

Yuxumintem re Esketemculeucw

Document 1: Introduction

Esketemc First Nation

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'Protection of Esketemc Lands'

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**Prepared for the Federal Environmental
Assessment Panel for the Prosperity Gold
and Copper Mine and Transmission Line
Hearings**

April 19, 2010

**Prepared for the Prosperity Panel Hearings at Alkali Lake, April
19, 20 and 21, 2010 on behalf of the Esketemc First Nation**

by Beth Bedard B.A., M.A. PhD. Cand.

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“We’re still here we’re standing up, we honour this land, when I learned to walk on this reserve, honour the land, then I knew who I was ...”

Esketemc Female elder June 17, 2009

1.0 Introduction

This report will describe the Esketemc First Nation evaluation of the proposed Prosperity Gold and Copper Mine and transmission line, it forms part of the Esketemc record regarding community concerns about this proposed development.

The Esketemc community is opposed to the development of the Prosperity gold and copper mine. Based on past experience, after seeing the impacts of other developments within the Esketemc traditional territory, the Esketemc know that the Prosperity Mine and transmission line will have serious negative impacts on Esketemc Rights and Title. It will affect the Esketemc community, customs and sacred areas, it will affect the water, the land, the plants and the animals. Ultimately it will affect the survival of the Esketemc.

The Esketemc community is opposed to the Prosperity Gold and copper mine project and transmission line because:

- **The Esketemc will bear the environmental, social, cultural and spiritual costs. .**
- **A small number of jobs for a 20 or 33-year period is not compensation for the loss of the way of life for the Esketemc.**
- **The negative impacts on the water, at the mine site and down stream will cause damage to the fish stocks and one of the keystone species that support the Esketemc.**

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- **The impacts on the salmon runs in the Taseko, Chilko, Chilcotin and Fraser River systems will be catastrophic and may cause the collapse of the Fraser River salmon fishery.**
- **The project will be taking food away from the Esketemc.**
- **The environmental assessment process does not meet Esketemc needs for consultation.**

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2.0 Approach to Project and Background Considerations

This report is one of several submissions prepared for the Federal Prosperity Environmental Assessment Panel. These documents provide a description of the work undertaken by the Esketemc First Nation as part of this environmental assessment process, as well as cultural background and impacts on the Esketemc by the proposed Prosperity Project. Specific information on traditional use and occupation of the lands that will be affected by the proposed Prosperity Project will be presented in a closed hearing.

The Provincial and Federal Environmental assessment process has created significant challenges for the Esketemc community. The procedural biases and lack of acknowledgement of Esketemc Rights and Title, Esketemc connection to the land and Esketemc history has biased the resources available to the Esketemc, and created obstacles that have affected the depth and breadth of Esketemc research and analytical capacities.

The research required for a proposed project such as this is significant. However, the funding available to undertake the Esketemc research for the environmental assessment was limited and did not permit the community to develop the capacity required to undertake the research to the level required.

The funding was not available to hire the technical experts required to assess the project. Esketemc needed to hire experts and technicians in areas such as wildlife, hydrology, engineering, communications, socio-economic impacts and fisheries. Because the funds were less than requested, Esketemc has not been able to address these areas.

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We therefore wish to stress that Esketemc has not been able to address all areas of concern within this environmental assessment of the Prosperity Gold and Copper Mine and transmission line.

Esketemc has examined Taseko's research, but it is clear to Esket that this research does not constitute research of a standard that is acceptable to a proposal of the magnitude. Esketemc has pointed out that¹ Taseko's research does not meet Esketemc criteria for scientific competence, nor does it address the impacts on Esketemc Rights, or Esketemc cultural and spiritual values. Taseko research suffers from a discontinuous research program. The suspension of research work for several years has resulted in inconsistent recording, inconsistent research, inadequate methodological considerations and inadequate theoretical approaches.

Taseko has not addressed the cumulative impacts of previous work and events in the area such as the long history of forestry work, the beetle kill, the construction of logging roads, the overhunting, the low water levels, the over grazing by cattle, nor the drastic decline of the salmon stocks in the Fraser River. Nor has Taseko commented on climate change. The central interior of British Columbia, and the Esketemc territory is in a fragile state. Unfortunately the proponent has not addressed these issues.

2.1 Representativeness of data

The Federal Review Panel process disadvantages the Esketemc community in several respects. One of these is capacity, another disadvantage is that the process does not fit with Esketemc First Nation cultural values. The differences between the Panel hearings, which are bureaucratic and process oriented, in comparison to the deeply traditional values in the community create an imbalanced dialogue and process.

This is illustrated by the focus and weight placed on empirical knowledge as opposed to personal, cultural and spiritual experience. The system that creates the environmental assessment

¹¹ CEAA 1073, BCEAO tracking tables, working group comments.

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process is business and development driven as opposed to being grounded in values that emphasize spirituality and harmony.

The empirical approach to quantifying data is foreign to Esketemc community members, furthermore the practise of questioning elders and community speakers on their personal experience and beliefs is deeply disrespectful.

In addition, the Panel hearing process itself is intimidating. This is especially relevant in light of the community history of trauma, through the loss of lands, loss of resources, loss of sacred areas and the residential school experience.

The trauma from residential school has left a deep imprint on most former students. This trauma has been described as the same category as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder with a cultural component. What this means is that retraumatization is always a consideration. Retraumatization occurs in similar situations such as the interaction with authority figures, the need to act within a rigid process, and a system that is incomprehensible to most participants (Brasfield 2001).

It is important to be aware of these issues, because the community members that are able come forth to speak to the panel have this history of trauma that places the community at a disadvantage in formal bureaucratic and process oriented venues such as the Panel hearings and the environmental assessment.

Hearings such as this Panel process result in retraumatization of community members. Without strong support from the community, it would be impossible for many of the Esketemc community members to speak to the panel.

Thus please be aware that many of the individuals who should be speaking to you today may not be able to.

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Therefore, the lack of funds has obliged the Esketemc community to focus research on Esketemc community research. This community research is based on the traditional knowledge held by individuals and families and their use and occupation of the lands.

The topic under discussion, the impacts of the proposed development on the land, resources and the community is one that strikes at the core of the community. It is difficult in words to express the differences between the non-Native western society perceptions of the environment and the Esketemc experience.

Esketemc and many Native communities end their prayers with the phrase “All my relations”, this underscores the close filial relationship community members feel with the land and the life it supports. To provide an analogy for those individuals who have a western cultural background this equates the land and the animals as a mother, brothers, sisters, children or other cherished relatives. It is within this context that one can experience and perceive the violence and destruction to the land in the same sense as one experiences violence and death of one’s child. Think of the spilling of oil or toxins on the land the same way you would experience this spilling of this on your child or mother.

Therefore, the environmental assessment process provides a poor forum for the presentation of Esketemc values and concerns.

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3.0 THE ESKETEMC FIRST NATION-INTRODUCTION

The Esketemc are an Indigenous Secwepemc community who live in what is now central British Columbia. The Esketemc have occupied the land within our Traditional Territory since immemorial and our relationship with the land is central to the Esketemc world view. The Esketemc belong to the land, and as such, have a responsibility to the land as Stewards and Protectors.

The Esketemc community has a well known record of community activism, including assistance to other Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups. The Esketemc battle against alcoholism is a well known inspiration to Indigenous communities and other around the world. (Furniss 1987; 1992, 1995, Lucas 1987; Chernik 2002; Palmer 2005).

The Esketemc Traditional as filed with the BC Treaty Commission covers the area from Spout Lake in the Northeast to Monmouth Mountain in the Southwest (Figure 1). The lands and resources within this Territory have never been surrendered or ceded, and this is the Territory over which the Esketemc assert Aboriginal rights and title.

The Esketemc occupy a varied environment that ranges from dry sage brush desert, rare grasslands and Douglas fir interface, as well as extensive lodge pole pine forests and alpine areas. The environment ranges from alpine areas at high elevations to dry desert-like conditions along the banks of the Fraser and Chilcotin Rivers.

This unique variation in environment and the once rich resources have been crucial aspects in shaping the nature, character and essential identity of the Esketemc culture: their world view, belief systems, social organization, spirituality, language, and culture all flow from the land. The Esketemc governance structures, customs, and Natural Laws which form the

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basis of jurisdiction to their Traditional Territory are intricately tied to their relationship with the land to which they claim Aboriginal Rights and Title

3.1 Governance and Jurisdiction

The Esketemc territory as defined by the community for treaty negotiation purposes covers an area of approximately 13,458 sq kilometers² (Map 1), while Esketemc Reserve Lands³ comprise about 9,385 acres only a small portion of their original lands.

The community has just begun with a custom election code. This is enabling more control over internal band matters by the Esketemc leadership⁴. While the Indian Act governs most aspects of First Nations life, the Esketemc are working to assert control over the community. However, Esketemc First Nation maintains that they have the inherent right to govern themselves, and it is upon this basis and their relationship and connection with the land, as provided to us by the Creator, that forms the foundation of their social, environmental, and economic structure.

The main Esketemc community is located on Indian Reserve # 1 at Alkali Lake, approximately 50 kilometres southwest of the town of Williams Lake in the Cariboo region. Community membership⁵ is more than 808 people. There are 445 or 55% of community members who live on reserve. Because of a housing shortages, lack of work and lack of educational opportunities many band members have been forced to move elsewhere. This is in contrast to earlier population trends in which 80% of the population lived on reserve in the 1970 and 1980s (Furniss 1987: 49). Community cash income is derived from band employment, through

² This covers the area filed for treaty negotiation purposes. However, the area used by the Esketemc encompasses a much larger area.

³ Reserve lands are lands that have been allotted to First Nations communities. They are held by the Federal government on behalf of Aboriginal communities.

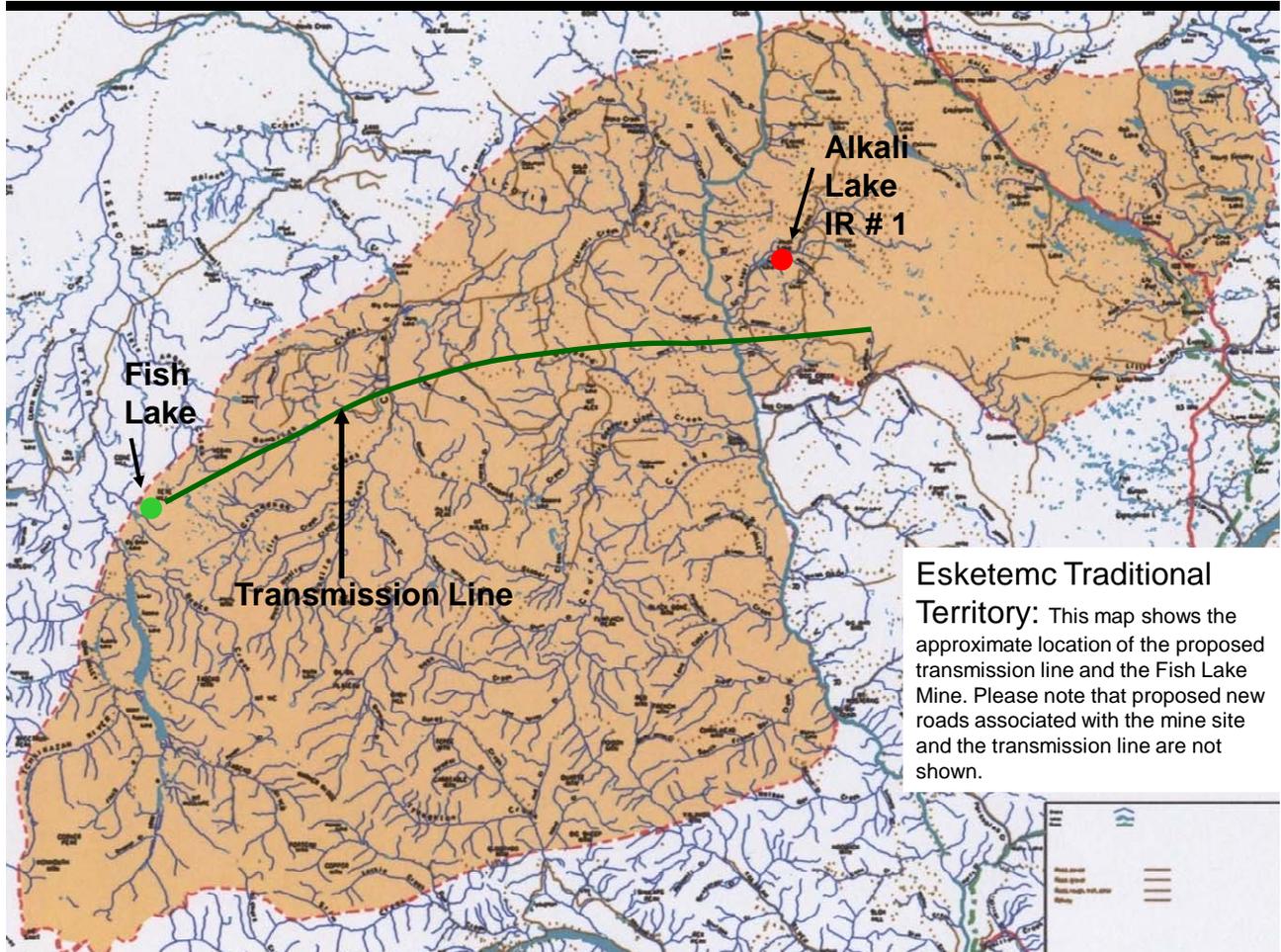
⁴ The Indian Act and some of its affects on First Nations communities will be examined in the section dealing with historic context. The Indian Act represents the consolidation of various pieces of legislation that were combined in 1871.

⁵ This refers to official band membership rolls.

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Sxoxomic school, the band administration and store as well as the band run Alkali Resource management and Ecolink. Other employment is found at a nearby mill, and other work is obtained in the nearby communities and ranches. Yet income levels are very low. In 2005 the median income was \$14,240 (Census Canada 2006).



MAP 1 Esketemc Territory indicating the location of the transmission line and Fish Lake, the proposed location for the Proposed gold and copper mine.

The current population is young; a total of 51% of the on reserve population is under 25 years of age (Canada 2001).

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According to non-Native Canadian standards⁶ determining unemployment, close to 80% of the community is unemployed. The major employer is the Esketemc Band Office that administers funding from the Department of Indian Affairs to run the community. Some Esketemc community members also work in logging, mining and ranching, but these jobs tend to be seasonal. Historic processes have also resulted in the economic, geographic and cultural marginalization of the Esketemc (B.C. Government 2005) .

Although the Esketemc community continues to claim all of its traditional lands as before contact, they have little control or benefit from the resources that are have been taken from their lands. Despite years of effort ⁷ on the part of the community, access to land and resources falls short of what the community needs and wants (Bellegard2008). Esketemc elders state that they have always been rich in the land, which is their Natural Wealth. The land has sustained the community and its ancestors for at least 5,000 years (Reimer 2005), and community members state that they have the right to choose their way of life. They have the right to their relationship with the land which forms the basis for their spirituality and identity.

⁶ Canadian standards focus exclusively on employment as a way in which to obtain monetary recompense and do not acknowledge the significance of a subsistence based or trade economy.

⁷ These efforts include being part of the BC Treaty process since 1994, filing and maintaining eight specific claims files, several instances of direct action against logging and development and several court cases based on Aboriginal rights.

4.0 Impediments to the Esketemc First Nations ability to practise their culture

The Esketemc ability to practice their way of life as they have for the last 5,000 years, is impeded by several factors. These cumulative impacts will be exacerbated by the proposed Prosperity project, mine and transmission line. This will result in the inability of the Esketemc to practice their way of life, and their existence as a distinct peoples will be threatened.

The factors include;

Climate change –The warming of the climate has resulted in numerous changes in the environment and ecosystems. One of the effects of the climatic warming is that the region is currently at the end of a pine beetle epidemic which has killed most of the lodge pole pine forest in British Columbia. There are programs for reforestation that focus on replanting marketable species of trees. This focus on monoculture, as well as the strategy of replanting and the use of herbicides to keep competing vegetation in check, creates areas lacking previous ecological diversity.

The alteration of large areas within the Esketemc territory has resulted in changes to the distribution of plants, and the loss of some commonly used resources. In addition, the impact of climate change on the uncertainty regarding the stability and predictability of water quantity and quality cannot be underestimated. The potential for climate change to affect tremendous changes in weather patterns, and lead to increased droughts and floods leaves Esketemc vulnerable in relation to the availability of water resources, now and into the future. Water is integral to their identity, culture, language and spirituality.

The importance of water to the physical and spiritual is expressed in Esketemc culture through the traditional naming of women with water names. For example, Chief Sxoxomic's wife's name was Kwimkwimetkwe. The *kwe* referring to water.

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Developments- In the last 200 years, there has been profound change to the Esketemc lands and resources through developments. Some changes are caused by years of clear cut logging and the burning of large amounts of logged wood or slash not considered to be marketable.

Other changes have been brought about by ranching and intense cattle grazing and over grazing. This has changed the ecology profoundly, plant species have disappeared, weed species and invasive plants have colonized the region. The Esketemc traditional territory has many cattle ranches within it. These have created significant impacts on the resources and environment.

Access- Esketemc access to the lands and resources that have been used for thousands of years is impeded by the alienation of private lands. Private lands eliminate a significant portion of lands from use by the community. While privately leased grazing lands are legally open to access by others, both Natives and non-Natives; fencing and locked gates often make access difficult.

This means that areas traditionally used for hunting are no longer accessible. This has put pressure on the few remaining accessible areas for hunting and trapping. In addition the increasing numbers of fences impede the ability of the Esketemc to graze their horses. Currently the Esketemc community has a herd of approximately 200 horses.

Further difficulties are experienced by the Esketemc regarding the access to their resources which stem from years of extensive logging. This logging has resulted in a system of logging roads across much of the Esketemc Territory

According to Esketemc community members, the construction of the existing north-south transmission line through the center of the Esketemc territory has been devastating. It has resulted in the collapse of animal populations. This project was begun in the 1960s with a small line. This has grown through the years to be a large facility. Community members noticed the significant reduction in numbers of moose and deer after the BC Hydro transmission line was built. Areas that were once important for hunting no longer had animals. The moose and deer

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disappeared from the area and community members are forced to hunt elsewhere. One of the areas that has seen increased hunting is Stuc laws, the area proposed for the new transmission line associated with the Prosperity project.

reas that were important family hunting areas are now devoid of game or contain only a few animals. In addition, the existing transmission line serves as a major access route. While this should serve to improve Esketemc access, it actually results in competing land use. The transmission line is one of the main travel routes used by people taking their 4 x 4 trucks out for trips. It is also used by 4 wheeler all terrain vehicles, and in the winter snowmobilers utilize it. It has become an unofficial highway.

Competing use of the land and resources –

The Esketemc territory is the focus for a great deal of hunting by non-Natives. The existing transmission line serves as a major access point for hunting and poaching. In the fall hunting season the area is inundated by hunters from Canadian urban areas as well as hunters from the United States. A limited entry hunting system allocates licenses for moose hunting through a lottery system (B.C. Wildlife Act 2008). This is designed to avoid over hunting of moose by limiting the number of hunters. However, Esketemc community members report that a great deal of poaching occurs. As a result, the moose populations are currently very low. All of this has been facilitated by the construction of new roads enabling easier access to once remote areas.

The impact on the Esketemc community of increased access to their Traditional Territory by outsiders, is an undependable and decreasing supply of necessary wild meat for community consumption.

The threat to traditional resources is having a serious impact on the Esketemc community. In recent years community members have been unable to obtain the food resources required for their food needs.

The importance of maintaining traditional food sources has been stressed by Kuhnlein :

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“It is generally recognized that the shift from a diet entirely of local food derived within Indigenous cultures to one derived from markets is associated with a rise in nutritionally related chronic diseases as well as increased household expenditures among income-poor families” (Kuhnlein et al 2008:45).

In addition to the impediments to the Esketemc practice of their culture, there are other serious losses that accompany these issues. These have been termed invisible losses.

Invisible losses

These are the losses that develop from the degradation of the environment and resources. These eight categories of losses have been described by Turner (2008: 6-11) and are,

1. “Cultural and life style losses

When externally imposed forces or decision negatively impact or prohibit a particular way of life and the cultural values and practices that go with it, the people affected may no longer be able to engage in activities that are fundamental to their culture. As a result, they feel profound loss and alienation (2008:6).”

2. “Loss of Identity

Identity is a nebulous yet fundamental construct, widely recognized as basic to human well-being and reliance and a cornerstone fo the ability of First Ntions to recover from large-scale social and environmental impacts. It tells a people who they are; to whom and where they belong; which practices....., define them; what their individual purpose and role in life is; and how they are distinctive. Cultural expressions of identity can be both material, such as a mask or land base, and ideational, e.g., the belief in a trickster spirit or the eternality of names and dances. Furthermore, identity is not a static state....Identity is continually reinforced through key practices and social institutions....Nevertheless, the impacts of lost identity are devastating and highly correlated with such evils as teenage suicide, alcoholism and addiction, and violence (Kirmayer et al. 2000 cited in original, Turner 2008:6)”

3. “Health losses

Whereas obvious pollution and measurable industrial impacts on food resources may be recognized and compensated for, the effects of pollutants on food sources are often more subtle and in a sense more insidious Even small amounts of pollutants can affect food taste and quality (Khunlein et al. 1982 cited in original, Turner 2008:7) leading to health and safety concerns and ultimately to the elimination of foods...Once this happens, the knowledge related to harvesting and

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preparing these foods diminishes. Then, even if the quality improves, its consumption may not be resumed (Khunlein 1992). Eventually, the entire diet transforms away from local, traditional food toward processed, marketed food of lower quality, which increases the risk of health effects like heart disease and diabetes (Wong 2003). Moreover, because locally produced food is often part of larger subsistence economy, its loss can greatly intensify poverty by forcing people into greater reliance on external market –based products. (Turner 2008:7)”

4. “Loss of self-determination and influence

Once of the worst possible punishments is to take away the people’s ability to control their own lives. Nevertheless, enforced loss of self-determination has been a common, ongoing story for First Peoples. The entire Indian reserve system represents such a loss. Individual testimony during the McKenna-McBride Royal Commission hearings of 1921-1914 in British Columbia reflects the distress that those testifying felt from losing so much of their land and livelihoods because of imposed government policy. A plethora of government restrictions and regulations continue to this day, in areas such as water use, tree cutting, fishing, hunting, and gathering plant foods, materials, and medicines, that prevents people from reassuming control over their resources. This includes curtailment of peoples’ ability to manage and enhance their resources, thus causing further depletion of their traditional foods and other cultural products. (Turner 2008:8).”

5. “Emotional and psychological losses

“the ability to provide for one’s family and fulfill obligations to one’s culture is central to a person’s self confidence, self-esteem, and feelings of worthiness. When this ability is denied, it can lead to frustration, helplessness, and loss of self-respect that can last an entire lifetime and affect a whole family or community. Many situations, seldom recognized or acknowledged, can cause this type of loss. One example is the shame and sadness that for many First Nations has accompanied their forced relocation, e.g., because of mining or dam construction, away from their ancestral lands....Access denied to traditional fishing grounds, camping spots, harvesting areas, or sacred sites also means an inability to pass on the knowledge associated with these sites to younger generations (Turner 2008:8).”

