships between them. The approach I used to develop my research findings was derived from this principle as investigating the relationships between the themes was the essence of my research focus; namely, if neoliberalism became prevalent when all three themes came together and incorporated into Federal programs and funding supports (refer to Figure 1.2 on the following page for further details on the research process). As such, the theory I developed was that neoliberal activity emerges when the three themes are intersected within Federal programming and funding, and constant comparison continually supported this theory.\footnote{While this thesis analyzes Federal Government activity, it is significant to note the levels of linkages. This thesis analyzes the institutional capacity but there are other levels of scale that impact educational programming and planning.}
As demonstrated by Figure 1.2 when the three themes came together in each department’s programs/funding, certain activities were practiced, as seen in box “Program and Funding Activity. Through analysis of these activities using the findings and theories developed by scholars identified in the literature review – namely, McCreary, Burchell, Gordon and Miller, Lemke, Young and McDermott, and Olssen and Peters – I confirmed my theory that the intersection led to Neoliberal practices, as demonstrated in the box “Neoliberal Activity”.
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“Yukon College to Yukon University (YukonU).” *Yukon College*. Yukon College, n.a. Web. 21 June 2017

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CHAPTER 2: THE NORTHERN STRATEGY: UNDERSTANDING FEDERAL INTERESTS FOR EDUCATING THE NORTH

ABSTRACT: This chapter will outline the agenda of the Canadian Government under Stephen Harper for the three Northern Territories by examining the Northern Strategy. As a grounded methodology exercise used to determine the direction of the thesis research, major themes that appear in the document will be highlighted; namely, Indigenous integration, employment for labour force/ economic development, and education. Furthermore, the problematic way that educational programming is framed within the document will be addressed.

Introduction: The Northern Strategy

In 2009, the Federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (now known as Indigenous Affairs and Northern Development) released a comprehensive plan to guide Federal development initiatives in Northern Canada. Through explanation of four priority areas, the Northern Strategy describes the Federal Government’s approach for achieving its clear vision of development in the North. Understanding the priorities of the Northern Strategy is essential for understanding Federal interests in education in the region. As the Northern Strategy was the guiding policy document for Federal activity in the North, I analyzed the strategy as a grounded methodology exercise used to determine the key concepts that will be examined and researched in the thesis. The strategy is quite significant as it exposes central themes of Federal interests in the North. In contrast to the document titles - Exercising our Arctic, Promoting Social and Economic Development, Protecting our Environmental Heritage, Improving and
Devolving Northern Governance, and The International Dimension of our Northern Strategy – by using an open coding process three clear themes emerged from the Northern Strategy document. These are: Indigenous integration, employment for labour force/economic development, and education.

Table 2.1: Open Coding Northern Strategy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Open Code</th>
<th>Northern Strategy Words and Phrases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Indigenous Integration         | - The North is home to many Inuit and other Aboriginal peoples  
- The longstanding presence of Inuit and other Aboriginal peoples ... are fundamental to our history  
- Canada's North is first and foremost about people – the Inuit, other Aboriginal peoples and Northerners who have made the North their home, and the Canadians in other parts of the country who recognize how central it is to our shared heritage and our destiny as a nation  
- Inuit – which means "people" in Inuktitut – have occupied Canada's Arctic lands and waterways for millennia... Our nation's strong presence in the Arctic today is due in large part to the contributions of Inuit, who continue to inhabit the North.  
- Economic and social development in the North helps ensure ... that Northerners participate in and benefit from development  
- The Aboriginal Pipeline Group will provide for Aboriginal participation in the developing economy  
- Create sustainable employment for Aboriginal people  
- Build prosperous Aboriginal and Northern communities |
| Employment for Labour Force/ Economic Development | - Promote a prosperous and stable [Northern] region responsive to Canadian interests and values.  
- Develop the region's vast natural resources and to diversify the region's economies  
- From the development of world-class diamond mines and massive oil and gas reserves, to the growth of commercial fisheries, to a thriving tourism industry that attracts visitors from around the globe, the enormous economic potential of the North is being unlocked.  
- Mining activities and major projects such as the Mackenzie Gas Project are the cornerstones of sustained economic activity in the North and the key to building prosperous Aboriginal and Northern communities  
- The Aboriginal Pipeline Group will provide for Aboriginal participation in the developing economy  
- Ensure Northern citizens develop the skills, knowledge and credentials they need to excel in a fast-changing economy  
- The territories receive federal support for targeted initiatives to address specific challenges in the North, such as for labour market training  
- Create sustainable employment for Aboriginal people across Canada in major industries like mining, oil and gas, and hydro-electricity |
| Education                      | - Areas that require urgent attention – such as... education – are being addressed to help ensure Northerners are positioned to seize these unprecedented opportunities.  
- To ensure Northern citizens develop the skills, knowledge and credentials they need to excel in a fast-changing economy, we have invested in a range of supportive programs.  
- We are also addressing the need for...skills development and other services through targeted investments  
- The successful Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership initiative, for example, is a tripartite initiative involving the federal government, Aboriginal groups and industry to create sustainable employment for Aboriginal people across Canada in major industries like mining, oil and gas, and hydro-electricity. |
What is the “North”? 

The “North” can be defined in a variety of ways. As explained by historian William R. Morrison, “the Canadian North is in some ways not a physical region at all” but is rather a construction of various ideas and imaginations (Morrison 1). A common vision of Canada’s North depicts a frozen and desolate landscape (Bone 1). Predominantly, this vision does not include a human presence, and when it does, Morrison explains, “it is sometimes no more than a suggestion – an igloo, a carving, or an inukshuk… standing on a lonely point” (Morrison 1). The region is also casted as a last frontier where economic opportunities from the land abound. This image that concentrates on the potential riches of the region was depicted by early writers, such as Agnes Deans Cameron, in 1908 (Stuhl 99), and is still prevalent today (Bone 1). In contrast to both of these definitions of Canada’s North is the homeland perspective. As Robert Bone explains, “[f]or Aboriginal peoples, the North is their homeland where comprehensive land claims provide them with more control over their destiny within Canada” (Bone 1).

Defining Canada’s North is challenging and attempting to construct a sound definition leads to a number of Northern conditions and characteristics being unrepresented (Bone 2). Nevertheless, the Northern Strategy defines the North politically and represents the region as consisting solely Canada’s three Northern Territories: Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut. While the narrowness provides the Government with easier manageability for executing the Northern Strategy, the definition does not recognize that Northern conditions exist “on both sides of the sixtieth parallel” (Bone 2). Physiographically, for instance, the Canadian North is quite expansive. The
region encompasses 76 per cent of Canada’s landmass whereas the three territories cover 40 per cent (Bone 4). Moreover, the two natural biomes of Canada’s North, the Arctic and the Subarctic, not only exist in the Territories but also reach into seven of the provinces (Bone 2).

In terms of the human geography, the strategy draws significant attention to the Indigenous population:

Our nation’s strong presence in the Arctic today is due in large part to the contributions of Inuit, who continue to inhabit the North. The lands just south of the Arctic Circle have been occupied for thousands of years by the ancestors of today’s Aboriginal peoples including the Dene, Gwich’in, Cree and Metis. Today, these Aboriginal peoples live in communities across the Yukon, southern Northwest Territories and Northern border regions of mainland provinces (Northern Strategy 3).

While there is brief mention of settler societies and southerners who have moved to the North, the strategy places much greater emphasis on the role Indigenous populations have played in making the North a homeland. Given this emphasis, the Northern population is generally defined as Indigenous.

Reflecting on how the Northern Strategy defines the Canadian North is essential for understanding where and who will be most impacted by its plans. Evidently, the strategy is highly focused on the Territorial North and its Indigenous inhabitants. Keeping this definition in mind, the following section will outline the Northern Strategy's vision and priority areas.
**A Vision for Northern Development**

In four descriptive and broad points, the *Northern Strategy* details the Federal Government’s vision for the North. It is to be a place where:

- Self-reliant individuals live in healthy, vital communities, manage their own affairs and shape their own destinies;
- The Northern tradition of respect for the land and the environment is paramount and the principles of responsible and sustainable development anchor all decision-making and action;
- Strong, responsible, accountable governments work together for a vibrant, prosperous future for all – a place whose people and governments are significant contributing partners to a dynamic, secure Canadian federation; and
- We patrol and protect our territory through enhanced presence on the land, in the sea and over the skies of the Arctic (*Northern Strategy* 1).

To achieve this all encompassing and ambitious vision, the Canadian Government strategized to focus all activities under four priority areas: “exercising our Arctic sovereignty”, “promoting social and economic development”, “protecting our environmental heritage”, and “improving and devolving northern governance” (*Northern Strategy* 2). The first pillar, “exercising our Arctic sovereignty”, focused on the Federal Government’s first priority, “maintaining a strong presence in the North, enhancing our stewardship of the region, defining our domain and advancing our knowledge of the region” (9). The second pillar, “promoting social and economic development”, discussed initiatives that help “ensure that the vast potential of the Arctic region is realized in a sustainable way and that Northerners participate in and benefit from development” (14).
The strategy outlined how such initiatives “build self-sufficient, vibrant, and healthy Northern communities” (14). The third pillar, “protecting our environmental heritage”, discussed the impacts of climate change on the North’s environment and highlighted how the Federal Government planned to ensure that Northern ecosystems “are safeguarded for future generations” (24). Lastly, the fourth pillar, “improving and devolving northern governance”, explained the Federal Government’s plans on transferring control over land and resource management to territorial government (28).

**Indigenous Integration, Employment for Labour Force/ Economic Development, and Education**

Three themes are clearly important within the *Northern Strategy* and are all highly interrelated: Indigenous integration, education, and employment for a Northern labour force and economic development. For example, the economic potential the North offers, most specifically through the development of the region’s natural resource riches, is a reoccurring topic throughout the strategy. Resource projects are described as the “cornerstones of sustained economic activity in the North and the key to building prosperous Aboriginal Northern communities” (15) through means such as greater employment opportunities and devolving responsibilities to Northern governments. As well, the resource potential of the region and the subsequent international attention the area is receiving is highlighted as an important reason for exercising greater Arctic sovereignty. Moreover, discussion on how to develop natural resources responsibly makes up the majority of the environmental heritage pillar. Other areas of potential development are mentioned, namely, commercial fishing and the tourism industry, yet these industries are not as fervently discussed as the non-renewable natural resource
sector. The vast potential of mining, and oil and gas reserves are highlighted as “unprecedented opportunities” (5) that must be seized, and most specifically, seized by Indigenous peoples.

The non-renewable natural resource sector therefore receives extensive attention in the Northern Strategy. As a result, other significant areas that are in urgent need of attention to help enhance the well-being of Northerners, such as health care, housing and critical infrastructure, were instead discussed as areas in need of advancement to help foster extractive industries. Most particularly, education was positioned as an instrument that can assist in the development of the non-renewable resource sector.

Northern Strategy and Education

Education is an all-encompassing term for a variety of instructional forms. As explained by education scholar, Rosemary S. Caffarella, “[e]ducational programming… come in all shapes, sizes, and formats” (Caffarella 1). To name a few examples, an education may refer to the achievement of degrees, diplomas, or certificates received through post-secondary institutions such as universities or colleges. Additionally, education may be attained through participation in workshops, conferences, or professional development plans and can be accessed through in-person participation or distance learning (Caffarella 1).

While a vast variety of educational modes exist, the Northern Strategy framed education in one way; training-to-employment schooling and targeted skills development needed to employ Northerners, and most particularly, Aboriginal groups, in the non-renewable resource sector (Northern Strategy 19). In this, the Strategy highlighted the
Federal Government’s support for education through initiatives like the Employment and Social Development Canada’s (ESDC) Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership (ASEP) program that helped to “create sustainable employment for Aboriginal people” in “major industries like mining, oil and gas, and hydro-electricity” (21). Also noted was “federal support for targeted initiatives to address specific challenges in the North, such as for labour market training” (21). Through these targeted investments the Federal Government explained that they are supporting “healthy and vibrant communities” and overall, the well-being of northerners (19).

While the Northern Strategy was the leading document that guided the Conservative Government’s Northern initiatives, including education, a number of sources from the Government of Canada that discuss education show similar interests. For instance, the Speech from the Throne in both 2006 and 2008, and the Budget from 2007, 2010 and 2012 noted the Government of Canada’s commitment to fostering the well-being of the Indigenous population through educational skills training and economic development. Moreover, the Federal Framework for Aboriginal Economic Development (2009) emphasized the importance of developing “Aboriginal human capital” as a means of enhancing well-being through skills training and support of “demand-driven labour market development” and private-sector partnerships. Evidently, even beyond the Northern Strategy, the intersection of Indigenous peoples, education, and employment for labour force/economic development was a trend that was present amongst a variety of Government documents.
Conclusion

This grounded theory exercise of analyzing the *Northern Strategy* highlighted the important relationship between three themes - Indigenous integration, education, and employment for labour force/ economic development – that was apparent in Conservative Federal approaches to the Territorial North. Framed as the key to enhancing Northerners’, and most particularly Indigenous well-being, fostering extractive industries and gaining employment in the resource sector was highly emphasized. To facilitate this industry growth, educating Indigenous populations for skills employment was problematically positioned as a solution. Having derived these three key concepts from this grounded theory exercise, the following chapters will use these themes to direct an analysis that will explore the extent that neoliberalism was prevalent in Conservative Federal activity in the North.
Bibliography


CHAPTER 3: FUNDING AND PROGRAMMING

ABSTRACT: The following chapter discusses the three Federal departments that were central to the Harper Government’s strategy in Canada’s Northern Territories; the Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency (CanNor), Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC), and Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC).