6. “Loss of order in the world

Apprehension and confusion can result from external changes that affect the expected and anticipated cycles of life, including disruptions of the regular return of migratory species or changes in the seasons. Stemming from development, enforced relocation, restricted access for former territories, or climate change, these factors affect peoples’ security and well –being at a fundamental level, often resulting in profound disorientation. Feelings of helplessness and anxiety may affect peoples’ entire lives and livelihoods, yet not be acknowledged or

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recognized by others, including those who cause the disruptions. . . .such changes also affect the social relations within a community. Individual or families who are known for their relationship to a natural resources,...can over time, lose the respect and honor associated with their skills if the resource disappears or is adversely affected. (Turner 2008:9).”

7. “Knowledge losses

The traditional ecological knowledge of indigenous peoples is generally transmitted orally and through cultural processes that include observation, demonstration, participation, and stories, ceremonies and teachings at particular times of one’s life or during special occasions such as feasts...Many regulations imposed by colonialism and government policy, ...have curtailed or outright prohibited these forms of knowledge transmission form generation to generations (King 2004 cited in original, Turner 2008:9).”

8. “Indirect economic losses and lost opportunities

If the range of cultural losses and impacts on peoples’ health and well-being are little recognized by those whose actions cause these losses, the loss of opportunities for a community’s own economic development is almost never acknowledged. In most situations, the financial benefit fro those implementing an action, such a building a dam for hydro development, constructing a road or railroad, logging a forest, or developing a ski resort, means a lost opportunity for local peoples to use those areas and resources in different, and often more sustainable ways. ...This is what economists call ‘opportunity costs’, the loss of future benefits as a result of taking actions that preclude some types of future options. (Turner 2008:11).

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5.0 Esketemculeucw – Esketemc Lands

The Esketemc ties to the land are still strong. The long tradition of responsibility for the land is a frequently occurring theme within the Esketemc community. The Esketemc state that they seek to meet their responsibility for the land as given to them by the Creator Kalkukpe⁷. The Esketemc belong to the land.

The Esketemc have always travelled on their lands as needed. The Esketemc relationship to the land is that of a steward, and their place on the land encompasses the right to travel and to collect foods, medicines and materials as they require. In addition, it includes the right to hunt and fish and use water resources as needed. The relationship to their land also has cultural, sacred and spiritual and historic dimensions. The Esketemc place on the land is also linked with their obligations to the land. Just as the Esketemc belong to the land, so do they have a responsibility to the land to protect it for current and future generations. These rights of access, use and care are self evident to the Esketemc.

The significant pressures currently experienced by the Esketemc on their lands and resources . are a real threat to the Esketemc. The inability to use the traditional resources and maintain traditional aspects of their way of life that are central to their culture, is resulting in the alteration of traditional patterns of land usage. There is a danger that in some cases, not only are the practices themselves threatened, but the knowledge of these practices may be lost.

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Document 2: Historic Background

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6.0 Esketemc History

This chapter provides a historic context for the presentation of the impacts of the Prosperity project, mine and transmission line on the Esketemc.

During the preparation of this chapter describing Esketemc history, members stressed that it was important to include information about colonialism. Community members stress that colonialism has had a profound effect on the Esketemc.

According to Duane Champagne, colonialism is manifested through government's enforced efforts to change Indigenous peoples, and to maintain social and political control over them (2006). Colonialism is not a one time event, but a persistent set of practices that underlies governmental and legislative decisions (Memmi 1991).

Early effects of European culture began to be felt strongly the 1800s. This began in 1808 with the visit of Simon Fraser through Esketemc territory. Simon Fraser recorded information about the Secwepemc or Atnah. James Teit an early recorder of Native cultures, who worked with Franz Boas said that Simon Fraser's:

.... visit is remembered by a very old man, Setse'l by name, who was born in the village Peq on Riskie Creek, and was still living at Alkali Lake in 1900. He was a small boy when Simon Fraser's party came down Fraser River with canoes. Xlo'sem, the Soda Creek chief, accompanied the party as guide, and interpreted for them. Kolpapatci'nexen was at that time chief of the Canoe Creek band... (1909:449)

The fur trade was the next non-Native presence felt by the Esketemc. The Hudson's Bay Company established Fort Alexandria in 1821. Journal accounts tell of trade with the Atnah. Fort Chilcotin, located at the confluence of the Chilko and Chilcotin river was established in 1829 (Whitehead 1981). The journals and correspondence from the fort describe Esketemc activities in the area (Fort Chilcotin 1838).

6.1 Oblates

The Oblates began their mission into BC in 1941 when Father Modeste Demers travelled north from the Columbia River areas and stopped in what is now the Williams Lake. By 1866, increasing missionary activity and attempts to convert the Native peoples resulted in the selection of a site for a mission along the San Jose River, located south of Williams Lake. Their efforts to change the Esketemc began at a very early date. By 1867 a church, St. Pierre's had been constructed at Alkali Lake (Whitehead 1981:48). Journals tell of frequent visits by priests to the Esketemc. Efforts to convert and change Esketemc culture were undertaken through the tight controls of the Durieu system, and the forced attendance of children at the church run mission school by 1902 (Whitehead 1981), .

6.2 Gold Rush Disease and Epidemics

Outsiders interest in gold is not new to the Esketemc. The first gold rush began in 1858 and rapidly caused an influx of outsiders. On July 1 1858 in a letter to the secretary of state, Governor Douglas stated that "We are therefore led to the inference that this country and Fraser's River have gained an increase of 10,000 inhabitants within the last six weeks.. and it continues...." (Douglas 1858:76)

One of the tragic results of the arrival of non-natives in North America and B.C. was the introduction of virulent disease by the Europeans(Boyd 1999). The first epidemic remembered by the Esketemc is the influenza epidemic in 1842. This epidemic had a high mortality rate and caused the abandonment of at least one Esketemc village, Kwellk'amt.

Small pox arrived in the area in 1862 and 1863. This disease had a devastating effect on the Esketemc as well as other native groups. It wiped out whole villages. It has been stated that the Canon division caught the disease from the Chilcotin and according to Teit were almost killed by disease (1909:463). However, Esketemc elders tell that the survivors of the Canon division moved to Alkali Lake, and joined with Spi7uye who was living on what is now IR #1.

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Document 2: Historic Background

Stories are still told by the Esketemc of how entire families died in their C7ilksten, or pit houses. The structures were collapsed over top of them and burned. Another example of the impact of this epidemic is the presence within the Alkali Valley of at least one known pit house where this occurred, as well as a large small pox cemetery that the elders state contains the burials of up to thousands who died during the epidemics. This is currently the subject of an Esketemc Specific Claim with the Federal government.

The decline in the native population as a result of the epidemics and diseases in all areas of the province was staggering. In 1877, James Lenihan the Indian superintendent expressed concern about the decline in native population in the province. He stated that the Colonial Government's policy "may be called a 'let them alone policy', very little attention having been paid to them beyond allotting to them from time to time such tracts of land as they designate sufficient for their use" (Lenihan 1877). He went on to say that "In 1862 the smallpox decimated them by thousands, consumption, scrofula, syphilis and other diseases have reduced the native population....to two thirds of what it was twenty years ago" (Ibid.)

Other diseases present were measles, scarlet fever, whooping cough and tuberculosis. The Spanish influenza epidemic that spread around the world after World War I also resulted in numerous deaths.

6.3 Government legislative changes

A policy had serious consequences on the Esketemc was the provincial one of pre-emptions. These pre-emptions allowed settlers to claim land and after improvements had been made on the property, ownership could be obtained. In the Alkali Lake valley, one of the earliest pre-emptions was registered in March 1861 when Mr. Bowie pre-empted a portion of what is now the Alkali Lake Ranch to the west and northwest of what is now the Alkali Reserve.

Yuxumintem re Esketemculeucw:

Document 2: Historic Background

While the laws stated that only unoccupied lands could be claimed by settlers for pre-emptions, it is known that this law was often manipulated for the benefit of the non-native settlers. For example, *Clutetatus*, located adjacent to proposed transmission line, was occupied by the grandfather and family of Jake Roper. According to Mr. Roper, in the 1890s when the church was being built at Alkali, Mr. Roper's grandfather was told that he had to help in its construction or he would go to hell. He and his family went to Alkali to help build the church. However, when they returned to their home at Clutetatus they found that the area had been pre-empted by Mr. Bowe and Mr. Meason, the Indian agent (Roper 1997).

In addition, there are numerous reports that many incoming settlers married or lived with native women from Alkali Lake. This enabled them to gain access to lands that traditionally belong to the Esketemc. Examples of this include the settler Boitano who pre-empted land at Springhouse (W. Dick personal communication 1997), Herman Bowe, who pre-empted the Alkali Lake Ranch Bowie, and William Laing Meason the Indian agent who pre-empted land at Meason Creek, the location over which the proposed transmission line is proposed.

6.4 Reserves 1850-1871

Gold mining and its effects are not new to the Esketemc, the discovery of gold along the Fraser River in 1858 saw the arrival of thousands of miners within a period of a few months. This was a time of conflict tension between indigenous inhabitants and gold miners. (Douglas 1858). This caused dramatic and rapid change of the way of life for the Esketemc and other Indigenous peoples in British Columbia. With the arrival of the miners the alienation of lands and resources began.

Many of these people came north after the California Gold Rush and included American as well as Chinese, European, and Canadian miners. The character of these contacts with the Esketemc and other native groups was distinct. Most of the gold miners individuals had no intention of settling in the area. The opportunistic extraction of gold, making money and leaving for home a rich person were the main objectives of most of the miners.

Yuxumintem re Esketemculeucw:

Document 2: Historic Background

There were frequent conflicts between the native people and the miners, often ending in death. Not only between the natives and outsiders, but according to elders often any vulnerable or lone traveler whether white or Chinese would be killed by Europeans.

Many of the native groups fought back against the encroaching miners with violence to protect their lands,

An important travel route for the gold miners went through the Esketemc territory. This River trail (Furniss 1987:1), followed the Fraser River through Dog Creek to Alkali Lake and then north along the river or swung east to 150 Mile house.

It is estimated that in 1858 more than 27,000 new people entered British Columbia (BC Government in Palmer 1994:33). The miners had a severe impact on the native populations in the area. There were conflicts over land and over mining areas with the new arrivals.

Many of the first miners began pre-empting land for ranches and settlements in this early period of European and Chinese settlement. In 1861, the first pre-emption in the Alkali valley occurred by Herman Otto Bowe. This land became the nucleus for what is now the Alkali Lake Ranch. The Esketemc community oral history states that the chief at the time let Bowe live on the land adjacent to Alkali Lake because Bowe married an Esketemc woman. Unknown to the community Bowe took advantage of this to pre-empt the land. The location of this ranch bordering I.R. # 1 has constrained community growth as well as access to grazing lands, access to water, to gardens and to hay meadows.

The Esketemc reserves comprise a very small portion of the Esketemc Traditional Territory. The restriction of Esketemc to a few small parcels of land has created serious impacts on community members. Current reserve lands comprise less than 38 square kilometers. 9,385 acres

Yuxumintem re Esketemculeucw:

Document 2: Historic Background

The process of establishing reserves in British Columbia has been a slow one. Sir James Douglas established the first reserves in the 1850's and 1860's before B.C. joined Canadian Confederation. Gold commissioners were appointed and sent to various areas in the Colony, where they were authorized to lay out reserves.

The gold commissioner from Lillooet, A.C. Elliot in 1864, laid out the first Alkali reserve between September 17 and 30, 1864 . Elliot was given clear instructions on July 20th, 1864, by the Colonial Secretary that he was to "...take steps for marking out the Indian Reserves..." in his district and that "...such can only be done by a personal inspection and conference with the Indians in the ground...". He was instructed that the reserve was to be "...distinctly marked out by conspicuous boundary posts...". During this survey the land was measured, holes were dug for the boundary posts that were cut down and dressed. For assistance he hired native workers (Elliot 1864). Later resurvey records from 1991 indicate that Elliot only established a small reserve of 40 acres in the area that is now known as IR # 1. .

Douglas' approach towards native land reserves and rights differed radically from that of his successor. Joseph Trutch did not favour large reserves for the native population and worked to have the Douglas reserves reduced. This reduction was undertaken through manipulation of the written record. As Trutch anticipated conflicts between the Native communities and non-native settlement interests. He stated that:

The subject of reserving lands for the use of the Indian tribes does not appear to have been dealt with on any established system during Sir James Douglas' administration.

The rights of the Indians to hold lands were totally undefined, and the whole matter seems to have been kept in abeyance, although the Land Proclamations specially withheld from pre-emption all Indian Reserves or settlements.

No reserves of lands specially for Indian purposes were made by official notice in the Gazette and those Indian reserves which were informally made seem to have been so reserved in furtherance of verbal instructions only from the Governor as there are no written directions on this subject in the correspondence or record in this office (Trutch 1868).

Yuxumintem re Esketemculeucw:

Document 2: Historic Background

Trutch observed that Sir James Douglas stated in writing in May of 1864 that "... all lands claimed by Indians were to be included in their reserves-That the Indians were to have as much land as they wished and that...in no case [was a reserve to be laid off] ..under one hundred acres" (Trutch 1867:5).

Trutch goes on to say:

The Indians regard these extensive tracts of land as their individual property but of by far the greater portion thereof they make no use whatever, and are not likely to do so; and thus the land, much of which is either rich pasture, or available for cultivation and greatly desired for immediate settlement remains in an unproductive condition, is of no real value to the Indians, and utterly unprofitable to the public interests (Trutch 1867:6-7).

Trutch was either ignorant of differing uses of the lands by the Native communities, or he chose to ignore them. Foreshadowing the serious land shortages of the future for Native communities such as the Esketemc he noted,

I am therefore of opinion that these reserves should in almost every case be very materially reduced.(Trutch 1867:7)

The two ways of reducing the reserves, included to "disavow absolutely [the surveyors] authority to make these reserves of the extravagant extent and instead to survey off the Reserves afresh " and make them smaller. This system "..was carried out last year in the reduction of the Kamloops and Shushwap Indian Reserves where tracts of land of most unreasonable extent were claimed and held by the local tribes" (Trutch 1867:7-8).

His ethnocentric and colonial approach is summed up in his statement that "**The Indians have really no right to the lands they claim, nor are they of any actual value or utility to them and I cannot see why they should either retain them to the prejudice of the general interests of the colony...**"(Trutch 1967:8).

Trutch committed the government to a policy that denied First Nations community members the right to the land required by them to survive. This marginalization of the original inhabitants is still prevalent today. The Esketemc work extremely hard to make a subsistence living from the land. However, the resources on the land, the plants, the animals, grazing and other features

become more difficult to access and shortages of deer, moose and salmon are now common among Esketemc.

6.5 1871-1910

Father McGuckin recorded that in 1871 the Alkali Lake population numbered 155 people.¹ Yet the only 'recognized' land held by the Esketemc community was the 40 acre reserve that had been set aside in 1864 by Elliot. To worsen the stress on the community, by 1881 the band owned large numbers of stock including 15 pigs, 69 sheep, 561 horses, 123 cattle.²

Chief Sxoxomic conveyed the frustration about the loss of land and resources, he stated that

“We have a poor place, it is not enough for the Indians. The water was made for the Indians, now the whites have it. God made the salmon in the water same as medicine. They were made for the Indians. The Queen has sold the Indians' land to the whites. I want her to return the money to the whites and return the land to the Indians” (Alkali Lake Band Files).

Shortly after this seven reserves were identified and surveyed. In 1881 Peter O'Reilly described the Esketemc area,

"This District of the Country is for the most part barren and destitute of water consequently I experienced much difficulty in selecting even a limited quantity of land suitable for agricultural purposes. The best locations have for years been occupied by white settlers to the exclusion of the Indians and these parties have since obtained crown grants from the Provincial Government, therefore, it was not in my favor to interfere with their titles” (O'Reilly 1881).

IR # 1 was expanded from 40 acres to 590 acres in 1881 by Commissioner Peter O'Reilly. (Furniss 1988:5).

¹ Grandidier LJCFMI Reel 3 Frames 3192-93).

² RG 10 vol. 3681 file 12395-3

Yuxumintem re Esketemculeucw:

Document 2: Historic Background

No. 1, on which the village stands, includes the original reservation of forty acres, as shown by the land records of the district, though the description of it is very imperfect and without date. This I have enlarged by the addition of 550 acres.... [it] now includes a sufficient quantity of valuable timber, but only ninety acres available for agricultural purposes, which unfortunately cannot be increased, as the reserve is hemmed in on the north, east and south by mountains, and on the west by the farm of Mr. Bowie: he pre-empted in 1861, and has since obtained his Crown grant: his farm includes all the good land in the valley as far as Alkali Lake and should never have been disposed of until Indian Claims were defined (O'Reilly 1881:a). In addition water rights were included for IR # 1 from Alkali Creek.

IR#2

No. 2 contains 800 acres, it is situated on the mountain, northeast of the village; the north fork of Alkali Lake Creek runs through it, and it is valuable as a dairy farm, being principally covered with bunch grass. An effort has been made to cultivate sixty acres which have been fenced and irrigated by means of a ditch constructed by the Indians, but it is doubtful if farming can be carried on to advantage at this elevation (O'Reilly 1881:a).

No.3 lies still further up the mountain the same creek, and contains 180 acres: it is valuable as it is well watered and capable of producing a large quantity of swamp hay. The Indians for years past have been in the habit of wintering a portion of their stock here, and have built stabling and corrals (O'Reilly 1881).

No. 4 is situated on the middle fork of Alkali Lake creek, about six miles east of the village, and contains 540 acres, embracing hay and grazing lands with a few acres of good timber. Here the Indians have endeavored to cultivate on a small scale, but without success, the frost having destroyed the crop before it reached maturity; this reserve is also well watered (Ibid).

No. 5 contains 200 acres, 75 of which is good swamp hay land, and this area may be considerably increased ... by cutting away the beaver dams which at present obstruct the stream; the remainder is grassy land, thinly timbered with cottonwood and black pine(Ibid).

No. 6 known as Wycott's flat is situated on the banks of Fraser River about 19 miles below Alkali Lake, and contains 1,000 acres. It is the favorite winter run for the horses belonging to the Indians, from the fact that the snow soon disappears from it and the land being much broken by deep ravines, affords shelter from the prevailing winds. Some 250 acres is good level land, and capable of being converted into a valuable farm, should it be found possible to bring in a supply of water, a work which the Indians are most anxious to undertake. With this object in view I have reserved the entire body of water known as

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Document 2: Historic Background

"Harper's Lake" about 4 1/2 miles east of the reserve, and at an altitude of at least 1,000 feet above the flat(Ibid)..

No. 7 A fishing reserve situated on the North shore of Lac la Hache, between the 122nd and 123 mile posts on the Cariboo Wagon road and containing about 3 acres. Also the exclusive right to fish on the left bank of the Fraser River, from the mouth of the Chilcotin river, to the mouth of Little Dog Creek, and approximate distance of 4 miles....A burial ground situated 1 chain from the right bank of Alkali Lake Creek about 350 yards north of Mr. John Moore's house to be reserved(Ibid).

At present only four of the 17 Esketemc reserves are occupied.

6.6 1910 and later

By the early 1900's there was a general perception that native communities had more land than they needed and they were not effectively using their lands. The McKenna-McBride commission was established in order to examine this issue and to alter reserves if necessary.

The commission was comprised of representatives from both the Federal and Provincial government. The commission visited native communities throughout the province and held hearings about the needs of the native communities. They asked questions about the reserves, the resources, the community assets and what they felt they required.

In July 1914 the commission visited Alkali Lake. The Esketemc were represented by Chief Sxoxomic [Samson], who complained that they did not have enough water or land to meet their needs (McKenna-McBride 1914). At the time of the commission's visit the Esketemc population was comprised of 210 people who lived on reserve. It was noted that they grew some potatoes, and also hunted and fished. In addition, they had cattle and horses, and small vegetable gardens, but they were usually short of water. The cattle and horses grazed on the open range, and wild swamp hay was harvested.

The commission received 16 applications for reserve land. These applicants were Napoleon Belleau, Billy Chelchel, David Dan, Jimmy Decker, Old Dick, Alex Kelalst, Louis Kelalst, Bob

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Document 2: Historic Background

Johnson, Tommy Johnson, August Martin, Scolt, Antoine Spahan, Charlie Spahan, and Jimmy Spahan. Some of these applications were for hay meadows, where many "of the applicants had built cabins, fences and cleared the land" (McKenna McBride 1914b).

Tommy Johnson's application became IR 17. It has been noted that Tommy Johnson may already have pre-empted this land because he was paying taxes on it (Furniss 1988:9). Eight applications were finally allowed, these included IR# 9A, 11A, 15, 16 & 17. A total of 5,922 more acres were allotted for the Alkali Lake people. These included new reserves as well as land added on to existing reserves.

In addition to adding land, the Royal Commission also cut off land. IR #6 t was cut off. The commission felt it was not possible to irrigate it. The result of the McKenna-McBride commission decisions was a high level of dissatisfaction. In order to rectify this, another commission was convened to correct some of the errors made by the McKenna-McBride commission. The Ditchburn-Clark commission reallocated IR 16, but 15 and 17 were cut off and IR #18 was not permitted to be enlarged.

IR 16 was surveyed in 1928 by the government surveyor Duncan McKay. He carried out the survey of the area covered by application #10 which became lot number 5400. McKay states that

"for some years a portion of this lot was cultivated by the Alkali Lake Indians, potatoes, corn and other produce being grown successfully. In recent years want of water for irrigation purposes has caused the Indians to discontinue the cultivation of this tract and at the time of this survey the area was overgrown with weeds".³

³ McKay 1927:8-vol. 7790, file 27160-1 pt.2

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Document 2: Historic Background

Reserves	Acres	Ha	English Name	Secwepemc Name
1	596.50		Alkali Lake	Esk'e't
2	800		Johnny Sticks	Tsenxet'q'en'entkwe
3	180		Swan Lake	Pespe q? w mi'mc
4	540		Sandy Harry (Long Johnnie) ⁴	Tsectseqe'qenk
4A	322.4		Sandy Harry	Tsectseqe'qenk
5	227		Alixton	<i>C7el'ksten</i>
6	1230		Wycott's Flat ⁵⁶	Tsqewt
7	7 (14) ⁷		Windy Mouth (fishery)	Ckekne'n'cwten
7A	0.02		West of Alkali Lake Grave yard	graveyard
8	480	194.2	Little Springs	Lluctetq'umes
9	1400	566.56	Cludolicum	Ckluto'lecwum
9A	250	101.2	Cludolicum	Ckluto'lecwum
10	300	40.5	Loon Lake	Pesi'7swell
11	800		Sampson's Meadow	Ts'elu'te
11A	131		Sampson's Meadow	Ts'elu'te
12	300		Isadore Harry's	Pesklecwe'cwllcw//Tacksqual ⁸
13	1400	566.56	Pete Sucker's / Muskrat house ⁹	T'selt'selt'itken'
14	80		Roper's Meadow	Peslleg'wqi'qen
15	480 +/- ¹⁰		Disallowed // Louie Dan's	Petmetkwe Subject of an Esketemc Specific Claim
16	39		Old Clemene's	Ckwluta'nk
17	1120 +/- ¹¹		Disallowed	Petmetkwe Subject of an Esketemc Specific Claim
18	703		IR 18	Petmetkwe Subject of an Esketemc Specific Claim
Total	9385.9			

Table 1. Esketemc Reserve lands

⁴ According to the McKenna -McBride testimony.