CanNor, ESDC, and INAC were three central Government departments that offered programs and funding to support Canada’s North during Stephen Harper’s time as Prime Minister. Subsequently, CanNor and ESDC continue to operate as Departments within the Canadian Government, although INAC has now been broken into two departments. By examining each of the departments and their programs and funding that intersected Indigenous integration, education, and employment for labour force/ economic development, this chapter furthers the discussions on the three themes identified in the analysis of the Northern Strategy - a grounded theory methodology exercise that determined the key themes that directed the research. Throughout the chapter, a sound understanding of the aims, activities, and funding levels of each program will be established.

3.1: The Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency (CanNor)

Established in 2009, CanNor is focused on developing the economy in Canada’s Territorial North. The agency works closely with Northern communities, Federal departments, and industry partners to respond to economic challenges and opportunities in the region (“About Us” CanNor). Headquartered in Iqaluit, with regional offices in Whitehorse, Yellowknife and a liaison office in Ottawa, CanNor aims to foster its vision:
[developing] a strong, diversified, sustainable and dynamic economy for Northerners, including Aboriginal Peoples, communities and businesses … that contributes to Canada’s prosperity (Strategic Framework 3).

With this vision at the forefront of the agency’s activities, CanNor’s mandate is to foster regional economic development in the Territorial North by “delivering programs; building partnerships to leverage investments in the North; and advocating for the interests of Northerners, including Aboriginal Peoples” (Strategic framework 3). Through three lines of services, namely, contribution programs, the Northern Projects Management Office, and acting as a voice for the region, CanNor works to deliver its mandate (“About Us” CanNor).

The following section discusses the intersection of education, Indigenous integration, and employment for labour force/ economic development within CanNor programs that were offered during the Harper era. It examines several specific funding supports/ programs: the Strategic Investments in Northern Development Program (SINED); the Northern Adult Basic Education Program (NABEP); the Centre for Northern Innovation in Mining (CNIM); the Inuit Learning and Development Project (ILDP) and; the Aboriginal Economic Development Program (AEDP)/ Northern Aboriginal Economic Opportunities Program (NAEOP).

**Strategic Investments in Northern Development Program (SINED)**

SINED is a group of programs that is still in operation and provides funding support for Northern economic development (Evaluation of the Strategic Investments for Northern Economic Development Final Report 1). The program’s goal is “to promote the
economic development of the North, in order to strengthen territorial economics and increase participation by Northerners” (i). First established in 2004, SINED was attributed $90 million and was delivered through AANDC (4). The program suite was renewed as part of the Canada’s Economic Action Plan and transferred in 2009 to CanNor (1). The administration of the SINED program was to be CanNor’s primary activity (4). With the renewal, another $90 million was allocated for additional five years for the program’s delivery (4). SINED is comprised of four programs: the Targeted Investment Program (TIP), the Innovation and Knowledge Fund (IKF), the Partnership and Advisory Forums Fund (PAFF), and the Pan-Territorial Fund (PTF)(4).

**Targeted Investment Program (TIP)**

As the most largely funded SINED program, $67 million was allocated to the TIP to be evenly distributed over a five-year period to the three territories. As outlined in AANDC’s evaluation of SINED, the TIP is comprised of four streams:

- Building the knowledge base in key economic sectors to help set the stage for further economic opportunities. … Enhancing the economic infrastructure base. … Capacity development of organizations, associations, small and medium enterprises and individuals to help them take advantage of economic opportunities. … [and] Economic diversification within regions and sectors with a focus on the development of new sectors, products, and markets (*Evaluation of the Strategic Investments for Northern Economic Development: Conducted by AANDC on Behalf of CanNor* 5).
Innovation and Knowledge Fund (IKF)

The IKF received $7.5 million over five years to be allocated equally to the territories. The purpose of the IKF is to “help Northerners seize opportunities in the new economy, and further science and technology” (8). This stream is delivered through focus on three themes: Innovation, for initiatives that concern “new or adaptations to products, services, or processes”; Knowledge, for projects relating to the “production/dissemination, access to, increased understanding and ability to use”; and Knowledge-based economy, for projects supporting the “greater dependence on knowledge, information and high skills levels by business and the public sector” (7).

Partnership Advisory Forums (PAF)

$1.5 million was allocated to the PAF in 2009 for a five-year period for use across all three territories. The intent of the PAF is to “increase dialogue on northern economic development issues and help increase capacity in delivering projects in the North” (8). Additionally, funded initiatives for this stream aim to:

- increase knowledge, skills, and understanding related to the roles and responsibilities of the various players involved in economic development in the territories and supporting stakeholders at the local, regional, territorial or pan-territorial levels (8).

Pan-Territorial Fund (PTF)

The PTF is the newest of the programs and was introduced following SINED’s renewal in 2009. For distribution over a four-year period, the program was allocated $5
million. The intent of the PTF is to support “[p]rojects that promote inter-jurisdictional cooperation and include multiple territories or a territory and one or more provinces” (Strategic Investments for Northern Economic Development (SINED)).

While education is not the focus of any SINED program nor is training for an individual considered eligible under any stream (Evaluation of the Strategic Investments for Northern Economic Development: Conducted by AANDC on Behalf of CanNor 6), funding has still been provided to support the delivery of skills training. For instance, review of SINED activity revealed that a significant portion of funding under all streams was allocated to capacity projects. Specifically, between 2007 and 2012, approximately $67 million of SINED funding was allocated to capacity funding (41).

The first category under the capacity project stream was identified as “training/skills development – including development of training tools/ materials, training programs/ curriculum, e-training, skills inventories, training plans/ strategies, training software, training assets and facilities” (23). While the majority of capacity funds were allocated to projects concerning research (i.e., feasibility studies, surveys, mapping, and pilot projects), the second most heavily funded area was distributed to training/ skills development with $9,111,880 allocated (42). Within the mining sector specifically, SINED invested $5,053,693 between 2007/8-2011/12. Of this, 88% was allocated to capacity building projects to major recipients such as the Mine Training Societies in NWT and Yukon (41). Therefore, although SINED does not provide funding for direct training and skills development for individual people, the suite of programs still supported this area indirectly.
Northern Adult Basic Education Program (NABEP)

The Northern Adult Basic Education Program is intended to provide Northerners with the skills needed to access employment training and in turn, better position themselves to participate in the labour market (Northern Adult Basic Education (NABE) Program). The program aims to improve basic skills in literacy and numeracy as well as workplace skills related to job specific tasks such as computer knowledge and use. As stated in CanNor’s description of the program, NABEP “will prepare working age adults to either enter the workforce directly, or to take vocational training before entering the workforce” (New Northern Adult Basic Education Program). As of summer 2015, 2800 Northerners had been educated through NABEP (Harper Government Makes Record Investment in Regional Economic Diversification across the North).

The program was designed to address the distinct challenges faced by the Northern population; namely, the lack of basic education skills that prevents the vast majority of the populace from participating in the expanding labour market and in job training (New Northern Adult Basic Education Program). In working closely with program partners from territorial colleges and industries, the NABE programming is aligned with labour market needs to ensure greater employability of the students.

In the 2011-2012 fiscal year, the Canadian Government invested $27 million over a five year period in NABEP (Northern Adult Basic Education (NABE) Program). Stated in the Office of the Prime Minister’s announcement of the funding was that the investment was “fulfilling a 2011 Speech from the Throne commitment to increase education and employment levels in the Territories” (New Northern Adult Basic
Education Program). The funding is allocated to colleges in the North, namely, Aurora College in the Northwest Territories, Yukon College, and Nunavut Arctic College, and is used for the improvement of their adult basic education services (Northern Adult Basic Education (NABE) Program). According to the program’s description, the funding is distributed “based on each territory's adult basic education needs, and calculated according to each territory's share of working age Northerners lacking a grade 12 education” (Northern Adult Basic Education (NABE) Program). The following section highlights the distinctive ways that each college made use of the funding.

**Yukon:** $4,591,963 allocated for the period 2011-2012 to 2015/2016 (McCue).

Yukon College worked closely with the territories’ 14 First Nations to identify the following key initiatives for use of the NABEP funding:

- creating culturally relevant tools that will assess 'prior learning' to recognize the knowledge gained by individuals through life and learning experiences; integrating life skills into its new programming to help people make better decisions about their education and career goals;
- providing a comprehensive and integrated approach to learning through cooperation with First Nation government departments, community agencies, and other support networks; enhancing community programming to better prepare students to access local labour market opportunities specifically in the trades, mining, and environmental training; and enhancing delivery of college preparatory courses to adult learners so more Yukoners can access post-secondary programs and
employment opportunities (Backgrounder – CanNor Invests in Adult Basic Education in the Yukon).

According to a Yukon College press release, the funding was used to design programs that provide “basic essential practical skills as well as life [skills] support. Upon successful completion, students will be equipped to take on further vocational training or entry-level positions in their community” (CanNor funding helps Yukon communities address skills deficit). In this, courses offer training for a range of skills in “outdoor power equipment maintenance to trades exploration to cultural arts” (CanNor funding helps Yukon communities address skills deficit).

In total, Yukon College developed twelve skills for employment programs, and two college preparation programs with the NABEP funds (McCue). Evidently lacking in Yukon College’s use of the NABEP funding is the academic piece that is critical to the program’s mandate. NABEP is intended to increase the levels of basic literacy and numeracy, in addition to contributing to employment and skills training. Nevertheless, Yukon College largely focused on the latter.

Northwest Territories: $9,258,793 allocated for the period 2011-2012 to 2015/2016 (McCue).

Aurora College planned to make use of the funding to “develop new programs and improve existing programs that … provide Northerners with the tools and skills required to obtain jobs in the region’s growing economic sectors, such as mining, construction and tourism”. In doing so, the college planned on upgrading the skills and
literacy of Northerners to increase the local labour pool for employers and industry (Aurora College receives funding for Adult Literacy & Basic Education).

Aurora College focused program design on both basic academic skills and workplace skills. Courses are offered for a range of educational upgrading, for instance, the following chart highlights Adult Learning Basic Education (ALBE) courses and the grade equivalency of skills developed:

Table 3.1: ALBE courses and Grade Equivalency of Skills

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th># of hours</th>
<th>Passing Mark</th>
<th>Approximate Grade Equivalency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English 110</td>
<td>210 hours</td>
<td>60% overall</td>
<td>Grades 1-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English 120</td>
<td>210 hours</td>
<td>60% overall</td>
<td>Grades 4-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English 130</td>
<td>210 hours</td>
<td>60% overall</td>
<td>Grades 7-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English 140</td>
<td>210 hours</td>
<td>60% overall</td>
<td>Grades 10-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English 150</td>
<td>210 hours</td>
<td>50% overall</td>
<td>Grade 12 English Language Arts 30-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English 160</td>
<td>210 hours</td>
<td>50% overall</td>
<td>Grade 12 English Language Arts 30-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Math 110</td>
<td>150 hours</td>
<td>60% overall, no exit exam</td>
<td>Grades 1-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Math 120</td>
<td>150 hours</td>
<td>60% overall</td>
<td>Grades 4-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Math 130</td>
<td>150 hours</td>
<td>60% overall</td>
<td>Grades 7-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Math 140</td>
<td>150 hours</td>
<td>60% overall</td>
<td>Grade 9 and Common Math 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Math 145</td>
<td>150 hours</td>
<td>60% overall</td>
<td>Grade 11 (Math 20-2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Math 150</td>
<td>150 hours</td>
<td>50% overall</td>
<td>Grade 12 (Math 30-2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Math 160</td>
<td>150 hours</td>
<td>50% overall</td>
<td>Grade 12 (Math 30-1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: McCue, *Sample ALBE Equivalencies Chart*).
As demonstrated in the chart, the range of educational levels incorporated in Aurora College courses allows for continual academic upgrading in literacy and numeracy that in turn, supports the ongoing education of individuals.

Like Yukon College, Aurora College partnered with Indigenous representatives to develop the NABE programming. To emphasize the importance of Indigenous recognition in the NABEP, the college portrays their partnerships through the “NABE partnership drum” (NABE Essential Skills Course) as seen in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1: NABE Partnership Drum (Source: Aurora College, NABE Partnership Drum).

A highly recognized traditional item, the drum, as seen in the graphic, symbolizes the significance of Aurora College’s partners and more so, the importance of Indigenous culture in the NABE programming.

*Nunavut: $11,105,559 allocated for the period 2011-2012 to 2015/2016 (McCue).*
Nunavut Arctic College made use of the NABEP funding to help students, “[d]evelop employability skills that will assist them in being able to find and secure employment; develop increased confidence in their abilities and sense of self; and increase their academic levels so that they can continue onto further learning, including post-secondary education” (The Canadian Career Development Foundation (CCDF) 4). A key direction that Nunavut Arctic College took with their NABEP funding was to better support adult learners who wished to enter the labour market (CCDF 3). According to the college’s case study on the enhanced NABEP programming, NABEP funding was used to better support this group of learners by “developing an ‘enhanced’ ABE program through the incorporation of Workplace Essential Skills (ES) into the curriculum” (CCDF 3). By doing so, the college hoped to allow “students to continue to increase their academic levels, while also gaining key ES should they choose to seek employment” (CCDF 3).

Nunavut Arctic College designed the program content around ESDC’s Essential Skills: Reading; Writing; Document use; Numeracy; Computer use/digital skills; Thinking; Oral communication; Working with others; and Continuous learning (What are essential skills?). In addition, the college incorporated three other essential skills that were specific to Inuit culture: Inuktittut literacy; Understanding the Concepts of Inuit Values; and Creating and Nurturing Personal Wellness (CCDF 3). Similar to Aurora College, Nunavut Arctic College provides a balance of teaching employability skills with academic upgrading. Through the interwoven structure of the program, students receive education concerning both areas.

Indigenization through the incorporation of Inuit culture and language was central to the way the college designed the program. As explained by the case study, the focus of
the program is “based in the Inuit belief and value that the purpose of education is to create an able human being or an innummarik – an able person who can act with wisdom” (CCDF 4). As well, the principles of the program’s instructional approach were highly aligned to the recognition of Inuit culture.

Centre for Northern Innovation in Mining (CNIM) at Yukon College Funding

Announced in the 2013 Action Plan Budget, CanNor provided $5.6 million to support the capital funding of Yukon College’s CNIM, an educational centre focused on mining that is still operational. Matched by the Yukon Government, the funding was used to construct and renovate buildings at Yukon College's main campus in Whitehorse. As well, the funding helped with the purchase of mobile training facilities and equipment (Mr. Mitch Bloom (Acting President, Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency) at the Environment and Sustainable Development Committee).

The purpose of the centre is to deliver education and training that will help build skilled workers for entry level employment in Yukon’s mining sector (About CNIM). Over the decade from the time of its establishment, the centre announced that it planned to educate more than a thousand Yukoners in mine career training. Specifically, in the first five years CNIM representation stated that centre planned to create approximately 40 construction jobs (News Release: PM (Stephen Harper) announces support for Northern Innovation in Mining) and graduate up to 520 students in accredited trades, mining, and apprenticeships, with 710 completing shorter courses in areas such as safety training (Mr. Mitch Bloom (Acting President, Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency) at the Environment and Sustainable Development Committee).
The centre works closely with the industry in order to tailor its programming to meet the employment and research needs of mining companies (Centre for Northern Innovation in Mining 4). One of CNIM’s closest partners is the Yukon Mine Training Association (YMTA). YMTA acts as “a link between Yukon First Nations and Yukon’s mining and resource-related industries” (Yukon Mine Training Association). The association’s central goal is to train and develop a skilled workforce comprised of First Nations and Yukoners in order to address the needs of the mining and resource sectors.

To CNIM, attracting First Nations individuals to mining is of central concern. Yet, reaching First Nations students is difficult as many live in remote areas far away from institutions. In response to these geographical challenges, CNIM developed mobile educational services. Through a $1.6 million mobile training trailer that can accommodate up to 25 students, trades training for welding, electrical work, millwrighting and pipefitting is offered to any Yukon community that is accessible by road (Centre for Northern Innovation in Mining 6).

The centre’s educational programming is largely focused on practical learning experiences. For instance, students in the Introduction to Underground Mining course have two weeks of classroom preparation and are then placed on an operations site where they follow a typical mining work cycle, namely, by working two weeks on and two weeks off for 10 hour shifts. As explained in CNIM’s descriptive report “[s]tudents experience work camp life and learn underground mine safety, the mining process and how to operate mine equipment” and by doing so, CNIM hopes that “[a]t the end of the program students are well placed for entry-level employment in an operating mine” (8).
In addition to the practical emphasis on instruction, Yukon College incorporates knowledge on Yukon First Nations as a core competency in the CNIM programs. The college stresses the importance of this core competency by stating that the “[g]reater understanding and awareness of Yukon First Nations history, culture and journey towards self-determination will help to build positive relationships among all Yukon citizens” (Yukon First Nations Core Competency). In this, students learn six central topics concerning Yukon First Nations: history, heritage and culture, governance, residential schools, contemporary issues and world views (Yukon First Nations Core Competency).

**The Inuit Learning and Development Project (ILDP)**

First offered in 2013, the ILDP is a collaborative pre-employment and job training initiative between the Government of Canada, Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. (NTI), and the Qikiqtaaluk Corporation (QC) (The Inuit Learning and Development Project). Based in Iqaluit, the 16-month program aims to help beneficiaries of Nunavut Land Claims Agreements develop skills for employment with Nunavut’s public service.

Participants complete 4 month paid work assignments in various positions within the involved organizations in order to learn and gain practical skills applicable to public service careers. Mentors are matched up to the participants to help them throughout the program and provide additional coaching. Each participant also receives a personal learning plan that outlines recommended next stages for education and training to help them advance in the public service sector (The Inuit Learning and Development Project).

From 2013 to 2016, 12 participants graduated from the ILDP. According to CanNor’s description of the participants, “many… have been successful in gaining public
service employment” (The Inuit Learning and Development Project). However, job placement is not guaranteed with program completion. Instead, successful participants get placed in a “pre-assessed pool for consideration for term or indeterminate jobs within the Government of Canada, the Government of Nunavut and Nunavut Tunngavik Inc.” (Northern Organizations Partner to Improve Inuit Employment).

**Aboriginal Economic Development Program (AEDP) and the Northern Aboriginal Economic Opportunities Program (NAEOP)**

Originally delivered by AANDC, the AEDP was transferred to CanNor in 2009. Allocating $10.8 million in funding annually to Northern Aboriginal communities and businesses, the aim of the program was to increase the number of Northern Indigenous peoples participating in the Canadian economy (Frequently Asked Questions – Northern Aboriginal Economic Opportunities Program (NAEOP). Through this funding, CanNor claims to have supported a wide array of Aboriginal businesses in the territories and helped develop a “skilled Aboriginal workforce” (Departmental Sustainable Development Strategy).

From 2009 to 2013, CanNor offered four funding streams under the AEDP:

1. The Community Economic Development Program (CEDP): this stream provided financial support to Indigenous communities for economic development initiatives including planning and capacity development, proposal development, leveraging financial resources, and undergoing various other initiatives relating to economic development.
2. The Community Service Support Program (CSSP): this option provided funds to support national or regional plans of First Nation community economic development organizations. The program supported services that aimed to increase the capacity of community organizations to deliver economic development projects and activities.

3. The Community Economic Opportunities Program (CEOP): this stream provided funding to Indigenous communities for specific projects related to economic development.

4. Aboriginal Business Development Canada (ABDC): this funding supported the establishment and growth of Aboriginal businesses. Funding was provided to support business planning, start-up and acquisitions, expansion and marketing (Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency (DRAFT) CanNor Action Plan Response to OAG Performance Audit Findings/Recommendations).

In the 2013-2014 year, the AEDP underwent changes and was renamed the Northern Aboriginal Economic Opportunities Program (NAEOP). The funding strands were then streamlined from four to two in order to “better support increased participation of Aboriginal Canadians in economic opportunities in the North” (Northern Aboriginal Economic Opportunities Program (NAEOP) and 2013-2014 Departmental Performance Report). Differing from the AEDP’s population-based and formula-driven approach, the NAEOP consists of project-based applications for specific economic opportunities under the following streams:
1. The Community Readiness and Opportunities Planning (CROP) stream: this is provided to First Nations and Inuit communities and organizations in order to help them plan for and participate in economic opportunities (Community Readiness and Opportunities Planning (CROP)).

2. The Entrepreneurship and Business Development (EBD) stream: this supports Aboriginal entrepreneurs in establishing or expanding their businesses.

Unlike the CROP, EBD places emphasis on resource development (Entrepreneurship and Business Development (EBD)).

The AEDP and NAEOP are seemingly more focused on business development rather than training-to-employment in comparison to other CanNor funding opportunities. While educational upgrading and skills development are not explicitly stated as areas of focus for the programs, support for these activities was still been provided under the funding. For instance, in 2013, the CROP provided $450,000 to support the Tlicho Learning and Development Centre in purchasing a mobile crusher for the Crusher Operator Training Program (Harper Invests in Capacity Building in the Northwest Territories). Commenting on the funding, former CanNor Minister Agulkkaq expressed that:

> [t]he Government of Canada is proud to invest in training for northern workers so they can take advantage of job opportunities in their communities…This investment will give businesses greater opportunities to hire skilled workers locally, and help Northerners secure jobs in
important sectors that contribute to Northern economic growth” (Harper Invests in Capacity Building in the Northwest Territories).

By purchasing the mobile crusher, the Tlicho Learning and Development Centre planned to double the number of trainees participating in the program over a three year period (Harper Invests in Capacity Building in the Northwest Territories). Thus, although not specifically stated in the programs’ objectives, the AEDP and NAOEP clearly supported the development of trades training.

3.2: Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC)

Employment and Social Development Canada (ESDC), formally known as Human Resources and Social Development Canada (HRSDC), is a Federal department whose mandate is “to build a stronger and more competitive Canada, to support Canadians in making choices that help them live productive and rewarding lives and to improve Canadians’ quality of life “ (ESDC Report on Plans and Priorities 2014-2015 3). With a heavy focus on the economy, ESDC delivers a range of programs and services that help support Canadians in “life’s transitions” that concern employment. As explained by ESDC’s Report on Plans and Priorities, the department helps with the transition “from school to work, from one job to another, from unemployment to employment, [and] from the workforce to retirement” (4). In so doing, ESDC helps all Canadians, including those with “distinct needs such as Aboriginal people” (4).

ESDC’s first strategic outcome is to develop “a skilled, adaptable and inclusive labour force and an efficient labour market” (ESDC Report on Plans and Priorities 2014-2015 5). Central to achieving this outcome are ESDC’s programs targeting Indigenous
populations. As explained in the *Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Training Strategy and the Skills and Partnership Fund*:

Aboriginal Canadians have experienced higher rates of unemployment, lower rates of labour force participation and higher rates of dependence on income assistance than the non-Aboriginal population. To address these challenges, Aboriginal labour market programs are available to increase workforce participation and help First Nations, Métis and Inuit people prepare for, find and maintain jobs (v).

Additionally, the department also stated that given the skilled labour shortages in areas such as mining, oil and gas, there is a clear need for programs that promote and enable greater participation of Indigenous peoples in the labour market and specifically, a need for programs that are matched to these labour market demands (*Summative Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership Program* xvii).

This section will discuss the following ESDC labour programs for Indigenous populations that were in operation during Stephen Harper’s time as Prime Minister: Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership (ASEP) Program; The Aboriginal Human Resources Development Strategy (AHRDS); Aboriginal Skills and Employment Training Strategy (ASET); the Strategic Partnerships Fund (SPF); the Aboriginal Skills and Training Strategic Investment Fund (ASTSIF); and the First Nations Job Fund (FNJF).
Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership (ASEP) Program

Originally launched in 2003, ASEP was a program managed by HRSDC that targeted skills development for Indigenous peoples across the country. The program supported multi-year training for employment initiatives that aimed to maximize the employment potential of Indigenous peoples in major resource development sectors (Summative Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership Program 21). These sectors included “mining, construction, fisheries, tourism, oil and gas, forestry, hydro and public infrastructure” (v).

From 2003-2008, $85 million was allocated to support nine projects under ASEP. In the 2007 Budget, ASEP was expanded and received $105 million for the 2007-2012 period to support 16 new projects. Additionally, $100 million was provided for ASEP for the 2009-2012 time frame. With this, an additional 20 projects were supported. The program ended in March 2012, and in total, $290 million was invested and 45 projects were supported (Summative Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership Program v).

Central to the ASEP programming was formalized partnerships. ASEP partners generally included Aboriginal organizations, the private sector (i.e. employers), training institutions, provincial/territorial governments, and other Federal departments (Summative Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership Program 1). Employer partners had to commit to providing at least 50 long-term employment positions to Indigenous peoples (2). As well, partners who began participation after 2007 were required to provide 50% of the total budget cost of the project (2).
ASEP was highly committed to targeting the natural resource sector. As explained in the *Summative Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership Program*:

Aboriginal people represent an important supply of workers for current and projected skill shortages… Aboriginal people are approximately two times more likely to be employed in natural resources and are also somewhat more represented in construction, among other sectors – these are both areas of focus for ASEP projects (20).

Speaking specifically to mining, the evaluation stated that “the mining industry, which is the focus of 3 of the 31 ASEP projects included in this evaluation, has projected a labour shortage of 100,000 workers by 2020” (20). Quoting the Mining Industry Human Resources Council’s *Canadian Mining Industry Employment and Hiring Forecasts 2011*, the evaluation highlighted that “challenges relating to human resources are one of the largest threats to the future competitiveness of the Canadian mining industry and … Aboriginal engagement is also crucial since Aboriginal communities represent a large source of labour close to a significant number of mining operations” (*Summative Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership Program* 20).

Between 2007-2009, ASEP primarily offered participants Skills Development support (received by 63% participants) and Employment Assistance Services (received 57% of participants). In the training programs, practical experience was critical and so, significant emphasis was placed on linking the educational experience to actual workplace positions (*Summative Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership Program*).
Partnership Program xix). Also essential to ASEP programming was preparing participants for workplace expectations, establishing mentoring relationships by use of job coaches, and utilizing education practices that “boost confidence” (xix).

Throughout ASEP’s duration, over 31,000 Indigenous peoples participating in the programming. Of that, 12,462 individuals transitioned into jobs within the major sectors. Specifically, the sectors included “mining, energy, forestry and construction” (Summative Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership Program xviii).

The Aboriginal Human Resources Development Strategy (AHRDS)

By providing funds to Aboriginal Agreement Holders (AAHs) through Aboriginal Human Resources Development Agreements (AHRDAs)⁵, the AHRDS supported the design and delivery of human resource development programs that helped Indigenous peoples prepare, obtain, and maintain sustainable employment (House of Commons. Opportunities for Aboriginal Persons in the Workforce and Formative Evaluation of the Aboriginal Human Resources Development Agreements. i). With a client-driven approach to programming to suit the labour market needs of a respective region (Formative Evaluation of the Aboriginal Human Resources Development Agreements xiv), the national program’s central objectives were to enable Indigenous peoples to “participate fully in the Canadian economy” (i) and achieve an Aboriginal employment rate that was on par with the rest of the country (17). Related objectives included “gains in literacy and

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⁵ AHRDAs were agreements made with Aboriginal organizations regarding the delivery of funded employment services to communities from 1999 to 2010 (Summative Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership Program 5).
essential skills for working-age Aboriginal people, and the development of an Aboriginal workforce equipped with the skills needed to obtain meaningful and productive jobs” (17). Additionally, the program aimed to increase the self-confidence of participants (17). As of 2009, there were 79 AHRDA across Canada. In the Territorial North, there were 13 (4).