⁵⁵

⁶ According to McKenna-McBride testimony this land could support up to 100 horses.

⁷ This is currently listed as 7 acres but was listed as 14 in Department of Indian Affairs annual report pp. 125-133, 1900.

⁸ According to McKenna-McBride testimony this second name means 'Red Rocks'.

⁹ Muskrat House is the name mentioned in the McKenna-McBride testimony.

¹⁰ From Ditchburn-Clark report 1923

¹¹ From Ditchburn-Clark report 1923

Yuxumintem re Esketemculeucw:

Document 2: Historic Background

This report does not permit a description of the full range of land alienations and loss of resources felt by the Esketemc. Table 1 provides a summary of Esketemc reserve lands.

6.7 Historic overview

The historic information summarized above shows a consistent trend in the alienation of Esketemc lands. The community has a consistent history of speaking up for their lands, and fighting to restore their traditional lands that have been alienated to meet Esketemc needs for survival.

7.0 RESEARCH ABOUT THE ESKETEMC

The Esketemc community maintains a strong connection to their history. An oral tradition is present within the community and this is kept active by community members.

A portion of the research conducted by the Esketemc for these Panel hearings and submissions to the panel included a search of the academic and anthropological work undertaken among the Shuswap or Secwepemc people.. Certain aspects of different Secwepemc subgroups have been reported fairly completely while other aspects and certain groups are lacking in research.

Franz Boas was the first ethnographer to work with the Kamloops Shuswap, and he visited them for brief periods several different times (Boas 1891). His notes are of a general character and apply primarily to the southern Shuswap.

James Teit Undertook extensive ethnographic work on Interior Salish speaking peoples which included material on the Shuswap. He was a member of the Jesup North Pacific expedition who worked under the direction of Franz Boas. Teit visited the Esketemc region in 1887, 1888, 1892, 1897 and 1900.

Teit lived in the Lytton and Merrit area and married a Nlakapamux woman. He stated that,

"During the season of 1900 I collected the bulk of my information from several old men in the vicinity of Canoe Creek and Dog Creek and especially from a very intelligent old man called Sixwi'lexken, who was born near Big Bar and in the early days had traveled all over the country inhabited by his tribe (Teit 1909:447).

Teit described the groups living along the Fraser River from Big Bar to Soda Creek as comprising the Slemxulexamux (1909:453). The Alkali Lake Band was identified as a distinct by Teit. (1909:458). Teit cites Simon Fraser as saying that "The Atnah wish to be friendly to

Yuxumintem re Esketemculeucw:

Document 2: Historic Background

strangers. The men are tall and slender, of a serious disposition, and inclined to industry....They are great travelers, and have been at war beyond the Rocky Mountains.... The Atnahs....seem more honest than any other tribe on this side of the mountains." (Simon Fraser cited in Teit 1909:470). Teit's statements about the visits by Simon Fraser have been supported by oral histories told within the Esketemc community.

Another researcher who visited the area in the late 1800s, and wrote about the Shuswap inhabitants was George Dawson. Dawson worked for the Geological Survey of Canada and visited the interior of B.C. in 1877, and 1888-1890 (Dawson 1891:3). His work provides interesting and informative observations, but it is important to be aware that his primary interest was not to study the native cultures; his notes dealing with the Aboriginal peoples was secondary to his geological work.

In 1937, Verne Ray did ethnographic work among the Shuswap. He based many of his observations on Teit's work as well as a Shuswap elder from Soda Creek named Joe Michel (Ray 1942:101-03). His work is general in nature.

Gary Palmer undertook research among the Shuswap dealing with ethnobotanical studies. He published his work in 1972 and 1975. Much of his work focuses on the southern Shuswap.

Work specific to the Esketemc people includes an M.A. thesis written by Catherine Brow in 1967 outlining the sociocultural history of the Alkali Lake people. Another ethnographic study was undertaken by James Brow (1972) as part of a series on ethnocentrism. This work provided individual interviews of numerous informants on various topics dealing with ethnocentrism.

In 1987 Liz Furniss wrote an M.A. thesis titled *A Sobriety Movement among the Shuswap Indians of Alkali Lake*. This thesis is an examination of the community struggle to achieve sobriety. This provides well researched historic and ethnographic data.

Yuxumintem re Esketemculeucw:

Document 2: Historic Background

In 1994 a PhD dissertation was written by Andie Palmer examined discourse among the Esketemc people. Palmer undertook intensive work with a few elders. While only some of her work appears in the dissertation she undertook extensive interviewing of informants. The dissertation was turned into a book in 2006 entitled *Maps of Experience: The Anchoring of Land to Story in Secwepemc Discourse*. Palmer's work provides an excellent ethnographic study of the Esketemc links to the land. The focus of her thesis work was on Stuc laws, the area through which the proposed transmission line is located.

Work undertaken for the Alkali Lake band with respect to Specific claims includes work by Pat Berringer, *Alkali Lake Reserves #15 and IR # 17 1861 –1923*, written in 1992 and Liz Furniss' *A History of Alkali Lake*, written in 1992.

Other work dealing with the general area that include Esketemc concerns includes *Victims of Benevolence: Discipline and Death at Williams Lake Indian Residential School, 1891-1920* by Liz Furniss written in 1992. Other general histories include *The Cariboo Mission: A History of the Oblates* by Margaret Whitehead.

8.0 Research Methodology

The research for this environmental assessment began with a review of written sources and past ethnographic work about the Esketemc and Secwepemc. The major portion of the research time and budget focused on interviews with Esketemc community members to elicit information regarding community use and occupancy of the lands and other relevant information. This was undertaken on an individual and group basis.

Some field trips for ground truthing were undertaken. However, budgetary limitations, lack of capacity and winter weather constrained the number of trips that were able to be scheduled. Therefore only a small portion of the 125 km transmission line, the entirety of which runs through the heart of the Esketemc territory was visited.

Community meetings also served a valuable function to obtain community information as well as keeping community members informed about developments in the environmental assessment process and the proposed projects.

Esketemc has focused its research into obtaining information from community members through interviews, meetings and field trips.

9.1 Interviews

As part of the research for the Prosperity environmental assessment, a total of 37 new interviews were undertaken with Esketemc community member, plus the review of previous TUS interviews. Several individuals were interviewed more than once because of their extensive knowledge. The interviews comprise a small proportion of the Esketemc community members. Because the funds to undertake the research are limited, many community members were not able to be interviewed. Other community members did not support the government's environmental assessment process and declined requests for interviews.

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Document 2: Historic Background

Esketemc community members, Shirley Robbins and Frederick Johnson were the primary researchers who undertook the interviews. Both of these individuals are experienced with community interviews and research techniques and have facility in the Secwepemc language ranging from full fluency to partial fluency. Ms. Robbins, a fluent speaker and writer of the Secwepemctsin language has been conducting cultural interviews for more than 30 years and is in the last semester of Bachelor of General Studies from Simon Fraser University. Frederick Johnson has been working as cultural researcher and interviewer in the Esketemc Land Settlement Office for more than eight years and is familiar with the Secwepemc language. Most interviews were undertaken by two these two principle interviewers.

Shirely Robbins and Frederick Johnson were assisted in their work by Jeannie Robbins who is the GIS operator in the Land Settlement Department. Jeannie Robbins has been working as GIS operator for 10 years, she has been working with community cultural interviews for more than 15 years.

Interviews were conducted according to established protocols. These protocols are based on respect for an individual's knowledge and experience. Interviewees were provided with privacy. There is needed to be obtained if their specific information is to be used. Anything that might identify them personally would need to be approved. A set questionnaire was used, as a consistent way of obtaining information.

People interviewed were Esketemc band members, who had knowledge about the land, and who were known to the Esketemc researchers and who responded to requests from the researchers to undertake interviews. Whenever possible the interviews were held in Secwepemc. The interviews were audio taped and videotaped. The interviews were also transcribed, and during the interview maps were marked with relevant interview information. These video and audiotapes are archived with other cultural materials held in the Esketemc Land Settlement archives. Notes were taken and form part of the research record.

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Document 2: Historic Background

The maps were digitized by Jeannie Robbins, the GIS operator at the Esketemc Land Settlement Office. These were at approximately 1:100,000 scale and more detailed when required. These maps are stored in the Esketemc Land Settlement department along with the other archived maps and cultural research materials.

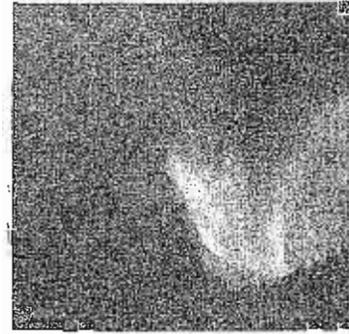
Transcription of the interviews is an important part of the process and is still proceeding.

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Document 2: Historic Background

2006 Aboriginal Community Data Initiative

Esketemc First Nation



Statistics
Canada Statistique
Canada

Canada

Foreword

December, 2009

The Aboriginal Community Data Initiative provides individual Aboriginal communities with important data for understanding demographic dynamics of the community and the population around it.

The 2006 Census provides a wealth of information that, when used effectively, can help develop directions for strategic planning at the community level, influence public policy and support funding proposals. Statistics Canada recognizes the importance of participation by First Nations and all Aboriginal people in the census, as well as our obligation to provide useful information to various communities.

The Aboriginal Community Data Initiative is supported by a number of contributing organizations including Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, the First Nations Inuit Health Branch of Health Canada and, in British Columbia, the Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation, BC Stats and the Ministry of Advanced Education and Labour Market Development (through the Labour Market Information initiative under the Canada-British Columbia Labour Market Agreement). These organizations acknowledge the need for community level information and have made a commitment to assist us in promoting the use of empirical data for decision-making.

Lise Rivais
Director
Statistics Canada, Western Region and Northern Territories

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2006 Census and the Aboriginal Population

Aboriginal Population Definition

The Aboriginal population that is the subject of this report is defined based on respondents' answers to questions 18, 20, and 21 of the 2006 Census questionnaire. These questions allow respondents to report themselves as Aboriginal based on legal definitions or through self identification. The population defined in this way is referred to as the **Aboriginal identity population**.

Aboriginal identity refers to those persons who reported identifying with at least one Aboriginal group, that is, North American Indian, Métis or Inuit (question 18), and/or those who reported being a Treaty Indian or a Registered Indian, as defined by the *Indian Act* of Canada (question 21), and/or those who reported they were members of an Indian band or First Nation (question 20).

Enumerating the Population of Canada

Countries all over the world regularly gather important information on the social and economic conditions of their population. In Canada, Statistics Canada conducts a census every five years to provide a statistical portrait of the country and its people.

Statistics Canada is the federal agency which is responsible under the *Statistics Act* for conducting the Census of Canada. According to this Act each household must provide the information requested in the census, and under the same Act Statistics Canada must protect the confidentiality of the personal information provided by respondents.

The census enumerates everyone living in Canada. Included are Canadian citizens, both native-born and naturalized, landed immigrants and non-permanent residents and members of their families living with them in Canada. Non-permanent residents are persons who hold a work or study permit, or who claim refugee status. The census also counts Canadian citizens and landed immigrants who are temporarily outside Canada on Census Day. Examples are persons aboard merchant ships or vessels of the Canadian government, federal or provincial employees and their families, and members of the Canadian Forces and their families.

Questionnaires

In 2006, about 98% of households were enumerated using self-enumeration. Starting May 2, Canada Post delivered a census questionnaire to about 70% of households, with the remaining 30% receiving their questionnaire from a census enumerator. A member of the household was asked to complete the questionnaire for her-or-himself and for other members of the household. The questionnaire could be completed online or on the form provided and returned in the pre-paid yellow envelope by May 16, Census Day.

About 2% of households were enumerated using the canvasser method. A census enumerator visits a household and completes a questionnaire for the household by a personal interview. This method is normally used in remote and northern areas of the country and on most Indian reserves. It is also used in large urban downtown areas where residents are transient.

Short and long questionnaires – Most households (80%) received the short census questionnaire which contained eight questions on basic topics such as relationship to Person 1, age, sex, marital status, and mother tongue. One in five households (20 %) received the long questionnaire which contained the eight questions from the short form plus 53 additional questions on topics such as education, ethnicity, mobility, employment and income.

The census online questionnaire – For the first time, the 2006 Census offered households in Canada the option of completing their census questionnaire online. This easy, secure and convenient option could be used anywhere, anytime, and was available in English and French.

Reserves and Aboriginal Communities – The census questions used to identify Aboriginal peoples are asked in the long questionnaire (Forms 2B or 2D). The two forms are identical in content except for some adaptation of the examples. Form 2D, the Northern and Reserves questionnaire, is administered to every household (100% sample) in northern areas (with the exception of Whitehorse and Yellowknife) and almost all Indian reserves, Indian settlements, Indian government districts and "terres réservées". Households in remaining areas receive either Form 2B which is administered to 1 in 5 households (20% sample) or the short questionnaire (Form 2A) administered to 4 in 5 households. Form 2A asks basic demographic information but does not contain questions to identify Aboriginal peoples.

Census databases

For each census year, two databases are created for tabulation of census data, the 2A and the 2B. The 2B database contains the information collected from the 2B and 2D questionnaires. The data in this report have been tabulated from census 2B databases.

Coverage of the Aboriginal Population

The objective of the census is to provide detailed information, at a single point in time, on the demographic, social and economic conditions of the population of Canada. During collection of information from the entire population on Census Day, a small percentage is inevitably not counted. This occurs when a household does not receive a census questionnaire or when people are missed in partially enumerated households. Also, some individuals may be missed because they have no usual residence, or because they did not spend the night of Census Day in any dwelling. This is termed undercoverage.

Undercoverage in the 2006 Census was considerably higher among Aboriginal people than among other segments of the population due to the fact that enumeration was not permitted, or was interrupted before it could be completed, on 22 Indian reserves and settlements. These geographic areas are referred to as incompletely enumerated Indian reserves and settlements.

Data are not available for incompletely enumerated Indian reserves and settlements, and these Indian reserves and settlements are not included in tabulations. While the impact of the missing data tends to be small for national-level and most provincial/territorial-level statistics, it can be significant for smaller areas.

Most of the people living on incompletely enumerated Indian reserves and settlements are Registered Indians. Consequently, the impact of incomplete enumeration will be greatest on data for First Nations people and for persons registered under the *Indian Act*.

The Importance of Census Information

The census gathers information on the socio-economic characteristics of the population. When converted into statistics, the information gathered provides a measure of the growth in the country's population and economy and sheds light on social and cultural trends. Governments at all levels use census data to make policy decisions about Canada's economic and social programs. In fact, census data are related to many federal and provincial acts and programs including the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Canadian Human Rights Commission, Aboriginal Human Resources Development Strategy and Indian and Inuit Family and Children's Services.

Aboriginal data from the census provide the number and distribution of Aboriginal people across Canada and are used to compare many of the characteristics of Aboriginal communities with those of the country as a whole. Aboriginal data at the community level can be used to:

- develop native language and school programs;
- expand community health and social services;
- make decisions regarding business and economic investments;
- evaluate existing programs and plan new service needs such as housing;
- identify community needs and develop strategic plans.

Census population data provide crucial information in many areas of society. It allows Aboriginal governments to make informed decisions on a variety of issues such as:

Health Care:

- Population counts, age groups and gender information helps determine the level and type of health services required in a community.

Education and Schools:

- Census numbers can produce data on educational attainment by age, assist in the projection of school enrolment and the requirement for new schools or the expansion of current facilities.

Financial Management and Social Services:

- Census population data can be used by band management to forecast budgetary requirements for child and family services, social assistance, care of elders, and other community needs or services.
- Population data can be used in a community's planning activities such as:
 - Parks and recreational needs, e.g. arenas, baseball diamonds and/or soccer fields.
 - Negotiating garbage collection contracts based on the size of each household.
 - Determining the size of the police force required to ensure the safety of residents.

Housing:

- Census family composition information supports planning for housing requirements for new and future families.
- Census housing data supports an assessment of the condition and adequacy of current housing.

Economic Development Opportunities:

- Population data allow for entrepreneurs or the band in a community to carry out the necessary analysis with respect to business ventures and such elements as demand, future growth and sustainability.
- Census education and labour force data are useful for estimating entrants to the labour force and the demand for sustainable employment.

The above are just a few of the possible uses of census population data. The wealth of information provided by the census may have a number of other applications as well.

This report highlights key population information for the Aboriginal community. You can access community profiles and data related to the Aboriginal population online at www.statcan.gc.ca, or call Statistics Canada toll-free @1-800-263-1136 for more information.

Percentages based on rounded data

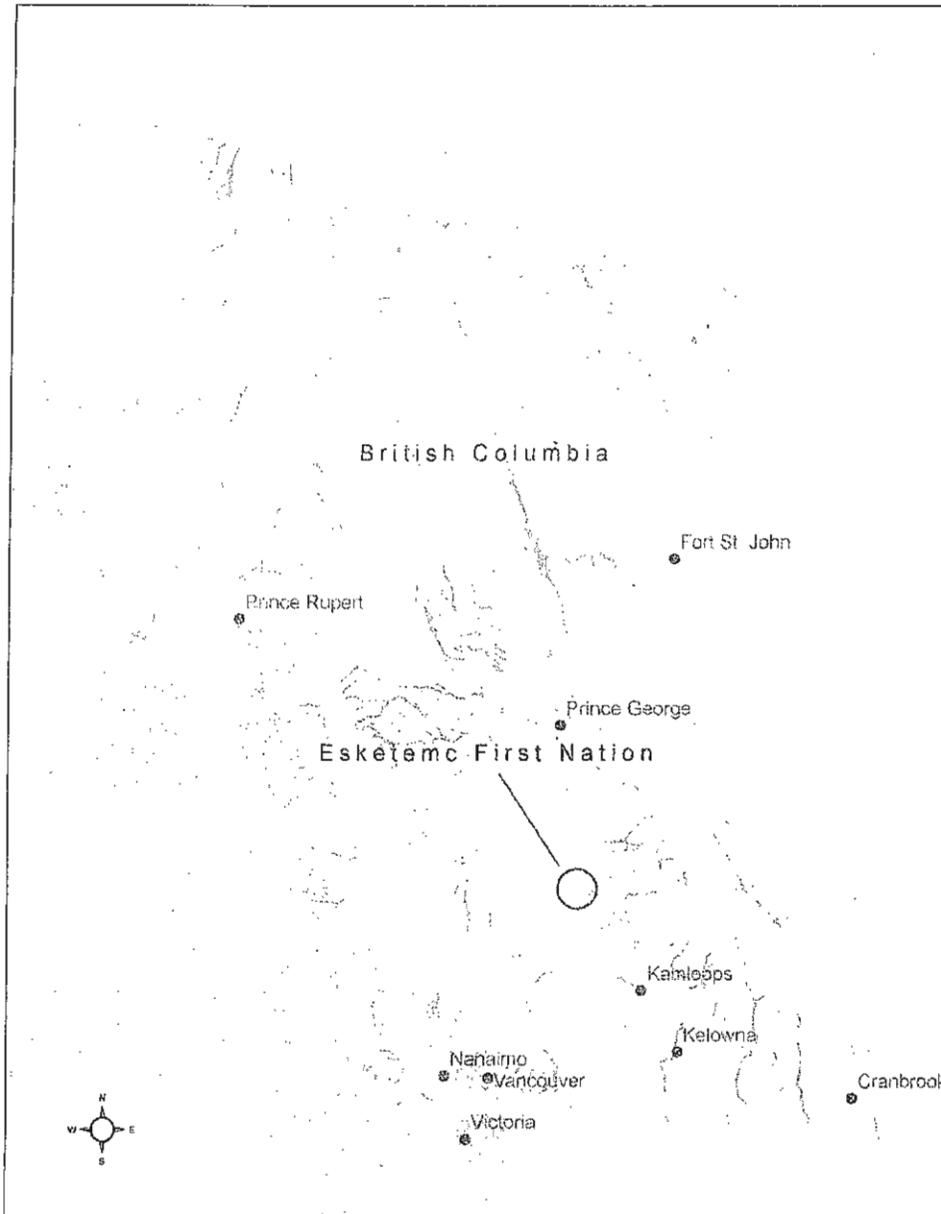
Percentages are shown extensively in this report, and include category percentages of total and percentage change over time. Both of these types of percentages are calculated using rounded amounts. See page 13 for information regarding rounded census data.

Since both the numerator and the denominator in a percentage calculation have the potential for variability due to random rounding, the percentage calculated on these rounded amounts has the potential for more, the same or less variability depending on the net influence of the separate rounded amount variations. For any individual percentage shown in this report, it is not possible to know the amount of variability associated with that particular percentage, so caution should be used when comparing individual percentages that have the same or similar values. However, as with the rounded data, the features of the random rounding algorithm (see page 13) combine to dampen the impact of the potential variability on the pattern of a distribution, even for distributions associated with relatively small counts. As with the rounded data, large percentage categories remain large and small percentage categories remain small, and categories with percentages that are the same or very close remain so regardless of the variability that may result due to random rounding.

2006 Census Profile - Esketemc First Nation

Location

For the 2006 Census, **Esketemc First Nation** lands consisted of the Alkali Lake 1, Alkali Lake 4A, Johnny Sticks 2, Little Springs 8, Little Springs 18, Sandy Harry 4, Swan Lake 3 and Windy Mouth 7 reserves, located in the area indicated on the map below.



Population

This report examines the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the Aboriginal identity population living on the Esketemc First Nation reserve lands. In this report, this group is referred to as the **Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands**. Data are from the 2006 Census, and for selected items also from the 1996 and 2001 censuses.

For reference purposes, this report provides comparable information for the Aboriginal identity population living on reserve throughout British Columbia. In this report, this group is referred to as the **Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia**. For selected items, information is also provided for the **total population** (Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal) in **British Columbia**.

Aboriginal identity and Treaty or Registered Indian

In 2006, the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands numbered 400. Of these, 100% reported First Nations (North American Indian) as their Aboriginal identity. Of the 400 population, 98% reported that they were a Treaty Indian or Registered Indian.

Population change

Between 1996 and 2006, there was a 1% increase in the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands compared to a 20% increase in the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia and a 10% increase in the total population in British Columbia.