Services and programs delivered in AHRDA included “skills development, training and upgrading, referrals to social services, youth investment, career counseling, wage subsidies, self-employment, career planning, and facilitation access to the labour market” (19). While the central purpose was to provide financial assistance for labour market development programs, the AHRDS also supported AAHs in assisting Aboriginal youth in transitions from school to work or in returning school and with child care programs (i). AAHs used the funds provided through the strategy to deliver culturally sensitive programs and services that were aligned to the labour market needs of their communities (iii).

The AHRDS was first introduced in 1999 and was renewed for the 2005-2009 period with multiyear funding of $1.6 billion (Formative Evaluation of the Aboriginal Human Resources Development Agreements i). In 2009, $25 million was allocated to AHRDS until the new strategy, ASETS, was put in place in 2010 (House of Commons. Opportunities for Aboriginal Persons in the Workforce: Report of the Standing Committee on Human Resources, Skills and Social Development and the Status of Persons with Disabilities). The AHRDS supported over 516,000 clients and facilitated the return of approximately 164,000 individuals to work and “54,000 people to school for
further training” (*Formative Evaluation of the Aboriginal Human Resources Development Agreements* xvi).

**Aboriginal Skills and Training Strategic Investment Fund (ASTSIF)**

With allocated funding of $75 million to complement activities provided under the AHRDS, the ASTSIF was a national program developed in response to the economic downturn of 2008 (*Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Training Strategic Investment Fund* v). Operating between 2009 and 2011, the fund was focused on increasing the availability of training, helping to address future longer-term skills shortages and helping Indigenous peoples fully participate in the labour market (xi). Specifically, the funding provided financial assistance for focused, short-term (no longer than 18 months) projects designed to help Indigenous peoples obtain the training they needed for employment (v). While all Indigenous peoples in Canada were eligible to participate, youth aged 15 to 30 who were in need of skills upgrading and facing multiple barriers to employment were the highest priority (v). As well, ASTSIF projects largely targeted people residing in more remote and isolated communities where fewer job opportunities exist and substance abuse, poverty, and illiteracy are more prevalent (46). In total, 86 projects were funded through ASTSIF. ESDC estimated that over 5200 clients were served in the 18 month period of the program (xii) Of that, “over 600 individuals obtained employment, and as many returned to school” (xii).
Table 3.2 demonstrates that the majority of projects funded through ASTSIF were for skills development and training to employment. Skills development projects largely involved basic literacy and essential skills training whereas training-to-employment initiatives were mostly job-specific training, apprenticeships, and retention counseling (4). Nevertheless, the two areas were highly interrelated as survey respondents identified that skills development often included training for skills related to a particular job or sector/industry (19).

(Source: ESDC, Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Training Strategic Investment Fund, 2013. Print. Table 1, p 3).
Table 3.3. ASTSIF Cost Per Client

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Performance results</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>Cost per unit</th>
<th>Program cost based on project types</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Based on expenditures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Expenditures/Budget</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>$63,489,197</td>
<td>$75,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per registered client</td>
<td>7,251</td>
<td>$8,756</td>
<td>$10,343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per completed action plan</td>
<td>3,692</td>
<td>$17,196</td>
<td>$20,314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per client action plan with a return to school result</td>
<td>927</td>
<td>$68,489</td>
<td>$80,906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per client action plan with employment result</td>
<td>1,296</td>
<td>$48,989</td>
<td>$57,870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per client with school or employment results</td>
<td>2,223</td>
<td>$28,560</td>
<td>$33,738</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The table does not include cost per intervention analysis. The methodologies that were used to define and report interventions differed significantly across projects.


Table 3.3 demonstrates that the majority of funding was allocated to training-to-employment services as they were “more likely to lead to employment” (38). While essential skills were included in the ASTSIF projects, the majority of projects focused on skills development for specific jobs or industries: 38% of projects were for essential skills and skills related to a particular job or sector, 29% for a particular job or sector only, and 24% for training in essential skills only (19). Specifically, the ASTSIF evaluation identified that majority of the projects were developed to help clients obtain a specific job
in sectors such as “construction, health care, mining and energy, fisheries and aquaculture, retail, hospitality and tourism, and the service sector” (19).

**Aboriginal Skills and Employment Training Strategy (ASETS)**

Established in replacement of the AHRDS and ASEP, the ASETS was first introduced in 2010 as a five-year national program designed to increase the number of Aboriginal people who are employed and integrated into the labour market (*Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Training Strategy and the Skills and Partnership Fund* 1). Through multi-year contribution agreements with AAHs, ASETS supports the financial costs of human resource development programs and services (v). Focused on partnerships with AAHs, other levels of government, and the private sector, the ASETS is a demand-driven program that ensures that skills development aligns to labour market needs (vi). The program is still in operation.

While AHRDS emphasized the importance of meeting labour demands, often times this was not addressed by the AAHs. In response, ASETS was developed with greater prioritization on tailoring programs and services to meet the labour market needs that are specific to the given area (*Formative Evaluation of the Aboriginal Human Resources Development Agreements* xiii). As explained by ESDC, “one of its key pillars is a demand driven skills development which strives to better match the development of Aboriginal labour supply to employer demands and industry skills shortages” (*Summative Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership Program* xix).

Between 2010 to 2015, ASETS was allocated $1.68 billion. The funding is primarily used for the design and delivery of demand-driven labour market programs
however some support is provided for related services such as childcare (Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Training Strategy and the Skills and Partnership Fund 1). Annually, ASETS aims to increase the number of Aboriginal people joining the labour force by 14,000 to 16,500. As of 10 July 2012, results indicated that 24,416 Aboriginal persons were trained and that 8,887 were placed in long-term jobs (House of Commons, Opportunities for Aboriginal Persons in the Workforce).

**Strategic Partnerships Fund (SPF)**

First launched in 2010 as a complimentary program to ASETS, SPF is a demand-driven program that supports short-term projects (spanning 1 to 3 years) that contribute to skills development and training for Indigenous peoples (Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Training Strategy and the Skills and Partnership Fund 1). The vast majority of projects under SPF funding are training-to-employment initiatives (House of Commons, Opportunities for Aboriginal Persons in the Workforce). Aligning directly to ASETS, SPF’s ultimate goal is to increase the number of Aboriginal people who are employed and integrated into the labour market (1).

As a successor to the ASEP program, SPF places great significance on partnerships for program delivery. Funding is given to AAHs from ASETS, as well as others, to support innovative partnership based projects that are defined as “‘new’ systems, supports, practices or clients that an organization… has not previously had the opportunity to ‘test’ or use in its unique organizational environment” (Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Training Strategy and the Skills and Partnership Fund 2).
For the 2010 to 2015 period, SPF was allocated $210 million. As of 2014, SPF had three calls for proposals. The first two calls were broad and offered up to $3 million in funding. The third specifically called for proposals specific to the natural resource extraction industry (House of Commons, *Opportunities for Aboriginal Persons in the Workforce*). While not specifically designed to target the non-renewable natural resource sector like ASEP, supporting these sectors was of importance to SPF. In 2012, there were over 60 SPF projects and ESDC reported that nearly one third (18%) were in support of “high demand occupations and sectors in trades, mining and energy” (*Summative Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership Program* xix).

**First Nations Job Fund (FNJF)**

The Government announced the introduction of the First Nations Job Fund in 2013 (“First Nations Job Fund”). Complimentary to ASETS, the fund is provided to ASETS agreement holders to support training-to-employment initiatives for youth aged 18 to 24 that are referred by First Nations (House of Commons, *Opportunities for Aboriginal Persons in the Workforce*). Services include skills assessments, personalized training, coaching and other supports for Income Assistance recipients on reserve. A central aspect of the program is to help Indigenous youth on-reserve transition off income support (House of Commons, *Opportunities for Aboriginal Persons in the Workforce*). The program was allocated $109 million for a four-year period (“First Nations Job Fund”).

Like other ESDC programs and strategies, the FNJF aims to help Indigenous peoples secure employment. Specifically, FNJF aims to increase the participation of First
Nations Income Assistance clients in demand-driven areas ("Income Assistance Reform: Enhance Service Delivery (ESD)"). Additionally, the fund is also described as a measure to help Canada’s labour needs. As explained in the Government of Canada’s explanation of the FNJF, "[g]iven the proximity of many First Nations communities to large economic projects, there is a tremendous opportunity to address some of Canada’s skills needs, while also improving the economic opportunities for Aboriginal youth and their communities" ("First Nations Job Fund").

3.3: Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC)

Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), formally known as the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) and Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC), is a Federal department that supports Canada’s Indigenous populations and Northern peoples and communities ("About Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada"). Specifically, the department’s mandate is to support “Aboriginal people (First Nations, Inuit and Métis) and Northerners in their efforts to: improve social well-being and economic prosperity; develop healthier, more sustainable communities; and participate more fully in Canada's political, social and economic development — to the benefit of all Canadians” ("About Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada").

As the department’s mandate is broad, INAC is involved with activities ranging from education, housing, community infrastructure and governance. Given the mandate’s call for helping Indigenous peoples become more economically prosperous and more fully integrated in economic development, INAC is unsurprisingly invested in labour
force development initiatives in the Territorial North. As explained in the *Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada and Canadian Polar Commission 2012-2013 Departmental Performance Report*, INAC undertakes “activities and initiatives to support the empowerment of Aboriginal citizens to make informed decisions, acquire the skills they need to enter the labour market and, ultimately, improve their own well-being” (7).

INAC’s interests in developing a skilled Aboriginal labour force carries over to the department’s activities in education. As stipulated by the *Indian Act* (1985), sections 114 to 122, INAC enters agreements for elementary and secondary school services to Indigenous children living on reserves. The *Constitution Act* and the *Indian Act* do not reference post-secondary education, as such, INAC involves itself in “Aboriginal post-secondary education as a matter of social policy rather than a legal responsibility” (*Summative Evaluation of the Post-secondary Education Program*16). In discussing the INAC’s education program, the department noted the importance of supporting Indigenous peoples in achieving better educational outcomes as “[s]uch [an] achievement is a key to enhancing their participation in the labour market and their future success “ (*Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada and Canadian Polar Commission 2012-2013 Departmental Performance Report* 43).

As the following section will demonstrate, INAC’s programming that was in operation during Harper’s time in office demonstrates an intersection of education, Indigenous integration, and employment for labour force/ economic development. This will be highlighted through analysis of the following programs: the Post-Secondary Education Program (PSE); the First Nations and Inuit Youth Employment Strategy
Post-Secondary Education Program (PSE)

The PSE is a long-running national program that aims to “help First Nation, Inuit and Innu learners achieve levels of education comparable to other Canadians by providing eligible students with access to education and skill development opportunities at the post-secondary level” (Summative Evaluation of the Post-secondary Education Program iii). Through this aim, INAC’s desired results are “greater participation of these individuals in post-secondary studies, higher graduation rates from post-secondary programs and higher employment rates” (2). Three sub-programs fall under the PSE: the Post Secondary Partnerships Program/Indian Studies Support Program, Post-Secondary Student Support Program (PSSSP), and the University College Entrance Preparation (UCEP) program.

Post Secondary Partnerships Program/Indian Studies Support Program:

The ISSP, renamed to PSPP in 2013, is a competitive, proposal-driven process focused on meeting labour market needs (“Post-Secondary Partnerships Programs”). The program provides First Nation and Inuit organizations, and post-secondary institutions financial support for research, development and delivery of post-secondary level courses for First Nation and Inuit students (Summative Evaluation of the Post-secondary Education Program 1). As a program focused on meeting labour market needs, the ISSP/PSPP supports programs that are focused on the labour market with specific objectives for leading students to high-demand jobs (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern
Post-Secondary Student Support Program (PSSSP):

As the primary component of the PSE program, the “PSSSP provides financial support to First Nation and Inuit students who are enrolled in post-secondary programs, including: community college and CEGEP diploma or certificate programs; undergraduate programs; and advanced or professional degree programs” *(Summative Evaluation of the Post-secondary Education Program 1).*

University College Entrance Preparation (UCEP):

The UCEP sub-program “provides financial support to First Nation and Inuit students who are enrolled in UCEP programs to enable them to attain the academic level required for entrance to degree and diploma credit programs” *(Summative Evaluation of the Post-secondary Education Program 1).*

PSE Funding

Table 3.4: Total PSE Funding By Year

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ISSP</td>
<td>$19,905,403</td>
<td>$20,113,247</td>
<td>$21,036,972</td>
<td>$20,967,663</td>
<td>$21,077,717</td>
<td>$21,005,648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSSSP/UCEP</td>
<td>$280,276,652</td>
<td>$283,254,203</td>
<td>$288,189,242</td>
<td>$289,467,807</td>
<td>$292,206,068</td>
<td>$295,429,988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL PSE FUNDING</td>
<td>$300,182,055</td>
<td>$303,367,450</td>
<td>$309,226,214</td>
<td>$310,435,470</td>
<td>$313,283,785</td>
<td>$316,435,636</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, *Summative Evaluation of the Post-secondary Education Program,* 2012. Print. Table 1, p4).

As demonstrated in Table 3.4, between 2006 to 2011, approximately
$300,000,000.00 was allocated to the PSE program annually with very slight increases. 
Funding is primarily delivered through two means: grants to First Nations or Inuit students to support their post-secondary educational advancement, and payments to support organizations that provide public services in education that support the post-secondary educational advancement of registered/status Aboriginal and Inuit students (Summative Evaluation of the Post-secondary Education Program 2). The funding is provided to Chiefs and Councils, designated organizations, directly to individual registered First Nation, Innu, and Inuit participants, and to Inuit students who are residents outside of Nunavut or the Northwest Territories (Summative Evaluation of the Post-secondary Education Program 3). The funding is not available to registered Aboriginal students who are “eligible for assistance under special arrangements for post-secondary assistance, such as the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, the Northwest Territories Student Financial Assistance Program or the Nunavut Student Financial Assistance Program” (Summative Evaluation of the Post-secondary Education Program 3).

Education is jurisdictional, as such, the range of INAC’s delivery of PSE programming varies across the Territorial North due to self-governing agreements. For instance, in Yukon, INAC’s PSE programming is offered to Kluane First Nation, Ross River Dena Council, Daylu Dena Council, and Dease River First Nations (“Education Funding Programs”). In the Northwest Territories and Nunavut, students eligible for the territories’ student financial aid programs are not eligible for INAC’s PSE. In the NWT, this excludes Dene, Metis, Inuvialuit or Inuit that meet certain conditions (Northwest Territories Student Financial Assistance: Student Handbook, 2016-17 6). In Nunavut,
the Beneficiaries under the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement and Nunavut Residents with or without Nunavut schooling are excluded from the PSE funding (Nunavut Student Funding Handbook 5).

Despite the limitations in eligibility, INAC provides funding to the Territorial North through the PSE. Yukon residents of the aforementioned First Nations are eligible to apply for the PSSSP and UCEP programming (“Frequently Asked Questions” INAC and “Education Funding Programs”). Those eligible in the NWT and Nunavut can apply for the UCEP funding (“People”). As well, the ISSP and PSPP are provided to the territories, and most specifically, to the colleges across the region.

While the PSE program is limited in the Territorial North due to jurisdiction, INAC highlighted the importance of the programming for the region’s labour force development in the Summative Evaluation of the Post-secondary Education Program:

Key informants, case study participants and survey respondents emphasized the role of post-secondary education programming as a means of enabling increased Aboriginal participation in the labour force. Key informants often spoke of the cost-benefit ratio of providing post-secondary education to Aboriginal peoples, highlighting that a robust program would enhance their overall capacity to compete in an increasingly globalized and knowledge driven economy. Moreover, some key informants drew attention to the potential for Aboriginal individuals with post-secondary accreditation to participate in Canada’s economic development, particularly in the North (14).
PSE supports are provided to a significant amount of Indigenous individuals annually. For instance, in fiscal year 2014-2015, approximately 22,000 individuals were supported through the programming (“Post-secondary Education”). According to the *Summative Evaluation of the Post-secondary Education Program*, 70% of survey respondents suggested that there has been at least some improvements in PSE over the past decade, 10% said there has been no change, and 11% said that PSE has become worse (17).

An issue with INAC’s PSE programming is the insufficient funding that is not needs based (*Summative Evaluation of the Post-secondary Education Program* 28). In a 2011 report, the Office of the Auditor General found that AANDC allocated funding to communities “without regard for the number of eligible students, and that band Governments have the flexibility to allocate the funds for purposes other than education” (28). As a result, the report found that AANDC’s, “funding mechanism and delivery model used to fund post-secondary education does not ensure that eligible students have equitable access to post-secondary education funding” (28).

While there were increases in the amount of students wanting to attend post-secondary education and in the number of students in the post-secondary age range of the population, there was little to no increases available in the PSE funding (24). As a result, students were prevented from pursuing post-secondary studies. As reported in the *Summative Evaluation of the Post-secondary Education Program*, the majority of First Nation respondents that were responsible for post-secondary services indicated that they had wait lists for post-secondary funding (24).
While not enough funding was available to support all students interested in post-secondary education, the funding that was provided was insufficient for supporting those who did receive it. Most particularly, the living allowances provided through the funds were inadequate. The vast majority of participants, 74% percent, noted that the living allowances could only cover the cost of rent. In turn, the stress created distractions from their studies (25).

First Nations and Inuit Youth Employment Strategy (FNIYES)

The FNIYES is a national program with an annual budget of $24 million (“First Nations and Inuit Youth Employment Strategy”). Offered to First Nations and Inuit youth between the ages of 15-30 who are on-reserve residents or residents in recognized communities, the program aims to enhance the education, participation in the labour market, and economic success of Canada’s Indigenous peoples (“First Nations and Inuit Youth Employment Strategy”). Specifically, the program seeks to help youth, “develop and enhance essential employability skills; get exposed to a variety of career options; understand the benefits of education as key to labour market participation; [and] gain co-operative education work and study opportunities” (“First Nations and Inuit Youth Employment Strategy”). FNIYES was launched in 1997 and approximately 150,000 First Nations and Inuit youth have participated in the program as of 2016 (“First Nations and Inuit Youth Employment Strategy”).

The FNIYES is delivered through two sub-programs: the First Nations Inuit Summer Work Experience Program (FNISWEP); and the First Nations Inuit Skills Link Program (FNISLP).
The First Nations Inuit Summer Work Experience Program (FNISWEP)

The FNISWEP is a proposal-driven program that allows youth to learn about various employment options while earning income ("First Nations and Inuit Summer Work Experience Program"). The program provides summer employment opportunities to First Nations and Inuit secondary and post-secondary students to help them prepare for entry into the labour market. Funding is provided to First Nations and Inuit governments and organizations that design and deliver the program ("First Nations and Inuit Summer Work Experience Program").

The First Nations Inuit Skills Link Program (FNISLP)

The FNISLP supports initiatives that assist First Nations and Inuit youth in learning about career options and in obtaining essential skills that develop their employability ("First Nations and Inuit Skills Link Program"). Specifically, the program "promotes the benefits and importance of education to youth participation in the labour market; supports the development and improvement of essential employability skills, such as communication, problem-solving, and working with others; introduces youth to a variety of career options; [and] helps youth gain skills by providing wage subsidies for mentored work experience and/or for mentored school-based work and study opportunities" ("First Nations and Inuit Skills Link Program"). The funding for the FNISLP is provided to First Nation and Inuit governments, organizations, schools and employers who design and deliver the initiatives ("First Nations and Inuit Skills Link Program").
Aboriginal Economic Development Strategic Partnerships Initiatives (SPI)

Launched in 2010, INAC is the lead department of the SPI (“ARCHIVED – Aboriginal Economy Development Strategic Partnerships Initiative). The SPI is a whole-of-government, horizontal initiative that aims to increase Indigenous participation in “complex economic opportunities by coordinating the efforts and investments of multiple Federal departments” (Evaluation of the Aboriginal Economy Development Strategic Partnerships Initiative 1) and by “addressing funding and program gaps that would otherwise limit or exclude Aboriginal involvement in key opportunities” (2). Funding initiatives are focused on key sectors of the Canadian economy, namely, mining, fisheries, forestry, agriculture, and energy (3). Nevertheless, other major development opportunities have also been supported by SPI initiatives such as pipelines, potash, and major hydro development projects (8).

By supporting these sectors and opportunities, the SPI intends to increase the participation of Indigenous peoples in the Canadian economy by making communities more ready for opportunities and contributing to the development of a “skilled Aboriginal workforce” (8). SPI projects have a broad focus for increasing Indigenous people’s participation in Canada’s economy and within that focus, education initiatives concerned with skills training for labour force development is included. For instance, the SPI evaluation identified that while initiatives concerning the development and implementation of partnerships, business plans and procurement strategies were the first phase of engagement, activities for training in trades and management occurred afterwards (40). Specific initiatives included trades development, management skills and training, cultural sensitivity training, and negotiations training (40).
Between 2010 to 2015, the total funding for the SPI was $85.6 million or $16.9 million annually (11). Funding is distributed through two categories: Opportunity Assessments/ Priority Setting to identify opportunities and assess potential investment; and Building Relationships and Partnerships to engage partners and coordinate activities (5). Training-to-employment/ education activities fall under the latter. From 2010 to 2014, 489 communities were engaged in SPI initiatives (45).

Over the course of the SPI’s operation, four projects were undertaken in the Territorial North. In the Northwest Territories, the “Northwest Territories Biomass Energy Strategy” was in operation from 2011 to 2013. CanNor and AANDC were the involved partners and worked with an investment of $1,196,000.00. The project “supported a number of capacity building initiatives in partnership with the Government of the Northwest Territories” such as helping “Aboriginal communities pursue economic opportunities related to building a sustainable wood biomass industry in the territory, generating employment, and reducing energy costs in communities”. In operation from 2014 to 2016, the “Northern Biomass Strategy” had an investment of $2,750,000.00. In this project, Natural Resources Canada, AANDC and CanNor worked collaboratively to help “strengthen the development of a viable northern forestry industry based on growing markets for wood fuels”. As a national project that includes one site in the NWT, the “Aboriginal Forestry Initiative” operated between 2011 and 2014 with an investment of $6,450,000.00. The partnering departments included Natural Resources Canada, AANDC, CanNor and ESDC. The project focused on strengthening community “capacity building and business development opportunities in areas such as biomass and bioenergy, non-timber forest products, local wood initiatives, forest management, value added wood
products, and services to government and industry”. In the NWT and Nunavut, CanNor and AANDC partnered on the, “Northern Community Readiness Initiative” from 2013 to 2016. Focused specifically on the mining sector with an investment of $2,320,000.00, the departments used funding to “support data gathering, community skills and capacity assessments, and the development and implementation of readiness plans for 8 communities in the Northwest Territories and Nunavut” (“Strategic Partnerships Initiative – Project Descriptions”).

**Conclusion:**

In providing an overview of the CanNor, ESDC, and INAC funding and programs, this discussion has demonstrated that the three themes derived from the grounded theory exercise of analyzing the *Northern Strategy* - Indigenous integration, education, and employment for labour force/ economic development - were integral to each. The goals and objective of the programs and funding were driven by the three themes and in operation, the funding and programming incorporated each theme in various ways. For instance, Indigenous integration was included through specifically targeting Indigenous peoples, largely targeting Indigenous peoples, working closely alongside Indigenous partners, or somehow incorporating Indigenous cultural content. Moreover, education was demonstrated in each program and funding support either by being specifically focused on offering skills to employment training or by supporting it amongst other initiatives. Furthermore, employment for labour force/ economic development was essential to all of the programming and funding with the vast majority being focused on supporting labour market demands. For a summary of each program and funding’s objectives, and incorporation of the three themes, refer to Table 3.5:
Indigenous Integration, Education, and Employment for Labour Force/ Economic Development in CanNor, ESDC, and INAC Activity. This overview of CanNor, ESDC, and INAC’s programs and funding that were in operation during Stephen Harper’s time as Prime Minister is essential to the discussion in the following chapter – a confirmation of the research theory that neoliberal activity emerges when the three themes are intersected within Federal programming and funding. Table 3.5 also touches upon the challenges and complexities of the departments that will be further addressed in the following chapter.
Table 3.5: Indigenous Integration, Education, and Employment for Labour Force/ Economic Development in CanNor, ESDC, and INAC Activity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Indigenous Integration</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Employment for Labour Force/Economic Development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Strategic Investments in Northern Development Program (SINED)</td>
<td>Promote the economic development of the North to strengthen the Territorial economy and increase Northerners’ participation.</td>
<td>Not specific to but largely targets Indigenous populations.</td>
<td>Education is not the focus and funds for training was not considered as an eligibility, however supports for skills training to help stimulate economic development opportunities was still provided.</td>
<td>Focus on key economic sectors and economic diversification.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2004 - Present</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Northern Adult Basic Education Program (NABEP)</td>
<td>Provide Northerners with the basic education skills needed to access employment training and in turn, better position themselves to participate in the labour market.</td>
<td>Not specific to but largely targets Indigenous populations - Territorial colleges (the recipients) worked with Indigenous communities to create culturally relevant curricula.</td>
<td>Focus on essential skills to help transition people into workforce - namely, vocational training or entry-level positions.</td>
<td>Programming was aligned to labour market needs to ensure greater employability of students.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011 - Present</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Centre for Northern Innovation in Mining (CNIM)</td>
<td>Deliver education and training that will help build skilled workers for entry level employment in Yukon’s mining sector.</td>
<td>Cultural content interwoven in the courses offered and is a central aspect of the centre’s programming.</td>
<td>Offers courses focused on developing entry-level employment for the mining industry.</td>
<td>Focus on Yukon’s mining sector.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013 - Present</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Inuit Learning and Development Project (ILDP)</td>
<td>Help beneficiaries of Nunavut Land Claims Agreements develop skills for employment with Nunavut’s public service sector.</td>
<td>Specific to Inuit peoples who are beneficiaries of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreements.</td>
<td>Skills development through paid work experience in the public sector.</td>
<td>Focus on the Public Service Sector.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013 - Present</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>The Aboriginal Economic Development Program (AEDP)</td>
<td>Increase the number of Northern Indigenous peoples participating in the Canadian economy</td>
<td>Specific to Indigenous peoples.</td>
<td>Program not focused on training education but support for this area was nevertheless provided.</td>
<td>Focus on economic development projects and important sectors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009-2013</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Northern Aboriginal Economic Opportunities Program (NAEOP)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2013 – Present</td>
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</table>
## Challenges and Complexities with CanNor