Table 1 Population counts and change, Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison areas, 1996, 2001, 2006

	Population			Change 1996-2006
	1996	2001	2006	
Esketemc First Nation and comparison areas	number			percentage
Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands	395	445	400	1.3
Aboriginal population on reserve British Columbia	42,455	46,380	51,060	20.3
Total population, British Columbia	3,689,755	3,868,870	4,074,385	10.4

Note: In this table, the data for British Columbia are not adjusted for differences in incompletely enumerated Indian reserves in each year. This affects the percentage change 1996-2006. When adjusted for the difference in incompletely enumerated Indian reserves, the 1996-2006 percentage change for the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia is 16.8%, and for total population in British Columbia is 10.3%.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 1996, 2001, and 2006

Incompletely enumerated Indian reserves

Some Indian reserves and settlements did not participate in the census as enumeration was not permitted, or it was interrupted before completion. In British Columbia, in 2006 there was one incompletely enumerated reserve, down from three in 2001 and nineteen in 1996. When comparing data from different census years, and particularly when calculating percentage change from one census year to another, data from each census year can be adjusted to account for the differences in incompletely enumerated Indian reserves in different years.

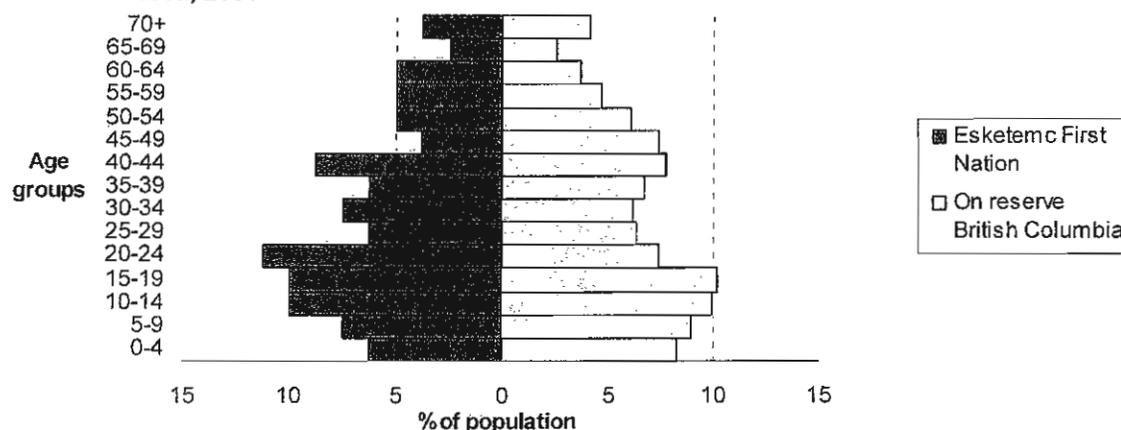
Age and Sex

Median age

In 2006, the median age for the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands was 27.8 years compared to 29.2 years for the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia. Median age is the age at which half the population is younger and half the population is older.

Age distribution

Chart 1 Age Pyramid, Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison area, 2006



Note: The bars show the percentage of the population in each age group.
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 2006

Age and sex distribution

Of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands, 24% were under the age of 15 compared to 27% of the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia. 6.3% of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands were 65 and older compared to 6.7% of the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia.

Table 2 Age and sex distribution of Aboriginal population, Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison area, 2006

Age groups	Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands			Aboriginal population on reserve British Columbia		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
Total, All Ages	100.0	51.3	50.0	100.0	51.4	48.6
0 to 14	23.8	11.3	13.8	27.1	14.1	13.0
15 to 24	23.8	12.5	10.0	17.5	9.2	8.4
25 to 34	13.8	7.5	6.3	12.4	6.4	6.0
35 to 44	15.0	7.5	7.5	14.4	7.2	7.2
45 to 54	8.8	3.8	3.8	13.5	7.0	6.5
55 to 64	11.3	6.3	5.0	8.3	4.4	4.0
65 and over	6.3	2.5	3.8	6.7	3.2	3.5

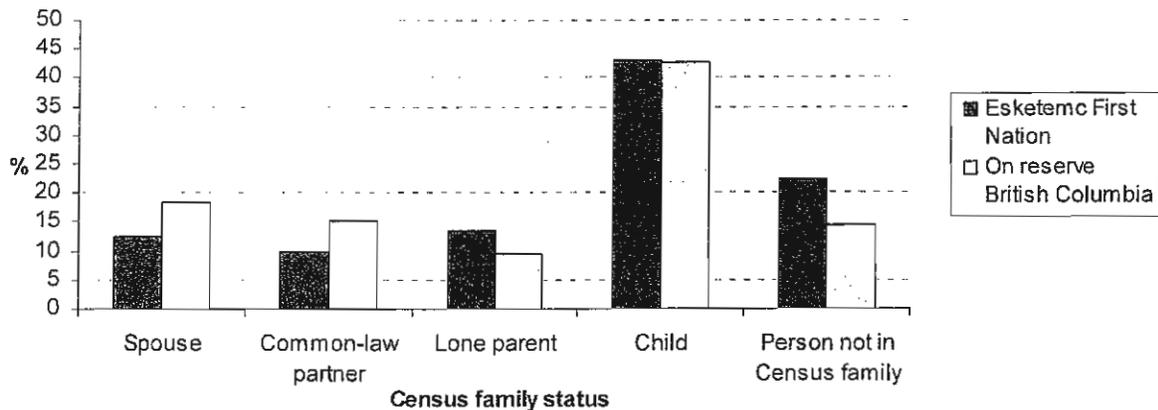
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 2006

Children and Families

Census family status

Of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands in private households, 43% were children. In comparison, 43% of the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia in private households were children. Of the population in private households, 22% in the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands and 14% in the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia were persons not in a census family.

Chart 2 Census family status of Aboriginal population in private households, Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison area, 2006

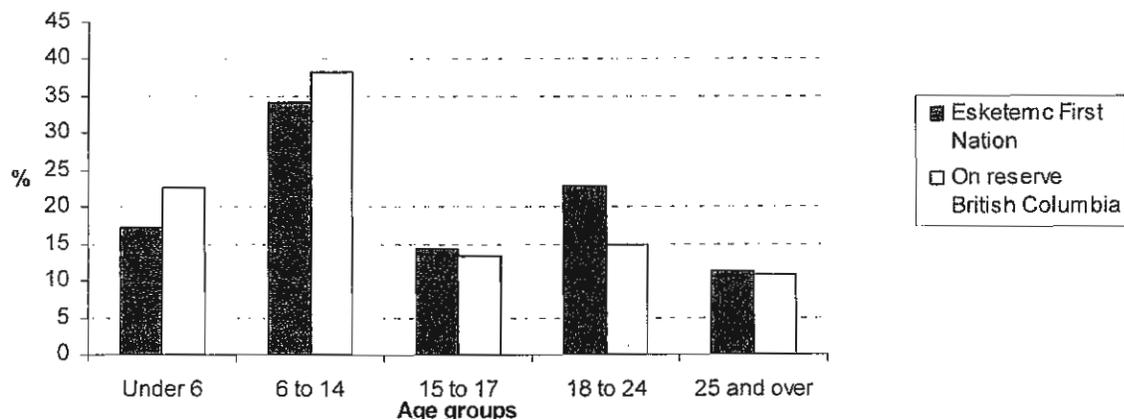


Note: The bars show the percentage of the population in private households in each census family status.
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 2006

Age of children

In 2006, 63% of the Aboriginal children on Esketemc First Nation lands were under the age of 18. In comparison, 74% of the Aboriginal children on reserve in British Columbia were under the age of 18.

Chart 3 Age of Aboriginal children in census families, Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison area, 2006



Note: The bars show the percentage of all children in census families in each age group.
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 2006

Family concepts: see Appendix C for explanation of family concepts, e.g. census family status.

Living arrangements of population aged 14 and under

Of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands aged 14 and under, 42% lived with both parents in 2006, 21% lived with a lone father and 32% lived with a lone mother. This compares to 62% of the Aboriginal population aged 14 and under on reserve in British Columbia that lived with both parents, 9% lived with a lone father and 26% lived with a lone mother.

Chart 4 Living arrangements of Aboriginal population aged 14 and under, Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison area, 2006

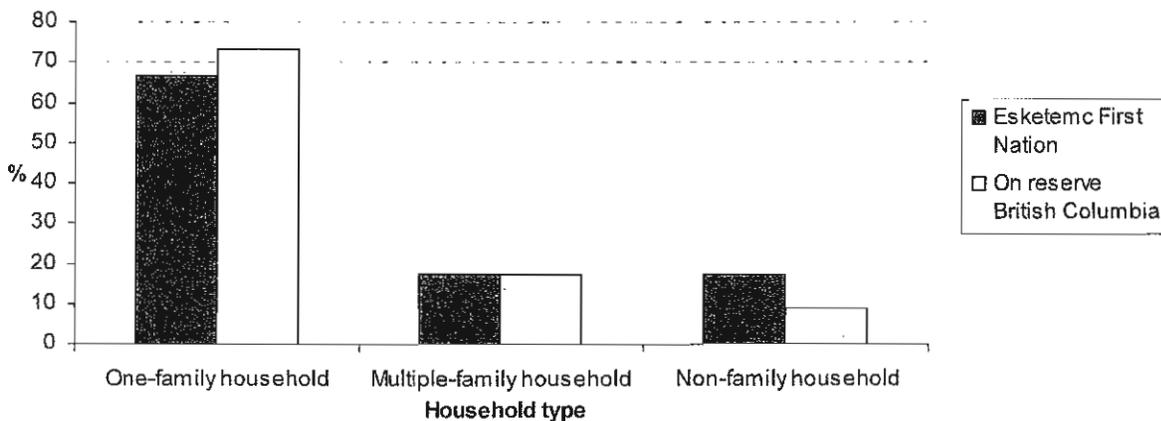


Notes: The bars show the percentage of the population aged 14 and under in each living arrangement. The percentages living with relatives, non-relatives or alone are very small and are not shown.
 Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 2006

Household type

The majority of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands, at 67%, and of the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia, at 74%, lived in one-family households. Of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands, 17% lived in multi-family households compared to 17% of the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia.

Chart 5 Household type of Aboriginal population in private households, Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison area, 2006



Note: The bars show the percentage of all population in private households in each household type.
 Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 2006

Aboriginal Language

Knowledge of Aboriginal language and Aboriginal language mother tongue

In 2006, 38% of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands had knowledge of an Aboriginal language compared to 23% of the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia. 24% of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands had an Aboriginal language as a mother tongue compared to 19% of the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia.

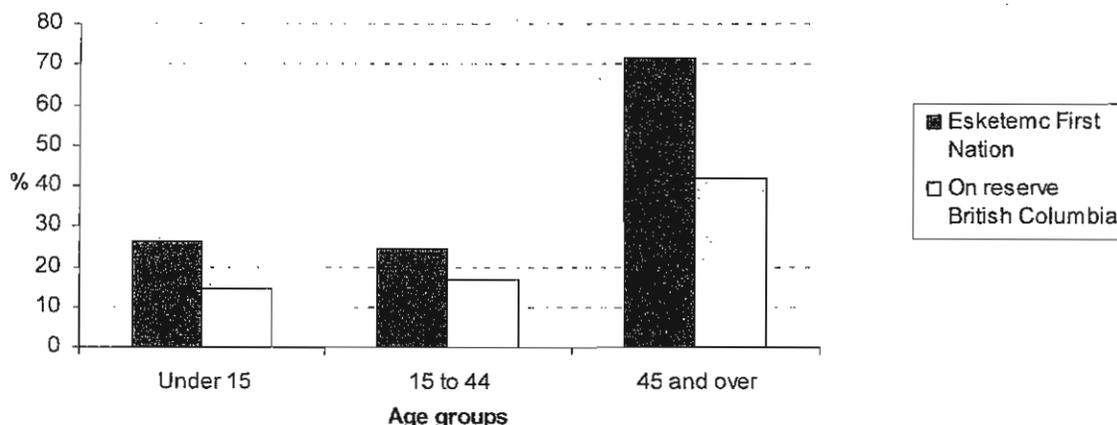
Most known Aboriginal language

In the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands, 150 people (38%) reported that they could conduct a conversation in a Salish language.

Knowledge of Aboriginal language by age

Of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands aged 45 and over, 71% had knowledge of an Aboriginal language compared to 42% of the Aboriginal population aged 45 and over on reserve in British Columbia. At the other end of the age spectrum, 26% of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands under age 15 had knowledge of an Aboriginal language compared to 15% of the Aboriginal population under age 15 on reserve in British Columbia.

Chart 6 Percent of Aboriginal population with knowledge of an Aboriginal language, by age group, Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison area, 2006



Note: The bars show, for each age group, the percentage of the population in that age group that have knowledge of an Aboriginal language.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 2006

Language concepts

Knowledge of a language refers to the ability to conduct a conversation in that language.

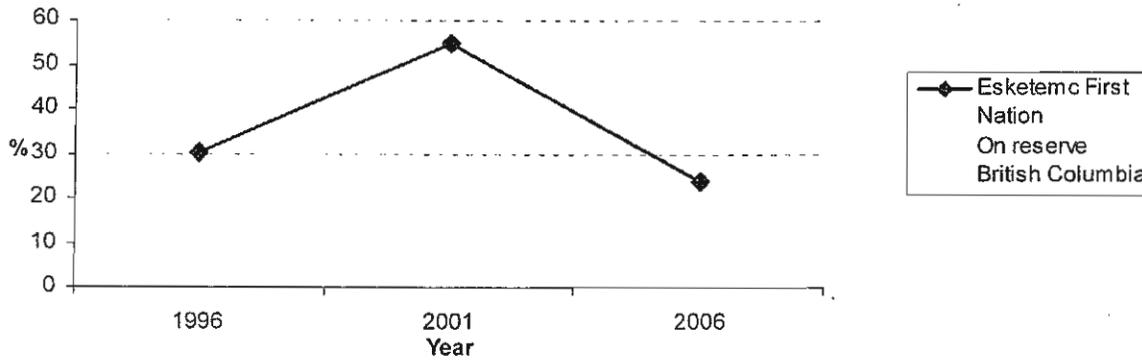
Mother tongue refers to the first language learned at home in childhood and still understood by the individual at the time of the census.

Aboriginal languages include the following Aboriginal language groups: Algonquian languages, Athapaskan languages, Haida, Iroquoian languages, Kutenai, Salish languages, Siouan languages (Dakota/Sioux), Tlingit, Tsimshian languages, Wakashan languages, Inuktitut, and Aboriginal languages not included elsewhere.

Aboriginal language mother tongue change

For the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands the percentage with an Aboriginal language mother tongue decreased from 30% in 1996 to 24% in 2006. For the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia, the percentage with an Aboriginal language mother tongue decreased from 20% to 19%.

Chart 7 Percent of Aboriginal population with an Aboriginal language mother tongue, Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison area, 1996, 2001, 2006



Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 1996, 2001, and 2006

Language reporting

Census questions regarding language (mother tongue, knowledge of language, home language, language at work) permit more than one response when appropriate. In this report, language data include all those who reported at least one Aboriginal language, regardless of whether they reported only the one Aboriginal language, more than one Aboriginal language, or Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal language(s).

Rounded data

To prevent the possibility of associating statistical data with any identifiable individual, when census data are tabulated, they are subjected to a confidentiality procedure known as random rounding. Under this method, all counts are rounded either up or down to an amount ending in either "0" or "5" (counts that already end with "0" or "5" are not changed). Features of the random rounding algorithm include: 1) each count in the table, including cell values, margins and the total, is rounded independently; 2) each count is rounded according to a pre-determined frequency; and 3) the rounding pattern applied in each table is initiated using a random seed value.

Random rounding of census data may result in a minor difference between the sum of rounded cell data and the corresponding rounded margin or total. It may also result in a difference of five between the rounded amounts of a particular count appearing in two or more tabulations. For large counts, these variations do not add significant error to the census data. For example, the possible variation on a rounded amount of 500 due to random rounding is 1%, and for a distribution of a count rounded to 500, the variation between the sum of rounded category amounts and the rounded total of 500 is also typically 1%.

For smaller counts, the possible variation introduced by random rounding is larger and more significant. The possible variation on a rounded amount of 100 due to random rounding is 5%, and the variation between the sum of rounded category amounts and the rounded total of 100 is also typically 5%. However, while the small rounded amounts in individual categories may be susceptible to this level of variation or higher, the features of the random rounding algorithm combine to dampen the impact of these variations on the pattern of a distribution, even for distributions of relatively small counts. In other words, large categories remain large and small categories remain small regardless of the presence of rounding, and categories with rounded amounts that are the same or very close remain so regardless of rounding.

See page 6 for information regarding percentages calculated using rounded data.

Education

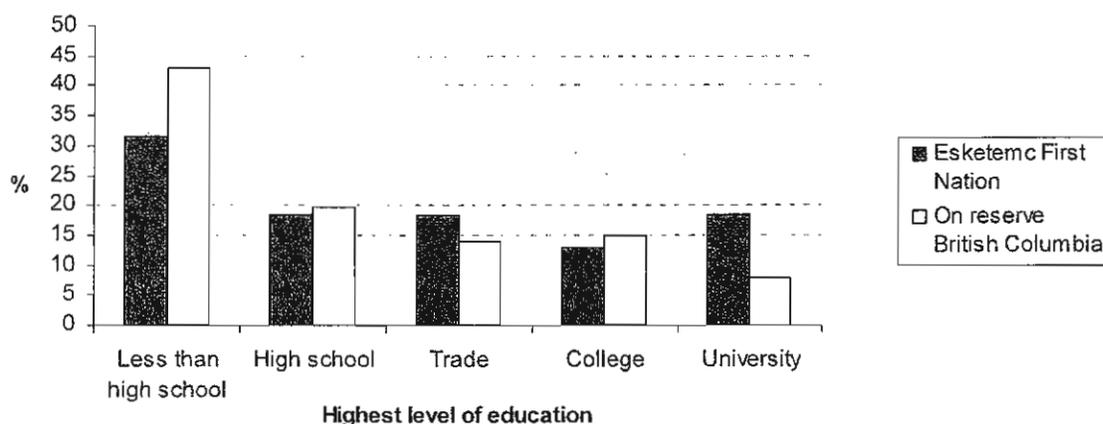
School attendance

In 2006, 63% of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands aged 15 to 24 attended school in the eight months prior to the Census compared to 49% of the Aboriginal population aged 15 to 24 on reserve in British Columbia.

Highest level of education

Of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands aged 25 to 64, 50% had completed some form of postsecondary education compared to 37% of the Aboriginal population aged 25 to 64 on reserve in British Columbia. Approximately 18% of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands aged 25 to 64 reported having a high school certificate or equivalent as their highest level of education compared to 20% of the Aboriginal population aged 25 to 64 on reserve in British Columbia. In 2006, 32% of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands aged 25 to 64 had not completed a high school certificate or equivalent or any postsecondary education, compared to 43% of the Aboriginal population aged 25 to 64 on reserve in British Columbia.

Chart 8 Highest level of education of Aboriginal population aged 25 to 64, Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison area, 2006



Note: The bars show the percentage of the population aged 25-64 in each highest level of education.
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 2006

Education concepts

School attendance refers to attendance during the approximately eight months prior to the Census. Attendance can be full or part time. Only attendance at recognized educational institutions in courses that provide credit towards a certificate, diploma or degree is included.

Highest level of education is based on completion of a certificate, diploma or degree, as follows:

- "Less than high school" signifies no certificate, diploma or degree completed.
- "High school" signifies completion of a high school certificate or equivalent.
- "Trades" signifies completion of apprenticeship or a trades certificate or diploma.
- "College" signifies completion of a college, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma.
- "University" signifies completion of a university certificate, diploma or degree.

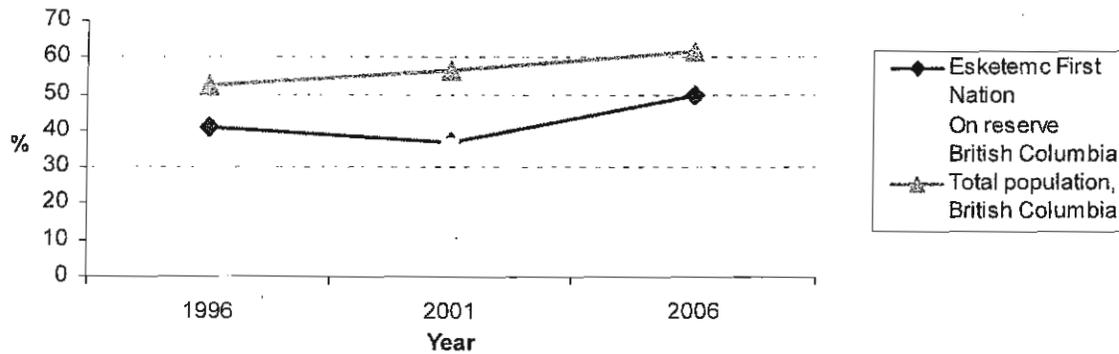
Postsecondary qualifications include trades, college and university levels.

Major field of study refers to the main subject area of the individual's highest certificate, diploma or degree.

Population with postsecondary qualifications change

Of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands aged 25 to 64, the percentage with postsecondary qualifications increased from 41% in 1996 to 50% in 2006. For the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia aged 25 to 64, the percentage with postsecondary qualifications increased from 32% to 37%. For the total population in British Columbia aged 25 to 64, the percentage with postsecondary qualifications increased from 52% to 62% from 1996 to 2006.

Chart 9 Percent of population aged 25 to 64 with postsecondary qualifications, Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison areas, 1996, 2001, 2006



Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 1996, 2001, and 2006

Major field of study

The most commonly reported major fields of study for the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands aged 15 and over with postsecondary qualifications were Other fields of study (26%); Business, management and public administration (22%); and Sciences, mathematics, engineering and related (22%). In comparison, for the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia aged 15 and over with postsecondary qualifications, the most commonly reported major fields of study were Sciences, mathematics, engineering and related (25%) and Business, management and public administration (22%).

Table 3 Major field of study for Aboriginal population aged 15 and over with postsecondary qualifications, Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison area, 2006

Major field of study	percentage	
	Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands	Aboriginal population on reserve British Columbia
Education	0.0	6.6
Arts, humanities and social sciences	13.0	15.4
Business, management and public administration	21.7	21.5
Sciences, mathematics, engineering and related	21.7	24.6
Health, parks, recreation and fitness	8.7	11.8
Other fields	26.1	20.0

Notes: The data show the percentage of the population aged 15 and over with post secondary qualifications in each major field of study. Major fields of study are based on the Classification of Instructional Programs (CIP) 2000.

Arts, humanities, and social sciences includes: Visual and performing arts and communication technologies; Humanities; and Social and behavioural sciences and law.

Sciences, mathematics, engineering and related includes: Physical and life sciences and technologies; Mathematics, computer and information sciences; and Architecture, engineering, and related technologies.

Other fields includes: Agriculture, natural resources and conservation; Personal, protective and transportation services; and Other fields of study.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 2006

Labour Force Participation

Labour force participation counts and rate

In 2006, the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands aged 15 and over had a labour force participation rate of 57.4% compared to 57.1% for the Aboriginal population aged 15 and over on reserve in British Columbia.