- Use of Indigenous cultural content to attract Indigenous students to labour force development programs, and establish a connection between Indigeneity and extractive industries
- Unsuccessful in developing agency for Indigenous communities
- Despite a mandate to support a diversified economy, CanNor favoured resource sector projects
- The IDLP was focused on skills development for the Public sector, however, the program was only provided to a limited population
- Emphasis was placed on the needs of the economy rather than the people

## Employment Social Development Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Indigenous Integration</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Employment for Labour Force/Economic Development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership (ASEP) Program 2003 - 2012</td>
<td>Support multi-year training for employment initiatives that aimed to maximize the employment potential of Indigenous peoples in major resource development sectors.</td>
<td>Specific to Indigenous peoples. Program developed partnerships with Indigenous organizations.</td>
<td>Focus on training for employment through practical work experience in major resource development sector.</td>
<td>Major resource development sectors were the target, including mining, construction, tourism, oil and gas, forestry, hydro and public infrastructure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Aboriginal Human Resources Development Strategy (AHRDS) 1999 - 2010</td>
<td>Enable Indigenous peoples to participate fully in the Canadian economy and to achieve an Aboriginal employment rate that was on par with the rest of the country.</td>
<td>Specific to Indigenous peoples. Focused on partnerships with Aboriginal organizations.</td>
<td>Focus on providing funding to support labour market training.</td>
<td>Focus on labour market needs of the specific communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal Skills and Employment Training Strategy (ASETS) 2010 - Present</td>
<td>Increase the number of Aboriginal people who are employed and integrated into the labour market.</td>
<td>Specific to Indigenous peoples.</td>
<td>Offers skills training and development.</td>
<td>Focus on labour market needs, employee demands, industry skills shortages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Strategic Partnerships Fund (SPF) 2010 - Present</td>
<td>Increase the number of Aboriginal people who are employed and integrated into the labour market.</td>
<td>Focus on Indigenous populations and partnerships with Indigenous organizations.</td>
<td>Vast majority of projects under SPF funding are training-to-employment initiatives.</td>
<td>Not specifically designed to target the natural resource sector like ASEP, but supporting these sectors was of importance to SPF.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Aboriginal Skills and Training Strategic Investment Fund (ASTSIF) 2009 - 2011</td>
<td>Focus on increasing the availability of training, helping to address future longer-term skills shortages and helping Indigenous peoples fully participate in the labour market</td>
<td>Specific to Indigenous peoples. Largely targeted people residing in more remote and isolated communities where fewer job opportunities exist and substance abuse, poverty, and illiteracy are more prevalent</td>
<td>Short-term training and skills upgrading needed to obtain employment.</td>
<td>Majority of projects focused on specific economic sectors, namely, construction, health care, mining and energy, fisheries and aquaculture, retail, hospitality and tourism, and the service sector.</td>
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**Challenges and Complexities with ESDC**

- Program staff were often reluctant to support participants’ first choice for training
- Participants did not always have a choice in what they would be trained to do
- ESDC viewed individuals’ educational needs as hindrances of program success rather than areas in need of support
- Decision making of authority of Indigenous organizations was gradually lessened and placed in the hands of businesses and industries
- The needs of people and communities were second to those of the economy

**Indigenous Northern Affairs Canada**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Indigenous Integration</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Employment for Labour Force/Economic Development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Post-Secondary Education Program (PSE) 1970s - Present</td>
<td>Help First Nation, Inuit and Innu learners achieve levels of education comparable to other Canadians by providing eligible students with access to education and skill development opportunities at the post-secondary level.</td>
<td>The funding is provided to Chiefs and Councils, designated organizations, directly to individual registered First Nation, Innu, and Inuit participants, and to Inuit students who are residents outside of Nunavut or the Northwest Territories.</td>
<td>Supporting students to achieve high demand jobs.</td>
<td>Focus on meeting labour market needs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The First Nations and Inuit Youth Employment Strategy (FNIYES) 1997 - Present</td>
<td>Enhance the education, participation in the labour market, and economic success of Canada’s Indigenous peoples.</td>
<td>Offered to First Nations and Inuit youth between the ages of 15-30 who are on-reserve residents or residents in recognized communities.</td>
<td>Help youth develop and enhance essential employability skills; get exposed to a variety of career options; understand the benefits of education as key to labour market participation; and gain co-operative education work and study opportunities.</td>
<td>Focused on increasing participation in Canada’s labour market.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Aboriginal Economic Development Strategic Partnerships Initiatives (SPI) 2010 - Present</td>
<td>Increase Indigenous participation in economic opportunities by coordinating the efforts and investments of various Federal departments</td>
<td>Specific to Indigenous peoples.</td>
<td>While not the sole purpose, education initiatives concerned with skills training for labour force development is incorporated in the programming.</td>
<td>Focus on key sectors of the Canadian economy, namely, mining, fisheries, forestry, agriculture, and energy. Nevertheless, other major development opportunities such as pipelines, potash, and major hydro development projects have been supported.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Challenges and Complexities with INAC**

- Programming was heavily focused on employability rates in key economic sectors, thus limiting the participants’ choice for skills training
- PSE programming demonstrated poor support for cultural inclusion
- The development of a labour force that would meet economic needs took priority over the wants and needs of participants
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CHAPTER 4: NEOLIBERAL GOVERNMENTALITY IN CANADA’S NORTH

ABSTRACT: The grounded methodology exercise of analyzing the Northern Strategy identified the three themes that directed this thesis research and examination: Indigenous integration, employment for labour force/ economic development, and education. The previous chapter outlined the programs and funding of CanNor, ESDC, and INAC – the leading departments for Federal Northern activity - that intersected the key themes. The following chapter addresses the theory generated through coding from data sources as outlined previously in the methodology - that neoliberal activity emerges when the three themes are intersected within Federal programming and funding - by analysing the programs and funding through the lens of neoliberalism. In so doing, the neoliberal governmentality that was at work within each department is highlighted.

Introduction:

A wide breadth of programming was operational in the North during Stephen Harper’s time as Prime Minister. As the previous section highlighted, the three themes that were identified in the grounded theory methodology exercise of analyzing the Northern Strategy - education, Indigenous integration, and employment for labour force/ economic development - were integral to a number of programs and funding supports offered by CanNor, ESDC, and INAC. By critically analyzing the discussed funding and programs of these Federal departments through the lens of neoliberalism, the following chapter will confirm my theory - that neoliberal activity emerges when a relationship/ intersection is developed between the three themes within Federal programming and funding.
As seen in Figure 4.1, I used the theories developed by scholars to conduct my analysis of the programs and funding.
4.1 Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency

Developing Indigenous Workers: Indigenous Integration, Training to Employment, and Neoliberal Uses of Education

The discussed CanNor programs make use of training-to-employment services and are largely targeted towards Indigenous peoples. For instance, NABEP is focused on developing basic essential skills to help transition people into the workforce. Similarly, SINED supports skills training to help stimulate certain economic development opportunities. As well, CNIM is an educational institution focused on developing a labour force for the mining industry, and lastly, the IDLP and AEDP/NAEOP incorporate skills development for the public sector and largely for the non-renewable natural resource sector respectively.

Although NABEP is not specific to the Indigenous population, the analysis of each college’s use of the funding clearly demonstrated an emphasis on targeting Indigenous populations. Likewise, SINED is not specific to Indigenous peoples however, CanNor’s activities are highly targeted towards Indigenous communities as the Indigenous population in the Territorial North is high. As well, CNIM’s cultural content is an interwoven and central aspect of the centre’s programming. Lastly, the IDLP and AEDP/NAEOP are specific to Indigenous peoples. Given the training-to-employment and Indigenous integration aspects of the programming, CanNor’s activities demonstrate that the department used education as a governmentality tool for developing an Indigenous labour force.
In itself, targeting populations is a form of governmentality strategizing. As explained by Foucault and further built upon by Lemke, neoliberal governmentality has populations as its target and through indirect techniques, it controls individuals. With regards to targeting Indigenous peoples specifically, McCreary explains that “[f]unding regimes directed to certain populations, particularly unemployed Aboriginal students, serve to foster particular regimes of subjectification through inducing and seducing Aboriginal enrolment” (McCreary 284). Through targeting Indigenous populations CanNor’s activities demonstrate the use of neoliberal practices of governance.

As described by the House of Commons Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development when reporting on economic barriers and solutions to economic development in the North (xi), incorporating Indigenous cultural content into educational structures is a strategy used for supporting the engagement and retention of Indigenous students (53). While drawing upon tradition and culture to help keep Indigenous students in the school system is a positive step towards enhancing education, using Indigeniety to attract students into specific educational programs is a strategy used to legitimize the targeting of Indigenous peoples for specific purposes. Meaningfully focusing on the culture, language, and traditions of local Indigenous peoples in schooling provides a source of empowerment for Indigenous students, as they are able to build and maintain a sense of pride in their identity. However, using culture, tradition, and language more so as a strategy for attracting Indigenous students into targeted programming is not a genuine attempt to support pride but is rather highly manipulative. In the case of CanNor’s programs that are focused on providing the education and skills needed to help
transition Indigenous peoples into the workforce, the Indigenization is a neoliberal tool used to justify the development of an Indigenous labour force.

As explained by McCreary in “Mining Aboriginal success: The politics of difference in continuing education for industry needs”, working with Indigenous populations, and indigenizing curricula and educational programming for mineral industry training allows for the justification of encouraging Indigenous individuals to seek mining employment and in turn, become “Aboriginal workers” (281). In this, combining education that speaks to cultural identity with that of pre-employment training attempts to establish a connection between Indigeneity and mineral industry labour. With this connection, Indigenous students are not directly pushed to assimilate, but instead, are disciplined to align their Indigenous culture to mining employment. As such, the programming intends to develop workers that have an instilled sense of cultural pride in their mining work and in turn, a labour pool of “Aboriginal workers” specific to mining is built (285). Thus, as supported by McCreary, the indigenization of training-to-employment curriculum and programming is a neoliberal tool that seeks to justify the use of education as a means of developing an Indigenous labour force. Such use of education is seen in CanNor’s programs that were in operation during Harper’s time as Prime Minister of the Conservative Federal Government. These programs were largely unsuccessful in agency development for Indigenous communities because their focus was primarily on economic development, rather than the sustainable enhancement of community well-being.

Furthermore, by incorporating Indigenous cultural content into programming, CanNor made an effort to ensure that the educational programming did not challenge
notions of identity and self-image. As highlighted by Burchell, individuals who are governed through governmentality are more likely to resist and revolt when they feel as though the political power “impinges on this relation they have to themselves” (Burchell, Gordon, and Miller 119). Thus, CanNor’s integration of Indigenous cultural content made chances of resistance less likely, further demonstrating the department’s use of governmentality.

**Targeting Economic Sectors**

That CanNor’s programs are all targeted to labour force development is unsurprising given that the department’s central mandate is to support economic development in the Territorial North. Nevertheless, CanNor’s programs seemingly supported the development of the non-renewable natural resource sector most heavily. For instance, the mandate of SINED is to strengthen Northern economies, and economic diversification is a crucial aspect of this goal. However, interviews with SINED employees used in AANDC’s *Evaluation of the Strategic Investments for Northern Economic Development: Conducted by AANDC on Behalf of CanNor* found that during the time of the Federal Conservative party under Harper, “projects were not being approved in cases where they were not related to resource extraction” (45). Specifically, the report identified that:

“CanNor managers… seemed to favour and push resource-sector type projects (i.e., mining and energy) and did not acknowledge the importance of diversification to protect the economy from the boom-bust cycle of resource development” (47).
This is problematic as it goes against the department’s mandate to support projects that promote economic diversification. Instead, resource-type projects were preferentially selected. Additionally, the NAEOP’s EBD heavily supported the non-renewable natural resource sector. The following list identifies the range of activities supported by the EBD in the Yukon in 2015:

- $357,536 was allocated to the Kluane Energy Corporation: the funding supported the development of a petroleum distribution facility in Burwash Landing that provided gasoline, diesel, home heating fuel and bulk fuel delivery for companies working in the Kluane region. The companies are involved in the mining, exploration, construction, and transportation industries. Kluane Energy also used the funding to provide services to the Kluane First Nation Government buildings and residents of the community.

- $145,850 was allocated to the Deslin Development Corporation: the funding was used to establish a local land treatment facility in Teslin. This included the completion of a hydrogeology study, construction and initial operation of the facility.

- $53,900 was allocated to Highwind Excavating Ltd.: the company utilised the funding to take advantage of local contracts and government tenders within the construction, mining, and environmental sectors in Yukon.

- $20,638 was allocated to four Aboriginal entrepreneurs: the funding was used to purchase and operate a food truck known as the Red Wagon. The business operates seasonally, meeting local demand as well as traveling to other
communities to supply a variety of events and celebrations throughout Yukon
(The Government of Canada invests in Yukon Aboriginal Businesses).

While other areas such as community development and the service industry were also supported, a significant $411,436 of the $577,924 funding total was put towards the resource sector. As well, CanNor’s large investment in CNIM demonstrates the department’s support for the mining sector.

Evidently, CanNor invested greatly in the non-renewable natural resource industries and in turn, other areas such as the public sector received less support. This was seen by the effort of CanNor managers to favour resource type projects and the disproportionate funding provided to such projects over other sectors – with regards to NAEOP’s EBD, for example, 29% of the funding was provided to community development and the service industry while 71% was given to the resource sector. Like the need for more skilled labourers to foster the mining sector, attracting local and Indigenous individuals for employment in the public sector is also needed across the Territorial North. For instance, in Nunavut specifically, the Government of Canada agreed to have Inuit peoples make up approximately 85% of the government workforce upon the territory’s establishment (Northerners’ Perspectives for Prosperity 51). Yet, as of September 2017, 51% of the public sector positions were filled by Inuit peoples (Towards a Representative Public Service 3).

The ILDP is seemingly addressing the need for attaining public sector employees of Indigenous descent, however, the program’s contribution is limited due to low participation numbers and a narrow region of delivery. Unlike the training programs that
guide people into skilled trades for resource sector employment, the IDLP is provided to a very small number of participants; as previously stated, only 12 students graduated from the time of the program’s establishment to 2016. This graduating number for a three-year period is incomparable to the CNIM’s goal of educating over 1000 students within five years (Mr. Mitch Bloom, Acting President, Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency, 2016).

Also problematic is that the program is only offered to Inuit individuals who are beneficiaries of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement. Due to this narrow window of provision, both the Northwest Territories and Yukon populations are excluded despite the need for encouraging individuals to work in the public sector across all three territories. As explained by Abele and Delic, the public and para-public sector offer the most sustainable and stable employment in the territories (Abele and Delic 4). Moreover, Indigenous individuals are needed to fill these positions, as they are significant to “society-building” and supporting democratic development and self-determination (2). Thus, despite the significance of supporting the development of Indigenous public sector employees across the Territorial North, the ILDP has only insufficiently addressed this need due to overly restrictive parameters and slim geographical range of delivery.

In addition, unlike CanNor’s other program’s that offer support to educational upgrading and trades training, the funding for ILDP was not outright released by CanNor, and more so, not publicly accessible. General principles of funding suggest that disclosing budgets for specific projects demonstrates transparency. By not providing transparency, CanNor avoided public accountability for the ILDP and highly limited the ability of others to assess whether the program adequately addressed its purpose, namely,
to support the development of the North’s public sector, or not. In turn, CanNor’s investment in the ILDP, both financially and for the program’s purpose, remains highly questionable because the department does not make the program widely accessible to potential participants and does not publicly release the program’s allotted funding.

Thus, through covert funding decisions and large investments for extractive industries, and providing insufficient support for the public sector, CanNor demonstrated its interest in supporting the non-renewable natural resource sector during the Conservative Federal Government’s time in office. Furthermore, this again demonstrates governmentality practices as the favouring of extractive industries within the discussed CanNor programs translates to greater investment in developing “Aboriginal workers” that are specific to non-renewable natural resource sectors.

4.2 Employment and Social Development Canada

Meeting Needs of the Economy and Individuals

Within ESDC programming, the needs of the economy seemingly took precedence over the needs of individuals. As the ESDC programs were largely concerned with aligning programming to the labour market, the individuals’ choices for participating in programming were constrained to what complimented the given needs of the economy. ESDC framed this economic focus as “[c]larifying what kind of career would be best for [participants]” (Summative Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership Program 36). While this came up specifically in the ASEP Evaluation, the same line of framing can be applied to ESDC’s approaches to the other programs as they too were designed for alignment to the labour market.
In addition, program participants found that the AHRDA staff was often reluctant to support their first choice for training (23). Moreover, while most participants of eighteen AHRDA discussion groups identified that they were involved in choosing from provided services and programs for participation, individuals from four discussion groups stated that they did not have a choice (23). While AAHs are able to take into account the unique learning needs of their clients (House of Commons, *Opportunities for Aboriginal Persons in the Workforce* 39), the freedom of the individual participants to chose what industry they wish to be trained for is constrained by the economic conditions of their community. In turn, the well-being of the economy rather than individuals take precedence. Through this approach, ESDC’s use of governmentality activity is evident; the program was used to control and direct individuals to pre-determined career paths. In so doing, the participants became the “manipulable being” who is produced into a labour market subject (Lemke 200).

Further demonstrating ESDC’s greater concern for the economy over individuals, limited to no support was provided to AHRDAs and other funding recipients when they were required to address many complex needs of their clients. For instance, AHRDAs acknowledged their clients’ multiple barriers such as “lack of education and work experience, transportation, childcare, health, transition to an urban environment, addictions, coping skills, poverty, inadequate housing, and isolation and remoteness” (*Formative Evaluation of the Aboriginal Human Resources Development Agreements* iii). Yet, while transitions to school or work and childcare support were considered by the AHRDS, these various other barriers were excluded and considered non-funded interventions (iii). HRSDC stated that the AHRDA’s have the flexibility to “develop…
programs and services… that meet the particular needs of the different communities” (19), however, AHRDAs reported that services related to these areas were not supported by HRSDC (iii). This lack of concern for individuals demonstrates further governmentality activity. Specifically, the activity follows the logic presented by Lemke concerning indirect control of individuals and lack of responsibility; while the programs are used as an indirect strategy for controlling and leading individuals, at the same time, ESDC neglects responsibilities for the participants in that they will not provide support for interventions outside the scope of training-to-employment focus (201).

Such activity and lack of concern for the needs of program participants is further demonstrated by ESDC’s framing of individual’s basic educational needs as obstacles to program success. In the Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Training Strategy and the Skills and Partnership Fund, low educational attainment levels in areas such as basic literacy and numeracy as well as the lack of essential skills in a number of clients were identified as barriers to program success. The evaluation explains that due to the poor educational backgrounds of participants, matching participants to employment opportunities was challenging, as many did not have the requirements needed (4). Similarly, an identified obstacle to programming under the AHDRS was “[r]elatively high school-dropout rates resulting in lower literacy and other essential skills” (Formative Evaluation of the Aboriginal Human Resources Development Agreements 21). This positioning of defining the ‘problem’ as an educational deficit in the participants points to a fundamental problem in using Eurocentric definitions of success, education and achievement and in the lack of understanding of systemic oppression through educational structures.
Educational needs of individuals were seen as hindrances to ESDC program success, rather than areas in need of greater support. The programs’ shared central goal was/is to increase the number of Aboriginal peoples that are employed and participating in the labour market. In that, the needs of Indigenous peoples, such as the need for higher quality education that would contribute to higher educational attainment levels, should be addressed. However, academic upgrading was often pushed aside. As explained by Denise Amyot from the Association of Canadian Community Colleges:

[I]nterventions are sometimes too short and are geared to direct employment. Many Aboriginal learners require upgrading because they have low literacy levels, did not graduate from high school, or have been out of school for a long time. If funding were approved for longer periods and criteria were more flexible, ASETS could more effectively address the upgrading and essential skills development needs (House of Commons, *Opportunities for Aboriginal Persons in the Workforce* 46).

As well, AAHs stated that the AHRDS did not adequately address literacy and essential life skills (*Formative Evaluation of the Aboriginal Human Resources Development Agreements* 20).

ESDC seemingly viewed educational achievement levels as an obstacle to program success. In turn, educational upgrading was often not supported. Through this perspective and subsequent neglect, ESDC’s governmentality is further seen. Like the lack of support for various interventions, by not assisting participants in academic upgrading and more so, in viewing such an initiative as a hindrance to program success,
ESDC demonstrates that while it has control of directing participants, the department does not have responsibility, nor did it accept responsibility, for the individuals outside of the scope of its human capital development aims.

**Indigenous Integration: Approach and Partnerships**

ESDC highly valued the importance of partnerships in its programming. For instance, the AHRDS encouraged the development of partnerships between AAHs with business and industry, and when established, ASETS and SPF placed even more significance on such partnerships. In this, the programs provided greater decision-making authority to the partners of the AAHs. Unlike the AHRDS that saw majority of the decision making in the hands of the AAHs, in ASETS and SPF, partners in business and industry were highly integral to program designs, delivery, and planning (*Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Training Strategy and the Skills and Partnership Fund* xv). Following this shift, employers and training institutions worked with AAHs to develop and adjust training curricula as well as assist with research on labour market information to identify demand-driven employment opportunities and training options locally (4).

By increasingly placing more decision-making authority in the hands of the partners, ESDC gradually took away authority from the Indigenous organization funding recipients. In doing so, AAHs became increasingly directed by businesses and industries whose interests were aligned to that of the labour market. As such, developing programs for Indigenous peoples became more so confined by what the economy called for and in turn, the interests of Indigenous peoples became secondary to that of the labour market.
Through such measures, further governmentality activity by ESDC is demonstrated; by placing more decision-making authority in the hands of likeminded partners (i.e., partners whose central concerns are aligned to labour market enhancement), ESDC governed the Indigenous partners while giving the impression of not governing.

**Indigenous Integration: Cultural Incorporation**

Like CanNor programs, the discussed ESDC programs were specific to Indigenous populations and through such targeting, ESDC’s use of governmentality practices of governance is demonstrated. By targeting the Indigenous population, ESDC used measures of “inducing and seducing” Indigenous peoples to training programs where greater employability was a predetermined outcome (McCreary 284). Furthermore, central to each program was the incorporation of Indigenous culture and tradition. As explained in the *Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Training Strategic Investment Fund*, using culturally appropriate training in the ESDC programming was important for ensuring positive results for increasing labour market participation amongst Indigenous peoples (x). Given the department’s interest in work force development, ESDC’s use of Indigenizing practices to increase the Indigenous population’s participation in the labour market is unsurprising. For example, ESDC explained that a vast number of the programs incorporated “Aboriginal cultural practices into training” and “training approaches based on the medicine wheel (i.e. an Aboriginal training method that trains the mind while addressing the physical, spiritual, and emotional elements of the trainee)” (*Summative Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership Program* 47).
Like programs delivered through CanNor, ESDC programming was specific to Indigenous peoples and incorporated Indigenous culture for specific means. As such, the department’s activities demonstrate the use of educational Indigenization as a strategy of governmentality for developing “Aboriginal workers” (McCreary 281). More particularly, as ESDC programs vastly targeted specific industries, the indigenization effort was a tool for developing a pool of “Aboriginal workers” for designated sectors. Furthermore, as explained by Burchell, when governing powers challenge individuality and self-image, individuals are more likely to resist. Thus, by positioning identity and culture within the programming, ESDC also ensured lesser chances of resistance to the programming, further demonstrating the department’s use of governmentality measures—namely, the department used indirect forms of control to shape program participants.

4.3 Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada

Education and Neoliberalism

Analysis of INAC’s programs demonstrates the department’s neoliberal use of education as a means for developing an Indigenous work force. That each of the department’s programs were specifically targeted to Indigenous peoples is unsurprising given that INAC’s mandate is to support Indigenous populations. Nevertheless, like both CanNor and ESDC, INAC’s programs fostered the subjectification of participants and in turn, their development into labour force subjects (McMreary 284).

For instance, the UCEP and PSSSP, while also focused on enhancing Indigenous education outcomes, were highly concerned with educating individuals to increase employment rates. As well, the FNIYES is invested in developing participant
employability. Furthermore, central to both the FNISWEP and the FNISLP sub-programs were developing essential skills to help prepare participants for employment. Additionally, both sub-programs emphasized the need to teach youth the importance of receiving an education to obtain jobs (“First Nations and Inuit Skills Link Program” and “First Nations and Inuit Summer Work Experience Program”). Similarly, PSPP funding provided supports for educational programs that were specific to meeting labour market needs. Likewise, INAC’s SPI initiatives were targeted to labour market demands and most particularly, to key sectors of the non-renewable natural resource industries.

Given the strong focus on employability in each program, INAC’s programming offered during Harper’s time as Prime Minister demonstrates the use of education as a governmentality tool for building an Indigenous labour force. Reflecting on Young and McDermott’s, and Olssen and Peters’ explanation of how governments position freedom of choice helps explain INAC’s use of neoliberalism: While individuals have the choice to become involved with an INAC program, their liberty once involved becomes constrained by the governmentality, as the outcome - labour force participation - was essentially pre-determined. By leading participants down this pre-determined path through the means of educational programming that is delivered by funding recipients, the department indirectly controlled and manipulated those who participate. To explain the governmentality behind this challenged liberty, Burchell states that, “[p]ower is defined as ‘actions on others’ actions’: that is, it presupposes rather than annuls their capacity as agents; it acts upon, and through, an open set of practical and ethical possibilities” (5). Thus, while individuals are free to decide if they wish to participate,
those who do make the choice then become subject to INAC’s control and become molded into labour market subjects.

**Indigenous Integration**

Unlike CanNor and ESDC, there is no evidence to suggest that the department used Indigenous cultural content within educational programming to attract and retain Indigenous students for the purposes of developing an Aboriginal workforce. Problematically, however, in the case of Post Secondary Education programming, the department demonstrated poor support for cultural inclusion. Indeed, using cultural integration as a strategy to attract students to particular programs and in turn, develop Aboriginal workers is a negative use of Indigenous curricula. That said, when used appropriately and developed meaningfully, Indigenous curricula can lead to academic achievement in post-secondary environments (Guenette and Marshall 107). Nevertheless, INAC inadequately supported Indigenous recipients who attempted to include Elders in their post-secondary programs (*Summative Evaluation of the Post-secondary Education Program 28*). Thus, while INAC did not misuse Indigenous cultural integration as a neoliberal strategy for attracting and developing Indigenous workers, the department’s approach to Indigenous integration was still problematic as INAC neglected to recognize the importance of supporting communities in their efforts to include cultural content in their PSE programming.

**Conclusion:**

The three themes that were derived from my grounded theory exercise of examining the *Northern Strategy* - Indigenous integration, education, and employment
for labour force/economic development - were indeed integral to several key Federal programs and funding offered in the Territorial North. As outlined in my methodology, I theorized that neoliberal activity emerges when a relationship/intersection is developed between the three themes within such programming and funding. Through scanning the funding and programming that were offered by CanNor, ESDC, and INAC during Harper’s time as Prime Minister, my theory was confirmed.