Table 4 Labour force participation counts and rate of Aboriginal population aged 15 and over, Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison area, 2006

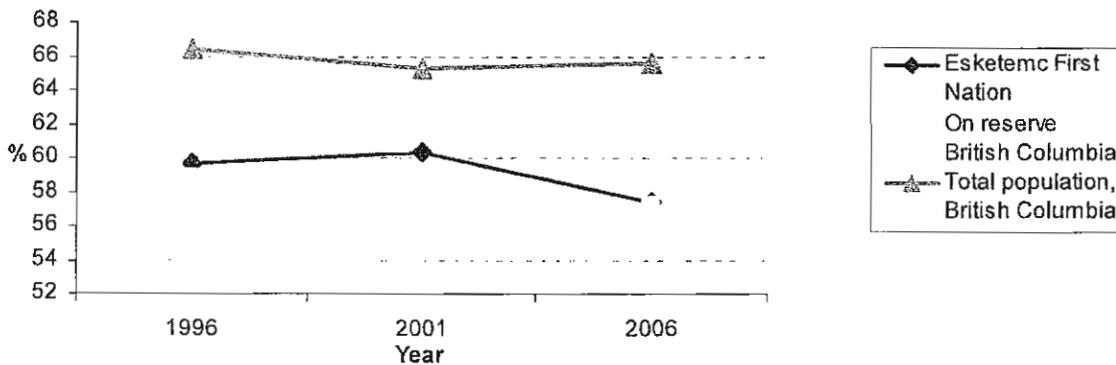
Labour force participation counts and rate	Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands	Aboriginal population on reserve British Columbia
	number	
Population aged 15 and over	305	37,215
Labour Force	175	21,230
Employed	120	15,925
Unemployed	55	5,305
Not in labour force	135	15,985
Participation rate (%)	57.4	57.1

Note: Participation rate is the ratio of the labour force to the population aged 15 and over.
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 2006

Participation rate change

The labour force participation rate for the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands aged 15 and over decreased from 59.6% in 1996 to 57.4% in 2006. For the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia aged 15 and over the participation rate decreased from 58.8% to 57.1% during that same time period. For the total population in British Columbia aged 15 and over, the participation rate decreased from 66.4% in 1996 to 65.6% in 2006.

Chart 10 Labour force participation rate of population aged 15 and over, Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison areas, 1996, 2001, 2006



Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 1996, 2001, and 2006

Labour force concepts

Labour force concepts refer to the activity of persons aged 15 and over in the week before the census. Persons are either employed or unemployed (which total to the labour force) or not in the labour force. The participation rate is the ratio of the labour force to the total population aged 15 and over. See Appendix C for more explanation of labour force concepts.

Industry, Occupation and Work Activity

Industry

The majority, 60%, of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands aged 15 and over who worked since January 1, 2005 were employed in services producing industries, while 40% were employed in goods producing industries. In comparison, 70% of Aboriginal population aged 15 and over who worked since January 1, 2005 on reserve in British Columbia were employed in services producing industries and 30% were employed in goods producing industries.

For the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands aged 15 and over who worked since January 1, 2005, the most common industries to work in were Resource-based industries (30%); Public administration (23%); and Health care and social assistance (13%). The most commonly reported industries for the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia aged 15 and over who worked since January 1, 2005 were Public administration (21%); Resource-based industries (14%); and Other services (12%).

Table 5 Industry of Aboriginal population aged 15 and over who worked since January 1, 2005, Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison area, 2006

Industry	Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands	Aboriginal population on reserve British Columbia
	percentage	
Goods producing industries – Total	40.0	30.1
Resource-based industries	30.0	14.1
Construction	5.0	7.9
Manufacturing	5.0	8.0
Services producing industries - Total	60.0	70.0
Wholesale and retail trade	5.0	7.5
Financial and insurance and real estate	5.0	1.3
Health care and social assistance	12.5	9.7
Educational services	5.0	6.9
Business services	10.0	10.9
Other services	5.0	12.3
Public administration	22.5	21.3

Notes: The data show the percentage of the population aged 15 and over who worked since January 1, 2005 in each industry sector.

Industry sectors are based on the North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) 2002.

Resource-based industries include: Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting; Mining, and oil and gas extraction; and Utilities.

Business services includes: Transportation and warehousing; Information and cultural industries; Professional, scientific and technical services; Management of companies and enterprises; and Administrative and support, waste management and remediation services.

Other services include Arts, entertainment, and recreation; Accommodation and food services; and Other services (except Public administration).

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 2006

Industry and occupation

Industry refers to the nature of business of the establishment where a person worked.

Occupation refers to the kind of work a person does based on the type of job or the description of main activities of the job.

These refer to the job a person worked at in the week before the census. If a person did not have a job in the week before the census, he/she refers to the job of longest duration since January 1 of the year before the census.

Occupation

The most common occupations for the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands aged 15 and over who worked since January 1, 2005 were Occupations unique to primary industry (33%); Sales and service occupations (18%); and Business, finance and administration occupations (15%). For the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia aged 15 and over who worked since January 1, 2005, the most common occupations were Sales and service occupations (25%); Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations (17%); and Occupations unique to primary industry (15%).

Table 6 Occupation of Aboriginal population aged 15 and over who worked since January 1, 2005, Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison area, 2006

Occupation	Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands	Aboriginal population on reserve British Columbia
	percentage	
Management	5.0	5.9
Business, finance and administration	15.0	11.3
Natural and applied sciences and related	5.0	3.3
Health	0.0	1.8
Social science, education, government service and religion	12.5	12.1
Art, culture, recreation and sport	0.0	2.6
Sales and service	17.5	25.3
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related	12.5	16.8
Unique to primary industry	32.5	14.6
Unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities	5.0	6.2

Note: The data show the percentage of the population aged 15 and over who worked since January 1, 2005 in each broad occupation category.

Broad occupation categories are based on the National Occupational Classification System for Statistics (NOC-S) 2006.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 2006

Work activity in 2005

Of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands aged 15 and over who worked in 2005, 33% worked full year, full time. In comparison, of the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia aged 15 and over who worked in 2005, 35% worked full year, full time.

Work activity in 2005

Work activity of the population aged 15 and over who worked in 2005 is the combination of the number of weeks worked in 2005 and whether in most weeks the work was full time or part time. Worked 49 to 52 weeks in 2005 is considered full year, and worked 30 or more hours most weeks is considered full time.

Earnings

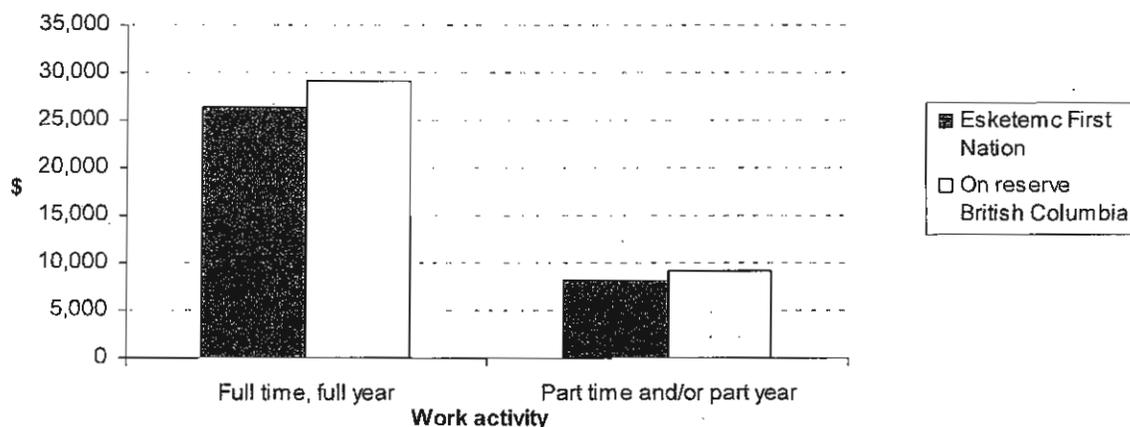
Median earnings

In 2005, for the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands aged 15 and over with earnings, median earnings was \$11,616 compared to \$13,267 for the Aboriginal population aged 15 and over with earnings on reserve in British Columbia.

Median earnings by work activity

For the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands aged 15 and over who worked full time, full year in 2005, median earnings in 2005 was \$26,496 compared to \$29,220 for the Aboriginal population aged 15 and over who worked full time, full year in 2005 on reserve in British Columbia. For the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands aged 15 and over who worked part time and/or part year in 2005, median earnings in 2005 was \$8,208 compared to \$9,195 for the Aboriginal population aged 15 and over who worked part time and/or part year in 2005 on reserve in British Columbia.

Chart 11 Median earnings of Aboriginal population aged 15 and over with earnings, by work activity, Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison area, 2005



Note: The bars show the median earnings of the population aged 15 and over with earnings in each type of work activity.
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 2006

Earnings concepts

Earnings, or income from employment, refers to income received during the calendar year before the census as wages and salaries, net income from a non-farm unincorporated business or professional practice, and net farm self-employment income.

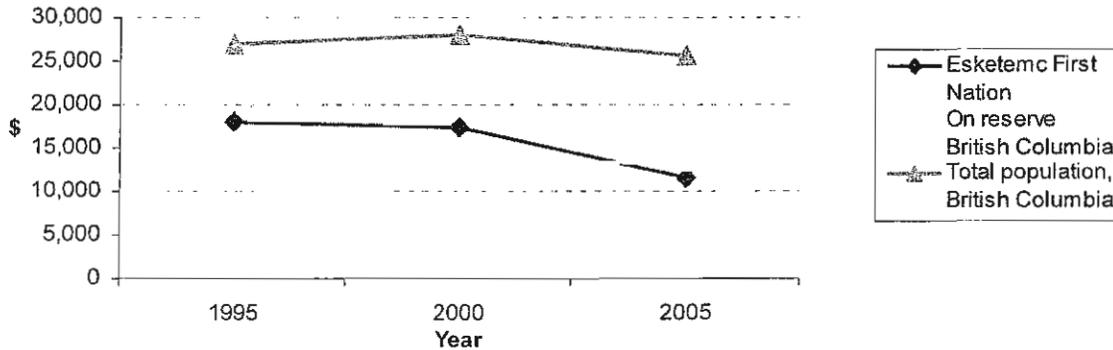
Median earnings is the amount at which half of those with earnings had a higher amount of earnings, and half of those with earnings had a lower amount of earnings.

Constant 2005 dollars (\$) are used to report income statistics from earlier censuses in dollars that have equivalent value to 2005. The constant 2005 dollars are calculated to reflect the change in the cost of living from the earlier period(s) to 2005. For example, to convert the 2000 reported incomes into constant 2005 dollars, the 2000 values are revised upwards by the percentage change in the Canadian Consumer Price Index between 2000 and 2005 (i.e. they are multiplied by 1.1216).

Median earnings change

For the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands aged 15 and over with earnings, median earnings in constant 2005 dollars dropped from \$17,984 in 1995 to \$11,616 in 2005 (a 55% decrease). For the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia aged 15 and over with earnings, median earnings in constant 2005 dollars grew from \$12,185 to \$13,267 (an 8% increase). For the total population in British Columbia aged 15 and over with earnings, median earnings in constant 2005 dollars dropped from \$26,875 to \$25,722 (a 4% decrease).

Chart 12 Median earnings in constant 2005 dollars of population aged 15 and over with earnings, Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison areas, 1995, 2000, 2005

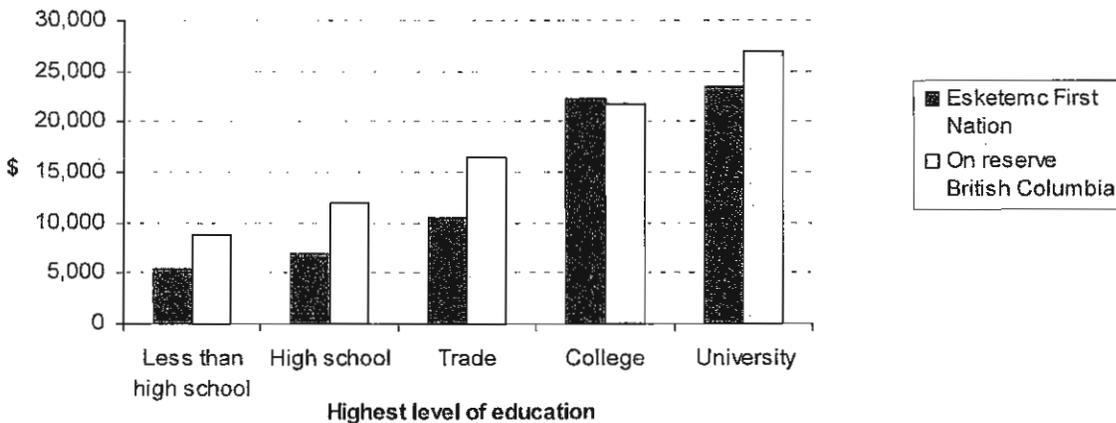


Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 1996, 2001, and 2006

Median earnings by highest level of education

For the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands aged 15 and over with earnings, median earnings in 2005 were highest for persons with a university education. The same pattern was seen for the Aboriginal population aged 15 and over with earnings on reserve in British Columbia.

Chart 13 Median earnings of Aboriginal population aged 15 and over with earnings, by highest level of education, Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison area, 2005



Note: The bars show, for each highest level of education, the median earnings of the population aged 15 and over. Median earnings are not reported for small counts.
 Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 2006

Total Income

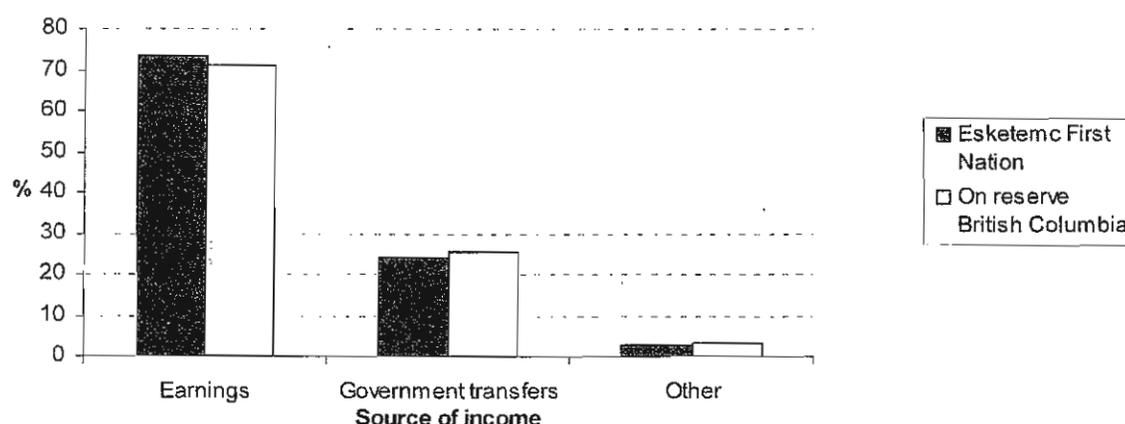
Median total income

For the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands aged 15 and over with total income in 2005, the median was \$10,368 compared to \$11,388 for the Aboriginal population aged 15 and over with total income on reserve in British Columbia.

Sources of total income

For both the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands and the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia, earnings provided the largest share of total income, at 74% and 71% respectively. Government transfers provided 24% of the total income for the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands. For the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia, 26% of the total income was from government transfers.

Chart 14 Sources of total income, Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison area, 2005



Note: The bars show the percentage of total income in each source of income.
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 2006

Median household income

In 2005, for households of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands, median household income was \$25,088 compared to \$28,380 for households of the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia.

Income concepts

Total income refers to income received in the calendar year before the census from all sources. Sources of income include earnings, government transfers and other sources. See earnings in the previous section. Government transfers include old age pension and guaranteed income supplement, Canada and Quebec Pension Plan benefits, Employment Insurance benefits, child benefits and other income from government sources. Other sources of income include dividends, interest and other investment income; retirement pensions, superannuation and annuities; and other money income.

Median total income is the amount at which half of those with income had a higher amount of income, and half of those with income had a lower amount of income.

Household income is the sum of the total incomes of the individuals in that household. Median household income is the amount at which half of the households had a higher amount of income, and half of the households had a lower amount of income.

Housing

Population in occupied private dwellings

In 2006, 9% of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands lived in overcrowded dwellings, compared to 13% of the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia. Overcrowding refers to individuals living in a dwelling where there is more than one person per room.

Of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands, 33% lived in dwellings that were band housing, 51% lived in rented dwellings, and 15% lived in owned dwellings. In comparison, of the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia, 25% lived in dwellings that were band housing, 18% lived in rented dwellings, and 57% lived in owned dwellings.

The majority of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands lived in single-detached houses (73%), followed by movable dwellings (15%). For the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia, most people lived in single-detached houses (86%), followed by movable dwellings (6%).

In 2006, 49% of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands lived in dwellings that required major repairs. In comparison, of the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia, 39% lived in dwellings that required major repairs.

Of the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands, 62% lived in dwellings built before 1991, compared to 58% of the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia.

Table 7 Selected characteristics of Aboriginal population in occupied private dwellings, Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison area, 2006

	Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands	Aboriginal population on reserve British Columbia
	percentage	
Overcrowding		
Overcrowded	8.6	13.1
Not overcrowded	91.4	86.9
Tenure		
Band housing	33.3	25.1
Rented	50.6	18.3
Owned	14.8	56.5
Structural type of dwelling		
Single-detached house	72.8	86.3
Semi-detached or double house	0.0	3.0
Row house	11.1	3.0
Apartment/flat in a duplex	0.0	1.3
Moveable dwelling	14.8	5.6
Other	0.0	0.8
Condition of dwelling		
Major repairs needed	49.4	39.0
Minor repairs needed	35.8	32.7
Regular maintenance only	14.8	28.3
Period of construction of dwelling		
Before 1961	0.0	4.4
1961-1970	3.7	7.4
1971-1980	18.5	14.7
1981-1990	39.5	31.8
1991-2000	37.0	32.0
2001-2006	0.0	9.6

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 2006

Occupied private dwellings

For the Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands, the average number of rooms per dwelling was 5.4 while the average number of persons per dwelling was 3.2. For the Aboriginal population on reserve in British Columbia the average number of rooms per dwelling was 6.2 while the average number of persons per dwelling was 3.2.

Table 8 Selected characteristics of occupied private dwellings, Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison area, 2006

Dwelling characteristics	Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands	Aboriginal population on reserve British Columbia
Population in occupied private dwellings	405	51,000
Number of occupied private dwellings	125	16,640
Average number of rooms per dwelling	5.4	6.2
Average number of bedrooms per dwelling	2.8	3.1
Average number of persons per dwelling	3.2	3.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 2006

Housing concepts

Occupied private dwelling refers to a private dwelling in which a person or a group of persons is permanently residing. Also included are private dwellings whose usual residents are temporarily absent on Census Day.

Overcrowding is defined as more than one person per room, not counting bathrooms, halls, vestibules and rooms used solely for business purposes.

Tenure refers to whether the dwelling is band housing or some member of the household owns or rents the dwelling.

Structural type of dwelling refers to the structural characteristics of the dwelling and the configuration of the dwelling with other adjacent dwellings. Structural types include:

- single-detached house - a single dwelling with space on all sides and nothing above or below
- semi-detached house - one of two dwellings attached side by side and nothing above or below
- row house - one of three or more dwellings attached side by side
- apartment or flat in a duplex - one of two dwellings one above the other
- moveable dwelling - includes mobile home and other moveable dwelling
- other - includes apartment in a building with five or more storeys, apartment in a building with fewer than five storeys, and other single attached.

Condition of dwelling refers to whether the dwelling needs major repairs, minor repairs or regular maintenance only.

Period of construction refers to the time period in which the dwelling was originally constructed.

Number of rooms refers to the number of rooms in the dwelling. A room is an enclosed area, but does not include bathrooms, halls, vestibules and rooms used solely for business purposes.

Number of bedrooms refers to all rooms designed and furnished as bedrooms and used mainly for sleeping purposes, even though the use may be occasional (e.g., spare bedroom).

Households and housing of the Aboriginal population

In this report, for the reporting of median household income, the households included in the calculation of the median were those with at least one Aboriginal person in the household. Similarly, for the reporting of the number of occupied private dwellings and the related averages, the dwellings included were those with at least one Aboriginal person in the dwelling.

Key Indicators

Table 9 Key indicators, Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands and comparison areas, 2001, 2006

	Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands		Aboriginal population on reserve British Columbia		Total population, British Columbia	
	2001	2006	2001	2006	2001	2006
Population	445	400	46,380	51,060	3,868,870	4,074,385
% Aboriginal	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	4.4	4.8
% Registered Indian	97.8	97.5	96.3	95.6	2.7	2.7
median age	26.1	27.8	27.3	29.2	38.2	40.5
% age 14 and under	30.3	23.8	30.3	27.1	18.3	16.7
% age 15 to 24	18.0	23.8	16.6	17.5	13.2	13.2
% age 25 to 64	46.1	47.5	47.3	48.7	55.4	56.1
% age 65 and over	5.6	6.3	5.8	6.7	13.0	14.0
% with knowledge of Aboriginal language	55.1	37.5	20.4	23.5	0.4	0.5
% with Aboriginal language mother tongue	55.1	23.8	15.7	19.0	0.3	0.4
Children in census families	190	175	20,415	21,730	1,187,495	1,202,145
% age 17 and under	73.7	62.9	78.0	74.3	72.2	69.2
Population aged 14 and under	135	95	14,030	13,840	707,760	678,740
% living with lone parent	37.0	52.6	30.4	34.1	19.3	18.0
Population aged 15 to 24	80	95	7,695	8,960	512,155	538,010
% attended school	56.3	63.2	53.9	48.9	63.1	65.4
Population aged 25 to 64	205	190	21,950	24,845	2,144,050	2,284,470
% with postsecondary qualifications	36.6	50.0	35.2	37.2	56.4	61.8
% with university certificate, diploma or degree	7.3	18.4	4.5	8.1	23.9	30.2
Population aged 15 and over	315	305	32,350	37,215	3,160,565	3,394,910
% in labour force (participation rate)	60.3	57.4	58.5	57.1	65.2	65.6
% of employed (employment rate)	38.1	39.3	41.6	42.8	59.6	61.6
% of labour force unemployed (unemployment rate)	36.8	28.6	28.9	25.0	8.5	6.0
Population aged 15 and over worked in previous year	165	195	19,355	21,210	2,132,165	2,332,380
% worked full time, full year	42.4	33.3	27.8	34.6	48.9	49.4
Population 15 and over with earnings in previous year	170	185	19,370	20,450	2,128,545	2,392,805
median previous year earnings (in constant 2005 \$)	17,344	11,616	13,450	13,267	28,147	25,722
Population 15 and over with total income in previous year	270	280	29,750	33,620	2,990,520	3,230,565
median previous year total income (in constant 2005 \$)	13,528	10,368	13,025	11,388	24,781	24,867
% of total income from earnings	68.1	73.5	68.9	71.0	75.8	75.1
% of total income from government transfers	30.6	24.3	27.7	25.5	11.8	10.7
Population in private households/dwellings	450	405	46,350	51,000	3,858,735	4,054,605
% children	42.2	43.2	44.0	42.6	30.8	29.6
% non-family persons	20.0	22.2	13.5	14.4	17.3	17.4
% living in one family households	70.0	66.7	77.1	73.5	79.8	79.0
% living in overcrowded dwellings	21.1	8.6	12.9	13.1	3.5	3.8
% living in dwellings needing major repairs	32.2	49.4	34.3	39.0	8.3	7.4
% living in dwellings constructed before 15 years prior	43.3	61.7	46.1	58.4	66.2	69.5
Private households	125	125	15,055	16,640	1,534,335	1,643,145
median household income (in constant 2005 \$)	33,664	25,088	30,879	28,380	52,490	52,709
Occupied private dwellings	125	125	15,055	16,640	1,534,335	1,643,145
average number of rooms per dwelling	5.4	5.4	6.0	6.2	6.2	6.4
average number of persons per dwelling	3.6	3.2	3.2	3.2	2.5	2.5

Note: In this table, data for British Columbia are not adjusted for differences in incompletely enumerated Indian reserves in 2001 and 2006. In 2006, there was one incompletely enumerated Indian reserve, down from three in 2001. This difference does not significantly affect the data shown.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 2001 and 2006

Appendix A - Data Table

	Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands	Aboriginal population on reserve British Columbia	Total population, British Columbia
Population			
Total population (Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal identity population)	X	X	4,074,385
Total Aboriginal identity population by Aboriginal group	400	51,060	196,070
North American Indian single response	400	49,275	129,575
Métis single response	0	695	59,445
Inuit single response	0	20	795
Multiple Aboriginal identity responses	0	40	1,655
Aboriginal responses not included elsewhere	0	1,030	4,600
Total population by Registered Indian status	400	51,055	4,074,385
Registered Indian	390	48,815	110,550
Not a Registered Indian	15	2,250	3,963,835
Population, 1996	395	42,455	3,689,755
Population, 2001	445	46,380	3,868,870
Population, 2006	400	51,060	4,074,385
Age and Sex			
Total population by age group	400	51,060	4,074,385
0 to 4 years	25	4,230	202,110
5 to 9 years	30	4,560	220,535
10 to 14 years	40	5,050	256,825
15 to 19 years	40	5,180	273,285
20 to 24 years	45	3,780	264,725
25 to 29 years	25	3,215	244,545
30 to 34 years	30	3,130	253,165
35 to 39 years	25	3,420	289,445
40 to 44 years	35	3,955	333,170
45 to 49 years	15	3,765	342,565
50 to 54 years	20	3,105	318,930
55 to 59 years	20	2,385	288,075
60 to 64 years	20	1,870	214,570
65 to 69 years	10	1,310	169,000
70 years and over	15	2,105	403,435
median age	27.8	29.2	40.5
Total population by sex and age group	400	51,060	4,074,385
0 to 14 years	95	13,840	679,475
15 to 24 years	95	8,960	538,010
25 to 34 years	55	6,345	497,715
35 to 44 years	60	7,375	622,615
45 to 54 years	35	6,870	661,490
55 to 64 years	45	4,255	502,645
65 years and over	25	3,415	572,430
Total males	205	26,265	1,998,385
0 to 14 years	45	7,200	348,800
15 to 24 years	50	4,690	275,720
25 to 34 years	30	3,285	240,975
35 to 44 years	30	3,675	300,890
45 to 54 years	15	3,550	320,335
55 to 64 years	25	2,230	247,745
65 years and over	10	1,640	263,915
Total females	200	24,790	2,076,000
0 to 14 years	55	6,640	330,680
15 to 24 years	40	4,270	262,290
25 to 34 years	25	3,065	256,735
35 to 44 years	30	3,700	321,720
45 to 54 years	15	3,320	341,155
55 to 64 years	20	2,030	254,905
65 years and over	15	1,770	308,515

	Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands	Aboriginal population on reserve British Columbia	Total population, British Columbia
Children and Families			
Total population in private households by census family status	405	51,000	4,054,605
Spouses	50	9,385	1,688,860
Common-law partners	40	7,740	283,655
Lone parents	55	4,825	175,165
Children	175	21,730	1,202,145
Persons not in census family	90	7,320	704,780
Total number of children in census families by age group	175	21,730	1,202,145
0 to 5 years	30	4,945	240,785
6 to 14 years	60	8,330	430,195
15 to 17 years	25	2,885	160,485
18 to 24 years	40	3,235	243,990
25 years and over	20	2,345	126,685
Total population aged 14 and under by living arrangements	95	13,840	678,740
Living with two parents	40	8,560	548,515
Living with lone father	20	1,180	21,370
Living with lone mother	30	3,530	101,100
Living with relatives	0	500	5,975
Living with non-relatives	0	70	1,780
Living alone	0	0	0
Total population in private households by household type	405	51,000	4,054,605
Living in one-family household	270	37,485	3,203,780
Living in multiple-family household	70	8,915	243,545
Living in non-family household	70	4,605	607,285
Aboriginal Language			
Total population by Aboriginal language mother tongue	400	51,060	4,074,385
Population with Aboriginal language mother tongue	95	9,690	14,955
Total population by knowledge of Aboriginal language	400	51,060	4,074,385
No knowledge of Aboriginal languages	255	39,080	4,055,300
Knowledge of at least one aboriginal language	150	11,975	19,085
Algonquian languages	0	435	2,095
Athapaskan languages	10	3,460	5,060
Haida	0	100	180
Iroquoian languages	0	0	85
Kutenai	0	150	185
Salish languages	150	3,995	5,155
Siouan languages (Dakota/Sioux)	0	680	740
Tlingit	0	20	20
Tsimshian languages	0	1,980	3,185
Wakashan languages	0	1,000	1,570
Inuktitut	0	35	125
Aboriginal languages not included elsewhere	0	210	870
Total population aged 14 and under	95	13,840	679,475
Population aged 14 and under with knowledge of Aboriginal language	25	2,030	2,900
Total population aged 15 to 44	205	22,675	1,658,340
Population aged 15 to 44 with knowledge of Aboriginal language	50	3,835	6,280
Total population aged 45 and over	105	14,540	1,736,565
Population aged 45 and over with knowledge of Aboriginal language	75	6,110	9,905
Population with Aboriginal language mother tongue, 1996	120	8,290	14,465
Population with Aboriginal language mother tongue, 2001	245	7,280	12,720
Population with Aboriginal language mother tongue, 2006	95	9,690	14,955

	Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands	Aboriginal population on reserve British Columbia	Total population, British Columbia
Education			
Total population aged 15 to 24 by school attendance	95	8,960	538,010
Did not attend school	30	4,570	186,265
Attended school	60	4,385	351,745
Total population aged 25 to 64 by highest level of education	190	24,845	2,284,470
Completed less than high school	60	10,685	282,200
Completed high school	35	4,930	591,270
Completed trades	35	3,510	273,450
Completed college	25	3,710	447,010
Completed university	35	2,015	690,535
Total population aged 25 to 64, 1996	170	19,325	2,022,390
Population aged 25 to 64 with postsecondary qualifications, 1996	70	6,110	1,054,980
Total population aged 25 to 64, 2001	205	21,950	2,144,050
Population aged 25 to 64 with postsecondary qualifications, 2001	75	7,730	1,209,655
Total population aged 25 to 64, 2006	190	24,845	2,284,470
Population aged 25 to 64 with postsecondary qualifications, 2006	95	9,230	1,410,995
Total population 15 and over with postsecondary qualifications by major field of study	115	10,690	1,772,915
Education	0	705	135,900
Arts, humanities and social sciences	15	1,650	355,450
Visual and performing arts, and communication technologies	0	230	76,385
Humanities	10	450	101,875
Social and behavioural sciences and law	0	965	177,185
Business, management and public administration	25	2,300	366,975
Sciences, mathematics, engineering and related fields	25	2,630	514,940
Physical and life sciences and technologies	0	65	63,415
Mathematics, computer and information sciences	0	200	66,200
Architecture, engineering, and related technologies	25	2,370	385,325
Health, parks, recreation and fitness	10	1,265	252,655
Other fields	30	2,140	146,990
Agriculture, natural resources and conservation	10	820	45,020
Personal, protective and transportation services	15	1,315	101,725
Other fields of study	0	0	240
Note: Based on the Classification of Instructional Programs, 2000.			
Labour Force Participation			
Total population aged 15 and over by labour force activity	305	37,215	3,394,910
In the labour force	175	21,230	2,226,385
Employed	120	15,925	2,092,765
Unemployed	55	5,305	133,615
Not in the labour force	135	15,985	1,168,525
Participation rate %	57.4	57.1	65.6
Employment rate %	39.3	42.8	61.6
Unemployment rate %	28.6	25.0	6.0
Labour force participation rate %, 1996	59.6	58.8	66.4
Labour force participation rate %, 2001	60.3	58.5	65.2
Labour force participation rate %, 2006	57.4	57.1	65.6

	Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands	Aboriginal population on reserve British Columbia	Total population, British Columbia
Industry, Occupation and Work Activity			
Total population aged 15 and over who worked since January 1, 2005 by industry	200	23,115	2,419,210
Goods producing sector	80	6,950	506,235
Resource-based industries	60	3,250	120,675
Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting	55	2,820	86,630
Mining and oil and gas extraction	0	325	21,815
Utilities	0	105	12,230
Construction	10	1,835	179,885
Manufacturing	10	1,860	205,675
Services producing sector	120	16,170	1,912,980
Wholesale and retail trade	10	1,730	378,200
Wholesale trade	0	215	99,745
Retail trade	10	1,510	278,455
Finance and insurance and real estate	10	290	146,205
Finance and insurance	0	140	90,605
Real estate and rental and leasing	0	150	55,600
Health care and social assistance	25	2,250	232,240
Educational services	10	1,605	169,080
Business services	20	2,525	476,610
Transportation and warehousing	0	660	123,725
Information and cultural industries	0	100	64,165
Professional, scientific and technical services	0	480	176,350
Management of companies and enterprises	0	10	3,415
Administrative support, waste management and remediation services	10	1,270	108,945
Other services	10	2,845	387,845
Arts, entertainment, and recreation	10	600	59,305
Accommodation and food services	10	1,610	206,060
Other services (except Public administration)	0	640	122,490
Public administration	45	4,935	122,800
Note: Based on the North American Industry Classification System, 2002.			
Total population aged 15 and over who worked since January 1, 2005 by occupation	200	23,115	2,419,210
A Management occupations	10	1,370	245,105
B Business, finance and administration occupations	30	2,615	415,705
C Natural and applied sciences and related occupations	10	765	148,440
D Health occupations	0	425	129,385
E Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	25	2,795	197,160
F Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	0	600	86,195
G Sales and service occupations	35	5,850	631,135
H Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	25	3,875	366,830
I Occupations unique to primary industry	65	3,380	98,405
J Occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities	10	1,425	100,850
Note: Based on the National Occupational Classification System for Statistics, 2006.			
Total population aged 15 and over who worked in 2005 by work activity	195	21,210	2,332,380
Worked full year, full time in 2005	65	7,330	1,151,520
Worked part year or part time in 2005	130	13,880	1,180,860
Earnings			
Total population aged 15 and over who worked in 2005 with 2005 earnings	170	18,025	2,210,630
Median 2005 earnings \$	14,240	15,292	28,237
Worked full year, full time in 2005	60	6,455	1,113,365
Median 2005 earnings \$	26,496	29,220	42,230
Worked part year or part time in 2005	105	11,575	1,097,260
Median 2005 earnings \$	8,208	9,195	14,086
Population aged 15 and over median earnings (in constant 2005 \$), 1995	17,984	12,185	26,875
Population aged 15 and over median earnings (in constant 2005 \$), 2000	17,344	13,450	28,147
Population aged 15 and over median earnings \$, 2005	11,616	13,267	25,722

	Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands	Aboriginal population on reserve British Columbia	Total population, British Columbia
Total population aged 15 and over with 2005 earnings by highest level of education	185	20,450	2,392,805
Total population aged 15 and over - median 2005 earnings \$	11,616	13,267	25,722
Completed less than high school - median 2005 earnings \$	5,424	8,735	11,782
Completed high school - median 2005 earnings \$	6,992	12,000	20,440
Completed trades - median 2005 earnings \$	10,528	16,488	31,379
Completed college - median 2005 earnings \$	22,304	21,792	30,022
Completed university - median 2005 earnings \$	23,520	26,909	35,399
Total Income			
Total population 15 years and over with 2005 total income	280	33,620	3,230,565
Median 2005 total income \$	10,368	11,388	24,867
Total sources of 2005 total income %	101.6	100.0	100.0
Earnings %	73.5	71.0	75.1
Government transfers %	24.3	25.5	10.7
Other %	2.6	3.4	14.2
Number of private households	125	16,640	1,643,145
Median 2005 household income \$	25,088	28,380	52,709
Housing			
Total population in private occupied dwellings	405	51,000	4,054,605
Living in overcrowded dwelling	35	6,705	153,355
Not living in overcrowded dwelling	370	44,300	3,901,250
Living in band housing	135	12,820	13,820
Living in rented dwelling	205	9,345	1,021,460
Living in owned dwelling	60	28,840	3,019,325
Living in single-detached house	295	44,000	2,250,785
Living in semi-detached or double house	0	1,540	127,140
Living in row house	45	1,515	281,175
Living in apartment/flat in a duplex	0	650	476,765
Living in movable dwelling	60	2,865	87,815
Living in mobile home	60	2,745	81,775
Living in other movable dwelling	10	120	6,035
Living in other dwelling type	0	430	830,935
Living in apartment in a building that has five or more storeys	0	80	195,955
Living in apartment in a building that has fewer than five storeys	0	240	627,360
Living in other single-attached house	0	105	7,620
Living in dwelling needing major repairs	200	19,875	300,045
Living in dwelling needing minor repairs	145	16,670	1,065,835
Living in dwelling needing regular maintenance only	60	14,455	2,688,725
Living in dwellings built before 1991	250	29,770	2,817,765
Living in dwellings built before 1961	0	2,265	711,690
Living in dwellings built in 1961-1970	15	3,760	489,700
Living in dwellings built in 1971-1980	75	7,520	859,645
Living in dwellings built in 1981-1990	160	16,220	756,730
Living in dwellings built in 1991-2000	150	16,340	868,735
Living in dwellings built in 2001-2006	0	4,890	368,105
Number of occupied private dwellings	125	16,640	1,643,145
Average number of rooms per dwelling	5.4	6.2	6.4
Average number of bedrooms per dwelling	2.8	3.1	2.7
Average number of persons per dwelling	3.2	3.2	2.5

	Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands	Aboriginal population on reserve British Columbia	Total population, British Columbia
Key Indicators, 2001			
Population	445	46,380	3,868,870
Aboriginal identity population	445	46,380	170,025
Registered Indian	435	44,685	103,550
Median age	26.1	27.3	38.2
Aged 14 and under	135	14,035	708,310
Aged 15 to 24	80	7,695	512,155
Aged 25 to 64	205	21,950	2,144,050
Aged 65 and over	25	2,700	504,365
With knowledge of Aboriginal language	245	9,470	17,195
With Aboriginal language mother tongue	245	7,280	12,720
Children in census families	190	20,415	1,187,495
Aged 17 and under	140	15,925	856,905
Population aged 14 and under	135	14,030	707,760
Living with lone parent	50	4,270	136,680
Population aged 15 to 24	80	7,695	512,155
Attended school	45	4,150	323,075
Population aged 25 to 64	205	21,950	2,144,050
With postsecondary qualifications	75	7,730	1,209,655
With university certificate, diploma or degree	15	995	512,715
Population aged 15 and over	315	32,350	3,160,565
% in labour force (participation rate)	60.3	58.5	65.2
% employed (employment rate)	38.1	41.6	59.6
% of labour force unemployed (unemployment rate)	36.8	28.9	8.5
Population aged 15 and over worked in 2000	165	19,355	2,132,165
Worked full time, full year in 2000	70	5,390	1,042,415
Population aged 15 and over with 2000 earnings	170	19,370	2,128,545
Median 2000 earnings (in constant 2005 \$)	17,344	13,450	28,147
Population aged 15 and over with 2000 total income	270	29,750	2,990,520
Median 2000 total income (in constant 2005 \$)	13,528	13,025	24,781
% of total income from earnings	68.1	68.9	75.8
% of total income from government transfers	30.6	27.7	11.8
Population in private households/dwellings	450	46,350	3,858,735
Children	190	20,410	1,187,495
Persons not in census family	90	6,235	667,595
Living in one family households	315	35,720	3,080,625
Living in overcrowded dwellings	95	5,975	135,880
Living in dwellings needing major repairs	145	15,895	320,210
Living in dwellings constructed before 1986	195	21,355	2,553,230
Private households	125	15,055	1,534,335
Median 2000 household income (in constant 2005 \$)	33,664	30,879	52,490
Occupied private dwellings	125	15,055	1,534,335
Average number of rooms per dwelling	5.4	6.0	6.2
Average number of persons per dwelling	3.6	3.2	2.5

	Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands	Aboriginal population on reserve British Columbia	Total population, British Columbia
Key Indicators, 2006			
Population	400	51,060	4,074,385
Aboriginal identity population	400	51,060	196,070
Registered Indian	390	48,815	110,550
Median age	27.8	29.2	40.5
Aged 14 and under	95	13,840	679,475
Aged 15 to 24	95	8,960	538,010
Aged 25 to 64	190	24,845	2,284,470
Aged 65 and over	25	3,415	572,430
With knowledge of Aboriginal language	150	11,975	19,085
With Aboriginal language mother tongue	95	9,690	14,955
Children in census families	175	21,730	1,202,145
Aged 17 and under	110	16,155	831,470
Population aged 14 and under	95	13,840	678,740
Living with lone parent	50	4,715	122,465
Population aged 15 to 24	95	8,960	538,010
Attended school	60	4,385	351,745
Population aged 25 to 64	190	24,845	2,284,470
With postsecondary qualifications	95	9,230	1,410,995
With university certificate, diploma or degree	40	2,010	690,535
Population aged 15 and over	305	37,215	3,394,910
% in labour force (participation rate)	57.4	57.1	65.6
% employed (employment rate)	39.3	42.8	61.6
% of labour force unemployed (unemployment rate)	28.6	25.0	6.0
Population aged 15 and over worked in 2005	195	21,210	2,332,380
Worked full time, full year in 2005	65	7,330	1,151,520
Population aged 15 and over with 2005 earnings	185	20,450	2,392,805
Median 2005 earnings \$	11,616	13,267	25,722
Population aged 15 and over with 2005 total income	280	33,620	3,230,565
Median 2005 total income \$	10,368	11,388	24,867
% of total income from earnings	73.5	71.0	75.1
% of total income from government transfers	24.3	25.5	10.7
Population in private households/dwellings	405	51,000	4,054,605
Children	175	21,730	1,202,145
Persons not in census family	90	7,320	704,780
Living in one family households	270	37,485	3,203,780
Living in overcrowded dwellings	35	6,705	153,355
Living in dwellings needing major repairs	200	19,875	300,045
Living in dwellings constructed before 1991	250	29,770	2,817,765
Private households	125	16,640	1,643,145
Median 2005 household income \$	25,088	28,380	52,709
Occupied private dwellings	125	16,640	1,643,145
Average number of rooms per dwelling	5.4	6.2	6.4
Average number of persons per dwelling	3.2	3.2	2.5

Note: In this table, data for British Columbia are not adjusted for differences in incompletely enumerated Indian reserves in 1996, 2001, and 2006. In 2006, there was one incompletely enumerated Indian reserve, down from three in 2001 and nineteen in 1996.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 1996, 2001, and 2006

Appendix B - On Reserve Population

On-reserve population is defined according to criteria established by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. On-reserve population includes people living in any of eight census subdivision (CSD) types legally affiliated with First Nations or Indian bands (described below), as well as selected CSDs of various other types that are northern communities in Saskatchewan, the Northwest Territories and the Yukon.

Census subdivision types included in on reserve

The following census subdivision types are based on the legal definition of communities affiliated with First Nations or Indian Bands.

1. **Indian reserve (IRI)** - A tract of federally owned land with specific boundaries that is set apart for the use and benefit of an Indian band and that is governed by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC). Statistics Canada only recognizes the subset of Indian reserves that are populated (or potentially populated) as census subdivisions. For 2006, of the more than 2,900 Indian reserves across Canada, there are 1,095 Indian reserves classified as CSDs (including the 43 reserves added for 2006). Statistics Canada works closely with INAC to identify those reserves to be added as CSDs.
2. **Indian settlement (S-É)** – A place where a self-contained group of at least 10 Indian (Aboriginal) persons resides more or less permanently. It is usually located on Crown lands under federal or provincial/territorial jurisdiction. Indian settlements have no official limits and have not been set apart for the use and benefit of an Indian band as is the case with Indian reserves. Statistics Canada relies on INAC to identify Indian settlements to be recognized as census subdivisions, and their inclusion must be with the agreement of the provincial or territorial authorities. An arbitrary boundary is delineated to represent each Indian settlement as a census subdivision.
3. **Indian government district (IGD)** – Sechelt reserve lands in British Columbia. The *Sechelt Indian Band Self-Government Act* is a transfer by Her Majesty in right of Canada to the Sechelt Band in all Sechelt reserve lands, recognizing that the Sechelt Band would assume complete responsibility for the management, administration and control of all Sechelt lands. The *Sechelt Indian Government District Enabling Act* (British Columbia) recognizes the district Council as the governing body of the Sechelt Indian Government District. The district Council may enact laws or by-laws that a municipality has power to enact under an Act of the province.
4. **Terres réservées aux Cris (TC)** – Parcels of land in Quebec set aside for the permanent residence of Cree First Nations of Quebec. *Terres réservées aux Cris* are adjacent to *village cri*. The area of a *village cri* is set aside for the use of Cree Bands, but members of Cree Bands are not permanently residing there. Note that a *village cri* and its adjacent *terre réservée aux Cris* can have the same name, e.g., the *village cri* of Waswanipi and the *terre réservée aux Cris* of Waswanipi.
5. **Terres réservées aux Naskapis (TK)** – Parcels of land in Quebec set aside for the permanent residence of Naskapi First Nations of Quebec. *Terres réservées aux Naskapis* are adjacent to *village Naskapi*. The lone area of *village Naskapi* is set aside for the use of the Naskapi band, although its members do not reside there permanently.
6. **Nisga'a village (NVL)** – The four former Bands of the Nisga'a Nation that became villages with the Final Land Claims Agreement of 1998 between the Nisga'a Nation, the Government of Canada and the Government of British Columbia. These include the villages of Gingolx, Gitwinksihlkw, Laxgalts'ap and New Aiyansh. Note that the Nisga'a village called New Aiyansh is delineated as two separate census subdivisions, which correspond to the former Indian reserves called Aiyansh 1 (currently unpopulated) and New Aiyansh 1.
7. **Nisga'a land (NL)** – Part of the territory whose title has been transferred to the Nisga'a Nation by the Final Land Claims Agreement of 1998 between the Nisga'a Nation, the Government of Canada and the Government of British Columbia. Together with the four Nisga'a villages (NVL), this territory makes up the Nisga'a Lands defined by the land claims agreement.