Each department placed a strong focus on labour market needs and skills training education specific to Indigenous peoples. In so doing, programs and infrastructure funding that would support the well-being of people – such as childcare, academic upgrading, health initiatives, transportation, support for addiction, support for inadequate housing, and so on - became second to those of the economy and resource extraction labour. Specific industries in need of labour, namely those that involved resource extraction, were targeted and the central focus of the programming and funding activity. Even programs that were mandated to support economic diversification were found to favour resource extractive industries. A notable example was SINED where employees revealed that CanNor managers did not approve projects that were not supportive of resource extraction and in turn, pushed projects that favoured the mining and energy sector (Evaluation of the Strategic Investments for Northern Economic Development: Conducted by AANDC on Behalf of CanNor 45, 47).

By making the needs of the economy a priority, the departments often treated Indigenous peoples and their culture problematically and disrespectfully. For example, Indigenous peoples who participated in programs such as ESDC’s AHRDS found that their choices for skills training were not respected and instead, the needs of the labour
market became the determining factor for their training focus (Summative Evaluation of the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership Program 23). By doing this, the participants became “manipulable beings” who follow paths that are predetermined and in turn, are produced into labour market subjects (Lemke 200).

Culture was strategically used as a means for attracting and retaining Indigenous peoples in programs. For example, this was done by positioning culture as a key component within programs to instill a sense of cultural pride and identity in labour force skills work. This is problematic as McCreary explains that “[f]unding regimes directed to certain populations, particularly unemployed Aboriginal students, serve to foster particular regimes of subjectification through inducing and seducing Aboriginal enrolment” (McCreary 284). By doing so, the departments legitimized the targeting of Indigenous peoples for specific purposes, namely, to provide skills training to develop an Indigenous labour force that would be used to satisfy labour market needs.

In other cases, Indigenous culture and peoples were disregarded and in turn, were not effectively and appropriately acknowledged. This was seen for example in INAC’s PSE programming that provided very poor support for cultural inclusion. In so doing, the voice and agency of Indigenous peoples, and the importance of their culture was lessoned while the decision-making authority and needs of industry partners grew and took priority.

The issues that arise through examining the funding and programs’ intersection of Indigenous integration, education, and employment for labour force/ economic development highlights that there was a focus on neoliberal approaches in the former
Conservative Federal Government’s strategies for Northern development. Educational programming and supports were indeed put in place with enhancing well-being in mind, however, the well-being of the economy rather than Indigenous peoples took priority both in the goals of the programs and in the implementation of these programs. Problematically, education was strategically used as a tool of governmentality that was aimed at the development of an Indigenous labour force, rather than as a means of enhancing the well-being of Northern communities.
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CHAPTER 5: MOVING FORWARD

ABSTRACT: The following chapter summarizes the findings of the thesis and confirms the proposed theory that when a connection between the three guiding themes occurs, neoliberal governmentality activity emerges. Additionally, the importance of reflecting on these findings when considering next steps for Northern development is addressed. In this discussion, the promising work of Mary Simon, a leader in Inuit Education and former Chairperson of the National Committee on Inuit Education, is recognized as being important for guiding Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s development of a new Arctic Policy Framework.

As identified in the literature scan, there is a rich body of documentation and research-that discusses how neoliberal governmentality and the expansion of the non-renewable natural resource sector have impacted educational programming in the Territorial North. This thesis has contributed to this scholarship by demonstrating that education in the region has more so been a neoliberal governmentality investment tool used by the Government rather than an experience that supports the enhancement of peoples’ and communities’ well-being.

Through a grounded theory approach, I derived three key concepts that directed my research by analyzing the Northern Strategy. The strategy framed employment in the non-renewable natural resource sector as the key to enhancing Northerners’, and most particularly Indigenous well-being. To bring about the economic and labour force development, educating Indigenous populations for skills employment was positioned by the Harper government, as a solution. The intersection of the three concepts - Indigenous
integration (i.e., targeting Indigenous peoples to enhance their well-being), education that was centred around skills development and employment training, and employment for labour force/ economic development focused on resource extraction— was made prevalent through this grounded theory exercise and as such, the themes became the guiding concepts of the study.

Thematically, I examined programs and funding from the Federal departments that offered supports under the guise of supporting the development and well-being of Indigenous peoples of the North. Specifically, the programs and funding from CanNor that this thesis examined were:

- The Strategic Investments in Northern Development Program (SINED)
- The Northern Adult Basic Education Program (NABEP)
- The Centre for Northern Innovation in Mining (CNIM)
- The Inuit Learning and Development Project (ILDP); and
- The Aboriginal Economic Development Program (AEDP)/ Northern Aboriginal Economic Opportunities Program (NAEOP).

From ESDCP, the thesis analyzed:

- The Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership (ASEP) Program,
- The Aboriginal Human Resources Development Strategy (AHRDS),
- The Aboriginal Skills and Employment Training Strategy (ASETS),
- The Strategic Partnerships Fund (SPF),
- The Aboriginal Skills and Training Strategic Investment Fund (ASTSIF), and
- The First Nations Job Fund (FNJF)

Lastly, the thesis focused on INAC and assessed:
• The Post-Secondary Education Program (PSE)
• The First Nations and Inuit Youth Employment Strategy (FNIYES)
• The Aboriginal Economic Development Strategic Partnerships Initiatives (SPI)

The three themes were essential components of the objectives for each funding or programming, and as such, were an integral part of their operation. Indigenous integration was an evident focus as the targeting of Indigenous populations, the development of Indigenous partnerships, and/or the incorporation of Indigenous cultural content was predominant to all of the programs and funding. While Indigenous integration should be a goal of Government activity in the North, it should be done meaningfully. However, the intentional efforts to incorporate Indigeneity into the programs and funding were more so a neoliberal strategy to attract and retain Indigenous populations and in turn, develop “Aboriginal workers” specific to certain predefined markets (McCreary 281).

Furthermore, each program and funding supported education for skills or labour force development. Government activity was centred around skills to employment training – such as ESDC’s ASEP – or supported such training amongst other initiatives even if direct skills development was not supposed to be a program focus – as seen with CanNor’s SINED. Indeed, supporting educational development is critical to enhancing Indigenous well-being in the North. However, in the estimation of many Indigenous groups and the author of this thesis, educational pursuits should be directed by personal interests, self-understanding, leadership skills and a drive to better oneself and community, rather than pre-determined and exclusively skills-focused paths that are targeted to stimulating economic growth. By targeting the needs of the economy instead
of the aspirations of the people, Indigenous peoples were positioned as labour market
subjects who were to be moulded and placed in careers that best suited economic
development. This approach to ‘supporting’ Indigenous peoples in Canada by
determining what is best for those populations has been a chronic and historical problem
that reduces agency, identity, and self-determination.

Employment for labour force/economic development was a critical facet of each
program and funding. Supporting economic diversification was key to Government
activity yet, development of the non-renewable natural resource extraction sector was
greatly favoured. Labelled as economic areas in need of importance, industries like
mining received the vast majority of Government attention and support. A notable case of
such favouring was in CanNor’s SINED where projects that were not focused on the non-
renewable natural resource sector were declined despite the program’s mandate for
supporting economic diversification (Evaluation of the Strategic Investments for
Northern Economic Development: Conducted by AANDC on Behalf of CanNor 45).
Ultimately, the demands of the resource sector were centralized. This resulted in a lack of
support for economic diversification and the needs of people and communities.

The neoliberal governmentality practices that were active in Canada’s North
during Stephen Harper’s time as Prime Minister were problematic and unsurprisingly, the
people who were subjected to it often recognized the issues. For instance, in examining
the ASEP program in 2015, educational policy scholar A.P. Hodgkins interviewed ASEP
employees and heard highly critical views of the programming in the Territorial North.
One employee explained that training programs were more of a scheme than a solution to
unemployment. They stated:
It’ll be like every other boom – …[employers will] push Northerners aside and bring in their expertise and we’ll get the labour jobs – truck driving. It ain’t going to change… we call it the imaginary pipeline. You’ve got five or six booms. I’ve been trained in three of them. I went to Alberta and got pipeline training; I went to Norman Wells and got training; I went out on the Beaufort and got training. They never used me. Every time the boom quit everybody got laid off. I can name quite a bit of people that got the same training as me and we never used it (Hodgkins 269).

Based on his experiences and on others that he knew of who were given skills training, the interviewee felt that training programs would not materialize into “tangible employment outcomes” for participants and would not adequately address the issue of Northerners being treated as disposable employees (269). In addition, the interviewee felt that the programs had no long-term benefit in developing transferrable skills (270). Ultimately, Hodgkins explained that his interviewees felt as though training programs were merely a “band aid” solution to broader systemic issue of unemployment (270).

Evidently, the Northern Landscape of post-secondary education was riddled with problematic funding and programming during former Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s time in office. The supports offered by CanNor, ESDC, and INAC challenged the holistic means of education aimed towards enhancing the well-being of people and communities, and Indigenous populations were largely subjected to the issues. Fortunately, there are programs that are offered throughout Canada that do support positive educational enhancement. For instance, Indspire, a nation wide Indigenous-led organization, provides educational programming to Indigenous peoples that aim to foster long-term benefits for
individuals, families, and communities. Additionally, political developments such as the devolution of the Territories will benefit the education landscape in the region. Through devolution, the Territories will have more agency in their educational planning.

As a population that has endured horrific educational injustices, Indigenous peoples have a right to equitable access to learning experiences that will meaningfully aid them in their journey towards self-determination. While the residential schooling system was implemented later in the North than in the South, its impacts were still significant; children and youth were torn from their families, taken to unknown distant locations, subjected to assimilatory measures, and many were abused (Government of Northwest Territories, Government of Nunavut, and the Legacy of Hope Foundation 20). The intergenerational impacts of residential schooling continue to persist and enhancing educational opportunities for Indigenous peoples is a necessity for the healing and reconciliation process (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 1), in addition to the broader goals of self-direction, sustainability, and self-governance.

Mary Simon, leader in Inuit Education and former Chairperson of the National Committee on Inuit Education (Simon), has noted the issues that education faces in the region and has criticized the approaches that Federal Governments such as Harper’s have previously taken. In “Time for Bold Action”, she states:

We have seen a lot of investment in training programs provided by governments and by industry as a result of negotiations for

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6 Mary Simon has long advocated for better educational programming in the North. For instance, in 2011 she took part in the development of the National Strategy on Inuit Education. In this, she put forth recommendations such as supporting children to help stay in school, bilingual curricula, and an increase of educational leaders (Page 4).
Inuit Impact Benefit Agreements. However training programs, while useful in a specific context, are typically responsive to short-term labour-market needs, and do not foster the broader and deeper intellectual development needed to sustain our communities in the long-term (Simon 7).

This insight is significant as it speaks to the issues of Stephen Harper’s approaches to education and development that are raised in this thesis.

Noting the problems that are discussed in this thesis is absolutely essential for effectively devising steps to support meaningful Northern development. Simon is a true leader in this regard as her work has also highlighted issues with the educational programming that was supported by Governments such as the previous Conservative Federal Government and she is taking action to remedy the situation. Appointed as the Minister’s Special Representative on Arctic leadership in August 2016, Simon addresses new strategies that should be implemented to support a strong and sustainable Arctic economy and communities in her report *A New Shared Arctic Leadership Model*.

Her work will play an important role in directing Prime Minister Justin Trudeau in his establishment of a new Arctic Policy Framework, a commitment he made in December 2016 in response to Simon’s findings (Simon *A New Shared Arctic Leadership Model*). Integral to her report is the significant role education plays in sustainability. For instance, Simon’s main ideas centre on the notion that, “healthy, educated people are fundamental to a vision for sustainable development…and fundamental to realizing the potential of land claims agreements, devolution and self-government agreements” (Simon
As highlighted in this thesis, there are many issues regarding Harper’s approach to education and economic development in the North – namely, that education was positioned as a neoliberal tool for building Indigenous peoples into labour market subjects. Yet, with Mary Simon’s report acting as a guiding document for the development of a new Arctic Policy Framework under Justin Trudeau’s Liberal Government, there is hope that positive change will come. Her work attempts to remedy the educational issues that are discussed in works like this thesis - such as the need for educational strategies to focus on long-term sustainable development rather than short-term labour market interests. Trudeau’s Government should take meaningful direction from Simon’s report and from works like this thesis that critically examine former Government approaches to education in North. If it does, there is promise for a bright future in the region as educational strategies more concerned with the well-being of people and communities would hopefully replace those previously put in place by the Conservatives. Ultimately, educational strategies that increase equity, self-direction, and agency are at the heart of the work on the horizon.
**Recommendations for Improving Government Involvement in Education and Northern Development**

To ensure the enhancement of education and development in the Territorial North, this thesis recommends that the Government of Canada take a position of support rather than leadership in strategy development and decision-making. In this, Indigenous communities move further towards Self-Governance and determine the direction for economic, social, and educational development in their communities based on their specific needs and goals. Specifically, this thesis recommends that the Federal Government do the following:

- Allow Indigenous communities to take leadership and determine the direction of their peoples – a position of support rather than direction should be central.

- Support Indigenous communities in developing their own distinctive economic and educational programming that are based on the specific needs and interests of their communities, as identified by their local leaders.

- Support Indigenous communities in developing and maintaining strong educational programming that celebrates and fosters local culture, identity, tradition, economies, and language.

- Provide equitable funding to on-reserve schools to better support the education that is provided in community schools that operate outside of public school districts.
- Support Indigenous communities in developing and following educational curricula and standards that are specific to their local identity and community goals, as identified by local leadership.

- Establish plans in partnership with and distinctive to Indigenous communities that focus on the development and maintenance of sustainable Self-Governance and the eventual abandonment of Government dependency funding models.
Bibliography