8. **Teslin land (TL)** – A parcel of rural settlement land whose title has been transferred to the Teslin Tlingit Council by the Teslin Tlingit Council Land Claims Agreement of 1993 between the Teslin Tlingit Council, the Government of Canada and the Government of the Yukon.

Selected census subdivisions included in on reserve

The following table lists the specific northern communities selected by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada because they are affiliated with First Nations or Indian bands. The people living in these CSDs are included in the definition of on-reserve population.

Selected census subdivisions included in on reserve population, 2006 Census

CSD Code	CSD Type	CSD Name	CSD Code	CSD Type	CSD Name
6107003	CC	Déline (N.W.T.)	6001043	SÉ	Old Crow (Y.T.)
6107010	CC	Tsigehchic (N.W.T.)	6001047	SÉ	Johnson's Crossing (Y.T.)
6107009	CC	Fort Good Hope (N.W.T.)	6001048	SÉ	Carcross (Y.T.)
6106031	CG	Behchokò (N.W.T.)	6001032	SÉ	Upper Liard (Y.T.)
6106034	CG	Whati (N.W.T.)	6106005	SET	Kakisa (N.W.T.)
6106049	CG	Gamèti (N.W.T.)	6106006	SET	Trout Lake (N.W.T.)
6106052	CG	Wekweèti (N.W.T.)	6106010	SET	Nahanni Butte (N.W.T.)
6106009	HAM	Fort Liard (N.W.T.)	6106013	SET	Jean Marie River (N.W.T.)
6106014	HAM	Fort Providence (N.W.T.)	6106018	SET	Fort Resolution (N.W.T.)
6107005	HAM	Tulita (N.W.T.)	6106020	SET	Lutsel'è (N.W.T.)
6107015	HAM	Fort McPherson (N.W.T.)	6106021	SET	Detah (N.W.T.)
4718049	NV	Denare Beach (Sask.)	6106044	SET	Wrigley (N.W.T.)
4718058	NV	Sandy Bay (Sask.)	6107012	SET	Colville Lake (N.W.T.)
6001036	SÉ	Tagish (Y.T.)	6106001	T	Fort Smith (N.W.T.)
6001037	SÉ	Ross River (Y.T.)	6001018	VL	Haines Junction (Y.T.)
6001039	SÉ	Burwash Landing (Y.T.)	6001022	VL	Mayo (Y.T.)
6001041	SÉ	Pelly Crossing (Y.T.)	6106038	VL	Fort Simpson (N.W.T.)
6001042	SÉ	Beaver Creek (Y.T.)			

CC – Chartered Community

CG – Community Government

HAM – Hamlet

NV – Northern Village

SÉ – Settlement

SET – Settlement

T – Town

VL – Village

Appendix C - Census Terms

Population

Aboriginal identity

Refers to those persons who reported identifying with at least one Aboriginal group, that is, North American Indian, Métis or Inuit, and/or those who reported being a Treaty Indian or a Registered Indian, as defined by the *Indian Act* of Canada, and/or those who reported they were members of an Indian band or First Nation.

Registered or Treaty Indian

Refers to those persons who reported being registered under the *Indian Act* of Canada.

On reserve

On reserve includes eight census subdivision (CSD) types legally affiliated with First Nations or Indian bands, i.e., Indian reserve (IRI), Indian settlement (S-E), Indian government district (IGD), terres réservées aux Cris (TC), terres réservées aux Naskapis (TK), Nisga'a village (NVL), Nisga'a land (NL) and Teslin land (TL), as well as 35 additional CSDs of various other types that are generally northern communities in Saskatchewan, the Northwest Territories and the Yukon Territory, which have large concentrations of Registered Indians.

Age and Sex

Median age

Age refers to the age at last birthday (as of the census reference date, May 16, 2006). Median age is the age which divides the population into two halves, i.e. the ages of the first half of individuals are below the median, while those of the second half are above the median.

Children and Families

Census family

Refers to a married couple (with or without children of either or both spouses), a couple living common-law (with or without children of either or both partners) or a lone parent of any marital status with at least one child living in the same dwelling. A couple may be of opposite or same sex. 'Children' in a census family include grandchildren living with their grandparent(s) but with no parents present.

Census family status

Refers to the classification of persons according to whether they are family persons or persons not in families. Family persons are further classified as spouses, common-law partners, lone parents or children.

Children

Refers to blood, step- or adopted sons and daughters (regardless of age or marital status) who are living in the same dwelling as their parent(s), as well as grandchildren in households where there are no parents present. Sons and daughters who are living with their spouse or common-law partner, or with one or more of their own children, are not considered to be members of the census family of their parent(s), even if they are living in the same dwelling. In addition, the sons or daughters who do not live in the same dwelling as their parent(s) are not considered members of the census family of their parent(s). When sons or daughters study or have a summer job elsewhere but return to live with their parent(s) during the year, these sons and daughters are considered members of the census family of their parent(s).

Living arrangements

Refers to the classification of persons according to whether they are living with other members of their own family, members of another family, or non-family persons only. Parents refer to persons who are blood, step- or adopted parents (regardless of age or marital status) who are living in the same dwelling as their child(ren), as well as grandparents living with grandchildren in households where there are no parents present. Lone parent refers to a mother or a father, with no spouse or common-law partner present, living in a dwelling with one or more children. Other relatives include persons who are not in a census family and who live in households where at least one of the other members of the household is related to them. Non-relatives may also be present in the household. Non-relatives include persons who live in households with other people, none of whom is related to them either by blood, marriage, common-law or adoption.

Household

Refers to a person or a group of persons (other than foreign residents) who occupy the same dwelling and do not have a usual place of residence elsewhere in Canada. It may consist of a family group (census family) with or without other persons, of two or more families sharing a dwelling, of a group of unrelated persons, or of one person living alone. Household members who are temporarily absent on Census Day (e.g., temporary residents elsewhere) are considered as part of their usual household. For census purposes, every person is a member of one and only one household.

Household type

Family household refers to a household that contains at least one census family, that is, a married couple with or without children, or a couple living common-law with or without children, or a lone parent living with one or more children (lone-parent family). One-family household refers to a single census family (with or without other non-family persons) that occupies a private dwelling. Multiple-family household refers to a household in which two or more census families (with or without additional non-family persons) occupy the same private dwelling. Non-family household refers to either one person living alone in a private dwelling or to a group of two or more people who share a private dwelling, but who do not constitute a census family.

Aboriginal Language**Knowledge of a language**

Refers to the ability of a person to conduct a conversation in a language.

Mother tongue

Refers to the first language learned at home in childhood and still understood by the individual at the time of the census.

Aboriginal languages

Aboriginal languages include the following Aboriginal language groups:

- Algonquian languages
- Athapaskan languages
- Haida
- Iroquoian languages
- Kutenai
- Salish languages
- Siouan languages (Dakota/Sioux)
- Tlingit
- Tsimshian languages
- Wakashan languages
- Inuktitut
- Aboriginal languages not included elsewhere

Education

School attendance

Refers to attendance and the type of school attended during the nine-month period between September 2005 and May 16, 2006. An individual's attendance could be either full time or part time (day or evening), even if the individual dropped out after registration. Attendance was counted only for courses which could be used as credits towards a certificate, diploma or degree from a recognized educational institution (elementary or secondary school, registered apprenticeship programs, trade schools, colleges, CEGEPs and universities). Recognized education institutions also included seminaries, schools of nursing, private business schools, private or public trade schools, institutes of technology, vocational schools, or schools for people who are deaf or blind. Attendance at school was not counted for training received from an employer unless it could be used as credit towards a certificate, diploma or degree from a recognized educational institution.

Highest level of education (Highest Certificate, Diploma, or Degree)

This is a derived variable obtained from the educational qualifications questions, which asked for all certificates, diplomas and degrees to be reported. There is an implied hierarchy in this variable (secondary school graduation, registered apprenticeship and trades, college, university) which is loosely tied to the 'in-class' duration of the various types of education. However, at the detailed level a registered apprenticeship graduate may not have completed a secondary school certificate or diploma, nor does an individual with a master's degree necessarily have a certificate or diploma above the bachelor's degree level. Therefore, although the sequence is more or less hierarchical, it is a general rather than an absolute gradient measure of academic achievement.

Major field of study (based on the Classification of Instructional Programs 2000)

Refers to the predominant discipline or area of learning or training of a person's highest postsecondary certificate, diploma or degree. The major field of study classification structure consists of 12 major or primary categories: education; visual and performing arts, and communications technologies; humanities; social and behavioural sciences and law; business, management and public administration; physical and life sciences and technologies; mathematics, computer and information sciences; architecture, engineering and related technologies; agriculture, natural resources and conservation; health, parks, recreation and fitness; personal, protective and transportation services; other. This structure is, in turn, subdivided into 59 'series' and 351 'sub-series' categories.

Labour Force Participation

Labour force

Refers to persons who were either employed or unemployed during the reference week, Sunday to Saturday prior to Census Day.

Employed

Refers to persons who, during the reference week either:

- a) did any work at all for pay or in self-employment or without pay in a family farm, business or professional practice; or
- b) were absent from their job or business, with or without pay, for the entire week because of a vacation, an illness, a labour dispute at their place of work, or any other reasons.

Unemployed

Refers to persons who, during the reference week, were without paid work or without self-employment work and were available for work and either:

- a) had actively looked for paid work in the past four weeks; or
- b) were on temporary lay-off and expected to return to their job; or
- c) had definite arrangements to start a new job in four weeks or less.

Not in the labour force

Refers to population aged 15 and over who were not employed or unemployed in the reference week.

Participation rate

Refers to the labour force expressed as a percentage of the population aged 15 and over.

Industry, Occupation and Work Activity**Industry (based on the North American Industry Classification System 2002 (NAICS))**

Refers to the general nature of the business carried out in the establishment where the person worked. If the person did not have a job during the week (Sunday to Saturday) prior to enumeration (May 16, 2006), the data relate to the job of longest duration since January 1, 2005. Persons with two or more jobs were required to report the information for the job at which they worked the most hours.

The 2006 Census industry data are produced according to the 2002 *North American Industry Classification System (NAICS 2002)*. The NAICS provides enhanced industry comparability among the three North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) trading partners (Canada, United States and Mexico). This classification consists of a systematic and comprehensive arrangement of industries structured into 20 sectors, 103 subsectors and 328 industry groups. The criteria used to create these categories are based on the similarity of input structures, labour skills or production processes used by establishments.

Occupation (based on the National Occupational Classification for Statistics 2006 (NOC-S 2006))

Refers to the kind of work persons were doing during the reference week, as determined by their kind of work and the description of the main activities in their job. If the person did not have a job during the week (Sunday to Saturday) prior to enumeration (May 16, 2006), the data relate to the job of longest duration since January 1, 2005. Persons with two or more jobs were to report the information for the job at which they worked the most hours.

The 2006 Census occupation data are classified according to the *National Occupational Classification for Statistics 2006 (NOC-S 2006)*. This classification is composed of four levels of aggregation. There are 10 broad occupational categories containing 47 major groups that are further subdivided into 140 minor groups. At the most detailed level, there are 520 occupation unit groups. Occupation unit groups are formed on the basis of the education, training, or skill level required to enter the job, as well as the kind of work performed, as determined by the tasks, duties and responsibilities of the occupation.

Work activity in 2005

Work activity of the population aged 15 and over who worked in 2005 is the combination of the number of weeks worked in 2005 and whether in most weeks the work was full time or part time. Worked 49 to 52 weeks in 2005 is considered full year, and worked 30 hours or more most weeks is considered full time. Worked full year, full time refers to persons who worked 49-52 weeks, mostly full time. Worked part year or part time refers to persons who worked less than 49-52 weeks and/or worked mostly part time.

Earnings**Earnings**

Refers to total income received by persons 15 years of age and over during calendar year 2005 as wages and salaries, net income from a non-farm unincorporated business and/or professional practice, and/or net farm self-employment income.

Median earnings

The median employment earnings of a specified group of income recipients is that amount which divides their income size distribution into two halves, i.e., the incomes of the first half of individuals are below the median, while those of the second half are above the median. Median employment earnings is calculated from the unrounded number of individuals (e.g., males 45 to 54 years of age) with income in that group.

Constant 2005 dollars

Constant 2005 dollars (\$) are used to report income statistics from earlier censuses in dollars that have equivalent value to 2005. The constant 2005 dollars are calculated to reflect the change in the cost of living from the earlier period(s) to 2005. For example, to convert the 2000 reported incomes into constant 2005 dollars, the 2000 values are revised upwards by the change in the Canadian Consumer Price Index between 2000 and 2005 (i.e. they are multiplied by 1.1216).

Total Income

Total income

Refers to the total money income received from the following sources during calendar year 2005 by persons 15 years of age and over:

- wages and salaries (total)
- net farm income
- net non-farm income from unincorporated business and/or professional practice
- Child benefits
- Old Age Security pension and Guaranteed Income Supplement
- benefits from Canada or Quebec Pension Plan
- benefits from Employment Insurance
- other income from government sources
- dividends, interest on bonds, deposits and savings certificates, and other investment income
- retirement pensions, superannuation and annuities, including those from RRSPs and RRIFs
- other money income.

Other money income refers to regular cash income received during calendar year 2005 and not reported in any of the other ten sources listed on the questionnaire. For example, severance pay and retirement allowances, alimony, child support, periodic support from other persons not in the household, income from abroad (excluding dividends and interest), non-refundable scholarships, bursaries, fellowships and study grants, and artists' project grants are included.

Sources of income

Earnings includes:

- wages and salaries (total)
- net farm income
- net non-farm income from unincorporated business and/or professional practice.

Government transfers refers to total income from all transfer payments received from federal, provincial, territorial or municipal governments, including:

- Child benefits
- Old Age Security pension and Guaranteed Income Supplement
- benefits from Canada or Quebec Pension Plan
- benefits from Employment Insurance
- other income from government sources.

Other sources includes:

- dividends, interest on bonds, deposits and savings certificates, and other investment income
- retirement pensions, superannuation and annuities, including those from RRSPs and RRIFs
- other money income.

Household income

Household income is the sum of the total incomes of the individuals in that household. Median household income is the amount at which half of the households had a higher amount of income, and half of the households had a lower amount of income.

Housing

Occupied private dwelling

Refers to a private dwelling in which a person or a group of persons is permanently residing. Also included are private dwellings whose usual residents are temporarily absent on Census Day. Unless otherwise specified, all data in housing products are for occupied private dwellings, rather than for unoccupied private dwellings or dwellings occupied solely by foreign and/or temporary residents.

Overcrowding

Refers to the number of persons in a dwelling compared to the number of rooms in the dwelling.

Overcrowded is defined as more than one person per room, not counting bathrooms, halls, vestibules and rooms used solely for business purposes.

Tenure

Refers to whether the dwelling is band housing or some member of the household owns or rents the dwelling.

Structural type of dwelling

Refers to the structural characteristics of the dwelling and the configuration of the dwelling with other adjacent dwellings. Structural types are:

- single-detached house, a single dwelling with open space on all sides and no dwelling above or below it.
- semi-detached house, one of two dwellings attached side by side, with open space on all sides and no dwellings above or below them.
- row house, one of three or more dwellings joined side by side with no dwellings above or below them.
- apartment or flat in a duplex, one of two dwellings one above the other, may be attached to other dwelling types or to non-dwelling buildings.
- apartment in a building with five or more storeys, a dwelling in a high-rise apartment building (must have five or more storeys).
- apartment in a building with fewer than five storeys, a dwelling attached to other dwellings or non-residential space in a building with fewer than five storeys.
- other single attached, a single dwelling attached to a non-residential structure.
- mobile home, a single dwelling designed and constructed to be moved on its own chassis.
- other movable dwelling, a single dwelling capable of being moved such as a travel trailer, houseboat, etc.

Condition of dwelling

Refers to whether the dwelling needs major repairs, minor repairs or regular maintenance only. Major repairs refer to the repair of defective plumbing or electrical wiring, structural repairs to walls, floors or ceilings, etc. Minor repairs refer to the repair of missing or loose floor tiles, bricks or shingles, defective steps, railing or siding, etc. Regular maintenance refers to painting, furnace cleaning, etc.

Period of construction

Refers to the time period in which the dwelling was originally constructed.

Number of rooms

Refers to the number of rooms in the dwelling. A room is an enclosed area, but does not include bathrooms, halls, vestibules and rooms used solely for business purposes.

Number of bedrooms

Refers to all rooms designed and furnished as bedrooms and used mainly for sleeping purposes, even though the use may be occasional (e.g., spare bedroom). Rooms used for one purpose during the day and as bedrooms at night (for example, a living room used as a bedroom during the night) are not included as bedrooms.

Other sources of information

Highlights and analysis provided by Statistics Canada when 2006 Census data about the Aboriginal population were first released are available in *Aboriginal Peoples in Canada in 2006: Inuit, Métis and First Nations, 2006 Census*, catalogue 97-558-XWE-2006001.

More information particularly relevant to Aboriginal census data regarding concepts, data collection, data quality and comparability is available in *Aboriginal Peoples Technical Report, 2006 Census*, catalogue 92-569-XWE.

Comprehensive information regarding the census including detailed definitions of concepts and variables is available in the *2006 Census Dictionary*, catalogue 92-566-XWE.

First Nation Name
First Nation lands

British Colum on reserve Br Esketemc First Nation
Alkali Lake 1, Alkali Lake 4A

Total population British Columbia	Aboriginal population on reserve British Columbia	Aboriginal population on Esketemc First Nation lands
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Population

Total population (Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal identity population)	4,074,385	X	X
Total Aboriginal identity population by Aboriginal group	196,070	51,060	400
North American Indian single response	129,575	49,275	400
Métis single response	59,445	695	0
Inuit single response	795	20	0
Multiple Aboriginal identity responses	1,655	40	0
Aboriginal responses not included elsewhere	4,600	1,030	0
Total population by Registered Indian status	4,074,385	51,055	400
Registered Indian	110,550	48,815	390
Not a Registered Indian	3,963,835	2,250	15
Population, 1996	3,689,755	42,455	395
Population, 2001	3,868,870	46,380	445
Population, 2006	4,074,385	51,060	400

Age and Sex

Total population by age group	4,074,385	51,060	400
0 to 4 years	202,110	4,230	25
5 to 9 years	220,535	4,560	30
10 to 14 years	256,825	5,050	40
15 to 19 years	273,285	5,180	40
20 to 24 years	264,725	3,780	45
25 to 29 years	244,545	3,215	25
30 to 34 years	253,165	3,130	30
35 to 39 years	289,445	3,420	25
40 to 44 years	333,170	3,955	35
45 to 49 years	342,565	3,765	15
50 to 54 years	318,930	3,105	20
55 to 59 years	288,075	2,385	20
60 to 64 years	214,570	1,870	20
65 to 69 years	169,000	1,310	10
70 years and over	403,435	2,105	15
median age	40.5	29.2	27.8
Total population by sex and age group	4,074,385	51,060	400
0 to 14 years	679,475	13,840	95
15 to 24 years	538,010	8,960	95
25 to 34 years	497,715	6,345	55
35 to 44 years	622,615	7,375	60
45 to 54 years	661,490	6,870	35

55 to 64 years	502,645	4,255	45
65 years and over	572,430	3,415	25
Total males	1,998,385	26,265	205
0 to 14 years	348,800	7,200	45
15 to 24 years	275,720	4,690	50
25 to 34 years	240,975	3,285	30
35 to 44 years	300,890	3,675	30
45 to 54 years	320,335	3,550	15
55 to 64 years	247,745	2,230	25
65 years and over	263,915	1,640	10
Total females	2,076,000	24,790	200
0 to 14 years	330,680	6,640	55
15 to 24 years	262,290	4,270	40
25 to 34 years	256,735	3,065	25
35 to 44 years	321,720	3,700	30
45 to 54 years	341,155	3,320	15
55 to 64 years	254,905	2,030	20
65 years and over	308,515	1,770	15

Children and Families

Total population in private households by census family status	4,054,605	51,000	405
Spouses	1,688,860	9,385	50
Common-law partners	283,655	7,740	40
Lone parents	175,165	4,825	55
Children	1,202,145	21,730	175
Persons not in census family	704,780	7,320	90

Total number of children in census families by age group	1,202,145	21,730	175
0 to 5 years	240,785	4,945	30
6 to 14 years	430,195	8,330	60
15 to 17 years	160,485	2,885	25
18 to 24 years	243,990	3,235	40
25 years and over	126,685	2,345	20

Total population aged 14 and under by living arrangements	678,740	13,840	95
Living with two parents	548,515	8,560	40
Living with lone father	21,370	1,180	20
Living with lone mother	101,100	3,530	30
Living with relatives	5,975	500	0
Living with non-relatives	1,780	70	0
Living alone	0	0	0

Total population in private households by household type	4,054,605	51,000	405
Living in one-family household	3,203,780	37,485	270
Living in multiple-family household	243,545	8,915	70
Living in non-family household	607,285	4,605	70

Aboriginal Language

Total population by Aboriginal language mother tongue	4,074,385	51,060	400
Population with Aboriginal language mother tongue	14,955	9,690	95

Total population by knowledge of Aboriginal language	4,074,385	51,060	400
No knowledge of Aboriginal languages	4,055,300	39,080	255

Knowledge of at least one aboriginal language	19,085	11,975	150
Algonquian languages	2,095	435	0
Athapaskan languages	5,060	3,460	10
Haida	180	100	0
Iroquoian languages	85	0	0
Kutenai	185	150	0
Salish languages	5,155	3,995	150
Siouan languages (Dakota/Sioux)	740	680	0
Tlingit	20	20	0
Tsimshian languages	3,185	1,980	0
Wakashan languages	1,570	1,000	0
Inuktitut	125	35	0
Aboriginal languages not included elsewhere	870	210	0
Total population aged 14 and under	679,475	13,840	95
Population aged 14 and under with knowledge of Aboriginal language	2,900	2,030	25
Total population aged 15 to 44	1,658,340	22,675	205
Population aged 15 to 44 with knowledge of Aboriginal language	6,280	3,835	50
Total population aged 45 and over	1,736,565	14,540	105
Population aged 45 and over with knowledge of Aboriginal language	9,905	6,110	75
Population with Aboriginal language mother tongue, 1996	14,465	8,290	120
Population with Aboriginal language mother tongue, 2001	12,720	7,280	245
Population with Aboriginal language mother tongue, 2006	14,955	9,690	95
Education			
Total population aged 15 to 24 by school attendance	538,010	8,960	95
Did not attend school	186,265	4,570	30
Attended school	351,745	4,385	60
Total population aged 25 to 64 by highest level of education	2,284,470	24,845	190
Completed less than high school	282,200	10,685	60
Completed high school	591,270	4,930	35
Completed trades	273,450	3,510	35
Completed college	447,010	3,710	25
Completed university	690,535	2,015	35
Total population aged 25 to 64, 1996	2,022,390	19,325	170
Population aged 25 to 64 with postsecondary qualifications, 1996	1,054,980	6,110	70
Total population aged 25 to 64, 2001	2,144,050	21,950	205
Population aged 25 to 64 with postsecondary qualifications, 2001	1,209,655	7,730	75
Total population aged 25 to 64, 2006	2,284,470	24,845	190
Population aged 25 to 64 with postsecondary qualifications, 2006	1,410,995	9,230	95
Total population 15 and over with postsecondary qualifications by major field	1,772,915	10,690	115
Education	135,900	705	0
Arts, humanities and social sciences	355,450	1,650	15
Visual and performing arts, and communication technologies	76,385	230	0
Humanities	101,875	450	10
Social and behavioural sciences and law	177,185	965	0
Business, management and public administration	366,975	2,300	25
Sciences, mathematics, engineering and related fields	514,940	2,630	25
Physical and life sciences and technologies	63,415	65	0
Mathematics, computer and information sciences	66,200	200	0

Total population aged 15 and over who worked since January 1, 2005 by occ	2,419,210	23,115	200
A Management occupations	245,105	1,370	10
B Business, finance and administration occupations	415,705	2,615	30
C Natural and applied sciences and related occupations	148,440	765	10
D Health occupations	129,385	425	0
E Occupations in social science, education, government service and religi	197,160	2,795	25
F Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	86,195	600	0
G Sales and service occupations	631,135	5,850	35
H Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	366,830	3,875	25
I Occupations unique to primary industry	98,405	3,380	65
J Occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities	100,850	1,425	10

Note: Based on the National Occupational Classification System for Statistics, 2006.

Total population aged 15 and over who worked in 2005 by work activity	2,332,380	21,210	195
Worked full year, full time in 2005	1,151,520	7,330	65
Worked part year or part time in 2005	1,180,860	13,880	130

Earnings

Total population aged 15 and over who worked in 2005 with 2005 earnings	2,210,630	18,025	170
Median 2005 earnings \$	28,237	15,292	14,240
Worked full year, full time in 2005	1,113,365	6,455	60
Median 2005 earnings \$	42,230	29,220	26,496
Worked part year or part time in 2005	1,097,260	11,575	105
Median 2005 earnings \$	14,086	9,195	8,208

Population aged 15 and over median earnings (in constant 2005 \$), 1995	26,875	12,185	17,984
Population aged 15 and over median earnings (in constant 2005 \$), 2000	28,147	13,450	17,344
Population aged 15 and over median earnings \$, 2005	25,722	13,267	11,616

Total population aged 15 and over with 2005 earnings by highest level of edu	2,392,805	20,450	185
Total population aged 15 and over - median 2005 earnings \$	25,722	13,267	11,616
Completed less than high school - median 2005 earnings \$	11,782	8,735	5,424
Completed high school - median 2005 earnings \$	20,440	12,000	6,992
Completed trades - median 2005 earnings \$	31,379	16,488	10,528
Completed college - median 2005 earnings \$	30,022	21,792	22,304
Completed university - median 2005 earnings \$	35,399	26,909	23,520

Total Income

Total population 15 years and over with 2005 total income	3,230,565	33,620	280
Median 2005 total income \$	24,867	11,388	10,368

Total sources of 2005 total income %	100.0	100.0	101.6
Earnings %	75.1	71.0	73.5
Government transfers %	10.7	25.5	24.3
Other %	14.2	3.4	2.6

Number of private households	1,643,145	16,640	125
Median 2005 household income \$	52,709	28,380	25,088

Housing

Total population in private occupied dwellings	4,054,605	51,000	405
Living in overcrowded dwelling	153,355	6,705	35

Not living in overcrowded dwelling	3,901,250	44,300	370
Living in band housing	13,820	12,820	135
Living in rented dwelling	1,021,460	9,345	205
Living in owned dwelling	3,019,325	28,840	60
Living in single-detached house	2,250,785	44,000	295
Living in semi-detached or double house	127,140	1,540	0
Living in row house	281,175	1,515	45
Living in apartment/flat in a duplex	476,765	650	0
Living in movable dwelling	87,815	2,865	60
Living in mobile home	81,775	2,745	60
Living in other movable dwelling	6,035	120	10
Living in other dwelling type	830,935	430	0
Living in apartment in a building that has five or more storeys	195,955	80	0
Living in apartment in a building that has fewer than five storeys	627,360	240	0
Living in other single-attached house	7,620	105	0
Living in dwelling needing major repairs	300,045	19,875	200
Living in dwelling needing minor repairs	1,065,835	16,670	145
Living in dwelling needing regular maintenance only	2,688,725	14,455	60
Living in dwellings built before 1991	2,817,765	29,770	250
Living in dwellings built before 1961	711,690	2,265	0
Living in dwellings built in 1961-1970	489,700	3,760	15
Living in dwellings built in 1971-1980	859,645	7,520	75
Living in dwellings built in 1981-1990	756,730	16,220	160
Living in dwellings built in 1991-2000	868,735	16,340	150
Living in dwellings built in 2001-2006	368,105	4,890	0
Number of occupied private dwellings	1,643,145	16,640	125
Average number of rooms per dwelling	6.4	6.2	5.4
Average number of bedrooms per dwelling	2.7	3.1	2.8
Average number of persons per dwelling	2.5	3.2	3.2

Key Indicators, 2001

Population	3,868,870	46,380	445
Aboriginal identity population	170,025	46,380	445
Registered Indian	103,550	44,685	435
Median age	38.2	27.3	26.1
Aged 14 and under	708,310	14,035	135
Aged 15 to 24	512,155	7,695	80
Aged 25 to 64	2,144,050	21,950	205
Aged 65 and over	504,365	2,700	25
With knowledge of Aboriginal language	17,195	9,470	245
With Aboriginal language mother tongue	12,720	7,280	245
Children in census families	1,187,495	20,415	190
Aged 17 and under	856,905	15,925	140
Population aged 14 and under	707,760	14,030	135
Living with lone parent	136,680	4,270	50
Population aged 15 to 24	512,155	7,695	80

Attended school	323,075	4,150	45
Population aged 25 to 64	2,144,050	21,950	205
With post secondary qualifications	1,209,655	7,730	75
With university certificate, diploma or degree	512,715	995	15
Population aged 15 and over	3,160,565	32,350	315
% in labour force (participation rate)	65.2	58.5	60.3
% employed (employment rate)	59.6	41.6	38.1
% of labour force unemployed (unemployment rate)	8.5	28.9	36.8
Population aged 15 and over worked in 2000	2,132,165	19,355	165
Worked full time, full year in 2000	1,042,415	5,390	70
Population aged 15 and over with 2000 earnings	2,128,545	19,370	170
Median 2000 earnings (in constant 2005 \$)	28,147	13,450	17,344
Population aged 15 and over with 2000 total income	2,990,520	29,750	270
Median 2000 total income (in constant 2005 \$)	24,781	13,025	13,528
% of total income from earnings	75.8	68.9	68.1
% of total income from government transfers	11.8	27.7	30.6
Population in private households/dwellings	3,858,735	46,350	450
Children	1,187,495	20,410	190
Non-family persons	667,595	6,235	90
Living in one family households	3,080,625	35,720	315
Living in overcrowded dwellings	135,880	5,975	95
Living in dwellings needing major repairs	320,210	15,895	145
Living in dwellings constructed before 1986	2,553,230	21,355	195
Private households	1,534,335	15,055	125
Median 2000 household income (in constant 2005 \$)	52,490	30,879	33,664
Occupied private dwellings	1,534,335	15,055	125
Average number of rooms per dwelling	6.2	6.0	5.4
Average number of persons per dwelling	2.5	3.2	3.6
Key Indicators, 2006			
Population	4,074,385	51,060	400
Aboriginal identity population	196,070	51,060	400
Registered Indian	110,550	48,815	390
Median age	40.5	29.2	27.8
Aged 14 and under	679,475	13,840	95
Aged 15 to 24	538,010	8,960	95
Aged 25 to 64	2,284,470	24,845	190
Aged 65 and over	572,430	3,415	25
With knowledge of Aboriginal language	19,085	11,975	150
With Aboriginal language mother tongue	14,955	9,690	95
Children in census families	1,202,145	21,730	175
Aged 17 and under	831,470	16,155	110
Population aged 14 and under	678,740	13,840	95
Living with lone parent	122,465	4,715	50

Population aged 15 to 24	538,010	8,960	95
Attended school	351,745	4,385	60
Population aged 25 to 64	2,284,470	24,845	190
With post secondary qualifications	1,410,995	9,230	95
With university certificate, diploma or degree	690,535	2,010	40
Population aged 15 and over	3,394,910	37,215	305
% in labour force (participation rate)	65.6	57.1	57.4
% employed (employment rate)	61.6	42.8	39.3
% of labour force unemployed (unemployment rate)	6.0	25.0	28.6
Population aged 15 and over worked in 2005	2,332,380	21,210	195
Worked full time, full year in 2005	1,151,520	7,330	65
Population aged 15 and over with 2005 earnings	2,392,805	20,450	185
Median 2005 earnings \$	25,722	13,267	11,616
Population aged 15 and over with 2005 total income	3,230,565	33,620	280
Median 2005 total income \$	24,867	11,388	10,368
% of total income from earnings	75.1	71.0	73.5
% of total income from government transfers	10.7	25.5	24.3
Population in private households/dwellings	4,054,605	51,000	405
Children	1,202,145	21,730	175
Non-family persons	704,780	7,320	90
Living in one family households	3,203,780	37,485	270
Living in overcrowded dwellings	153,355	6,705	35
Living in dwellings needing major repairs	300,045	19,875	200
Living in dwellings constructed before 1991	2,817,765	29,770	250
Private households	1,643,145	16,640	125
Median 2005 household income \$	52,709	28,380	25,088
Occupied private dwellings	1,643,145	16,640	125
Average number of rooms per dwelling	6.4	6.2	5.4
Average number of persons per dwelling	2.5	3.2	3.2

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Aboriginal Community Data Initiative, 2006 Census, Esketemc First Nation, Appendix A.

4, Johnny Sticks 2, Little Springs 8, Little Springs 18, Sandy Harry 4, Swan Lake 3 and Windy Mouth 7 reserves

CANADA'S RESILIENT NORTH: THE IMPACT OF MINING ON ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES

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ABSTRACT

For decades, the mining sector has been a central economic driver in the Canadian North, and the discovery of large diamond deposits in the Northwest Territories has intensified the speed and scale of development. In the wake of rapid expansion, researchers and communities have scrambled to understand how individuals, families, culture, environment, livelihood, and health might be affected by this industrial environment. There is a need to understand the factors that contribute to positive and negative effects on individuals, families, and communities.

This paper reviews some of the effects that mining industries can have on well-being at the individual, family, and community levels in the Northwest Territories, Canada's fastest growing economy. It does not cover the universe of impacts, but drills into a few effects in an effort to understand and build up a model of resilience, which helps to explain how impacts are distributed, experienced, and mediated. Resilience — the quality that helps communities respond to change and moderate impact — is an under-researched area of impact assessment. After describing the industry, we consider the question: what factors affect whether an individual or community experiences the impact from a mine? We call these "equity factors" and suggest they influence how an impact is distributed across a population.

UNDERSTANDING THE INDUSTRY: MINING CHARACTERISTICS

Northwest Territories properties are affected by mining through the life-cycle of a mineral or metal, from the moment of exploration through to closure and remediation. Mining is a large and diverse occupational sector that varies greatly depending upon such factors as ore body characteristics, mine type, and mine life span, among others. There are more than eight projects at the exploration stage, two operating diamond mines (and a new De Beers mine pending), three or more abandoned mines, and more than ten mines under remediation. A number of common characteristics can be observed about large-scale operating mines in northern Canada.

HIGH WAGES

Mining is the highest resource sector wage occupation in Canada. In a 2000 census by Statistics Canada, the average weekly earnings of employees in the mining sector were \$1,130.50, compared to an average of \$626.45 within

all other industries. Employees working specifically in metal mines did even better, taking home weekly incomes of \$1,196.15 (Statistics Canada, 2000).

Since mineral deposits are often located away from urban centres, many mine employees reside (at least part-time) in remote, northern locations, creating pockets of wealth in unlikely places. Polaris, the most northern Canadian community built around a lead/zinc mine, was the richest neighbourhood in Canada in 1992, with a population of 200 people having a median income of \$92,800 (Anonymous, 1994).

Currently there are many northern and northern Aboriginal people hired at the operating mines, as agreed to in private participation, impact, and benefit agreements signed between impacted communities and mines. For example, in 2003, Diavik Diamond Mines employed 221 Aboriginal employees of a total of 611 (Diavik Diamond Mines, 2003). With a goal of 40% northern Aboriginal hires, this number falls 4% short. BHP Billiton makes similar commitments for its Ekati mine.

CYCLICAL

A second characteristic of mining is its rotational nature. For mine employees, since work-sites are often located away from home, two weeks on-two weeks off schedules are common and day shifts last twelve hours. Miners cycle between periods of complete immersion in work and total lack of it. However, unlike other extractive industries such as forestry, mining is not seasonally constrained by weather conditions, so work is more-or-less constant throughout the year. Both mine workers and the surrounding community are subject to "the mining cycle." The mining cycle is characterized by the activities of exploration, construction, operation (mineral extraction and refinement), mine closure, and reclamation. For miners, this can mean periods of unemployment are common between jobs.

HIGH MOBILITY

Mining is often characterized by transience, indicated by employee turnover, defined as "any employee movement that creates a vacancy on site" (Centre for Social Responsibility in Mining, 2003: 1). In an Australian study of fly-in fly-out (FIFO) operations (Centre for Social Responsibility in Mining, 2003), turnover rates for mining were highest among all professions, reaching up to 33% at some sites. The turnover rate for Nanisivik mine was calculated in 1979 to be 106% for northern males, and 63% for southern male staff (Hobart, 1979). Turnover has the effect of lowering production and employee

morale, and increasing training costs and the risks associated with inexperience (Centre for Social Responsibility in Mining, 2003).

Other aspects of mobility include geographical and temporal transience. As workers near the closure stage of the mining cycle, they are forced to move to new mines still in operation. In doing so, mine workers commonly bring their families, thus establishing "mining communities," which themselves are consequently temporary. With their specialized skills, miners have become global nomads, with some families moving more than 21 times in 19 years (Rhodes, 2001).

REMOTE

Whereas the company town used to be created around an ore body, the Canadian government now encourages temporary, occupationally defined communities as the model for mine development, to discourage the phenomenon of ghost towns. Though transportation services such as plane and vehicle commuting have reduced the need to actually live beside the mine, *de facto* mining towns still exist at the departure points for fly-in-fly-out (FIFO) operations (Kuyek and Coumans, 2003). Thus, while modern mining "ghost towns" are not being created, transience is just as common.

RISK OF INJURY AND EXPOSURE

Historically, the mining industry posed serious occupational health hazards. Since the turn of the century, several improvements in workplace safety have occurred through technological innovations, safe work practices, and policy regulations. These measures have resulted in a decrease in the annual fatality rate (deaths per 100,000 miners) from 329 (average rate from 1911-15) to 25 (1996-97) (Center for Disease Control and Prevention, 1999). Northern mines have capitalized on many of these developments and show strong track records in safety. Diavik Diamond Mines achieved "a new safety milestone of 1.9 million hours without a lost time injury, after 305 consecutive days without a lost time injury" (Diavik Diamond Mines, 2003: 25). The Lost Time Injury Frequency Rate measures the number of lost time injuries per 200,000 hours worked. Diavik has a goal of zero work-related injuries.

RESILIENCE

Resilience lies at the heart of whether an impact is felt or not, because it defines how an impact will be experienced and buffered. It is "the ability of groups or communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances

as a result of social, political and environmental change" (Adger, 2000: 347). Components of resilience generally include:

- ❑ a response to change and shift to a new balance, sometimes to a previous state and sometimes seen to a new higher level of functioning (Kulig, 2004);
- ❑ a period of time from a disturbance to a recovery;
- ❑ *characteristics, institutions* (Adger, 2000) or *norms and values* that buffer people from threat, including either an ability to adapt and learn (Bingeman et al., 2004), or *cultural aspects* such as solidarity, respect for elders (Clauss-Ehlers and Lopez, 2002).

CHARACTERISTICS of either the individual or the group can protect people from the effects from mining. Individuals can shield themselves from stress-related mental health effects of shift work by spending time out on the land between shifts. Spouses can help workers by giving them time and space to adjust to home life at the end of their two-week rotation, or adapting through any one of the five patterns identified by Forsyth and Gramling (1987: see family effects). Or, community leaders may participate in public meetings and planning sessions to identify economic diversification strategies for post-mining.

INSTITUTIONS may hold the key to the expression of resilience. For example, new forms of management or laws may be developed to protect people. In the Mackenzie Valley, the 1998 Mackenzie Valley Resource Management Act has provided for an integrated system of land and water resource management. It has also provided the framework and impetus for the development of social and economic agreements, which require continual data monitoring, northern hiring, and northern subcontracting. These institutional requirements have served to protect the people of the Mackenzie Valley and to share benefits in the North, in a way that no other mine in the past did. Neither the Giant or the Con Mine had any quotas for Aboriginal hiring in the past, and most resource royalties went to the federal government.

NORMS OR VALUES may buffer people from risk. The Mackenzie Valley now hosts a range of new institutions, including Land and Water Boards for each land claim settlement, and a relatively new Impact Review Board. The values that drive these boards are based on the principles of respect, collaboration, and a value for local input; they rely on the frameworks of common property management and adaptive learning. These institutions may therefore provide the basis for continual learning and adaptation to change.

CULTURAL ASPECTS such as solidarity and respect for Elders have been identified as aspects of resilience (Claus-Ehlers and Lopez, 2002). The preservation of tradition through values, language, and customs may influence well-being and protect individuals and communities from mining effects. Traditional healing may address physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual health, any of which may be threatened by direct and indirect mining effects. Further, skills gained through traditional lifestyles may be applicable to mining. For example, men spent long periods of time away from home to hunt, just as occurs in mining rotations.

All of these aspects of resilience can be informed through previous exposure to crises and changing times. Past experiences give communities a better understanding of what to expect in the future, and how to survive these challenges. Older members of a community, who have suffered the consequences of residential school, may be able to help the next generation to avoid experiences with colonial institutions. However, while the experience of colonialism increases resilience in some ways, its devastating effects also weaken resilience and capacity. In managing the environmental disaster at a Uranium Mine in Arizona, the Navajo residents' coping abilities were affected by the legacy of poverty, racism, and government betrayal (Markstrom and Charley, 2003).

Resilience is a complex factor that can be either enhanced or reduced (or both) in multiple ways. How impacts are distributed over a population is affected by equity factors. Table 1, on the next page, reviews the aspects that are generally measured when resilience is evaluated, whether it is observed through the economy, the population, citizen perceptions or governance. These do not relate directly to the characteristics of resilience identified above.

MINING IMPACTS

The characteristics of the mining industry affect what kinds of impacts are felt in a region. Existing mining literature covers issues such as wages, spin-off spending in a region, infrastructure pressures, royalties and taxes, among others (Ballard and Banks, 2003; Freudenburg and Frickel, 1994; Herringshaw, 2004). This article explores a few less considered impacts in detail.

MENTAL STRESS

Long hours and roster patterns characteristic of shift work have been identified by workers as among the most stressful of all working conditions

Table 1

<i>Observing Resilience</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Variable</i>	<i>Relationship to EQUITY</i>
<i>Economic</i>	Adger, 2000	Variance in income	Wage labourers in mining in developed countries tend to earn good incomes; the question of who earns this new income and how or if it trickles down to families is key.
	Adger, 2000	Employment rates	Resource dependent towns may experience fluctuations in income due to dependence on a single economy.
	Kimhi and Shamai, 2004	Community finances	Transparency about use of taxation and royalties clarify how institutions buffer and plan for the future.
	Kimhi and Shamai, 2004	Social security of community	Ability to plan for future. Institutional plans, such as diversification of the economy, post-closure planning, will reveal ability to buffer vulnerable through the lifecycle of the mine.
<i>Demographic</i>	Adger, 2000	Crime rates	Reveals the status of mental and physical health of a community, and how social networks are managing potential violence.
	Adger, 2000	Migration and mobility	Reveals structural change in a population and gives clues about potential service and institutional needs.
<i>Perceived Resilience</i>	Kimhi and Shamai, 2004	Citizen preferences for staying or relocating	Subjective measures of how people feel whether their community is responding well to changes associated with mining economy.
	Kimhi and Shamai, 2004; Kulig, 2000	Social relations in community; social capital; stable local organizations	Reveals whether ties in community are strong; and tests for low or high social capital (implying weak linkages and low group participation). Communities with high social capital may be more effective on citizen advisory panels. Pockets of community with low social capital, however, may be the most vulnerable!
<i>Governance</i>	Bingeman et al., 2004	Institutional actions (formal and informal) to buffer against risk	Reveals if norms and values (as informal institutions) are aiding vulnerable to protect themselves from risks and if laws and regulations (as formal institutions) are protecting most vulnerable from risk.
	Kimhi and Shamai, 2004	Trust in community leadership	Vulnerable trust leadership to represent their interests and protect them through the lifecycle of the mine – may affect ability of vulnerable to work on community advisory boards.

(Australian Council of Trade Unions, 2003). Extreme fatigue, resulting from a lack of sleep and disruption of circadian rhythms, can have a wide range of effects, from general inattentiveness to major depression.

Mental stress and anxiety are also created by the nature of the work itself. Due to the high risks involved in the operation of heavy machinery, mine workers require intense concentration over long shifts, while often doing menial or repetitive tasks. Such stress can lead to burnout, leaving workers physically and mentally exhausted by the time their rotation is up (North Slave Metis Association, 2002). Mental anxiety and exhaustion may also pose a physical threat to miner health and safety. Goretskii et al. (1995) found that 50% of operators in their study showed a decrease in concentration by the end of their shift, and 70% suffered from compromised psycho-physiologic parameters. Such mental stress may make workers more prone to occupational accidents, or even off-site ones. Reports of road fatalities during long commutes may also be attributable to mental exhaustion and loss of concentration (Kuyek and Coumans, 2003).

Another mental health risk linked to mining is depression. Depressive disorders in mining may be triggered by a combination of factors including roster schedules, the repetitive nature and high concentration demands of the work, the after effects of job-related physical disabilities, or the closure of the mine and job loss. While, due to high wages, miners typically enjoy lower levels of under-employment during mine operation compared to other resource extraction industries (Slack and Jensen, 2004), they face a more serious threat of post mine lay-off. In Avery et al.'s (1998) study of mining and mental health, following a national pit closure, 52% of unemployed former miners faced psychological disorders. After the Elliot Lake mine closure, health centres began receiving an increased case-load of patients suffering from depression (Robinson and Wilkinson, 1998). Depression is especially dangerous because of its well established link to suicide, though as a group, miners do not suffer significantly higher rates of suicide (Ames, 1985).

ADDICTIVE SUBSTANCES AND HIGH RISK BEHAVIOUR

Mining poses potential risks to the health of northern communities in terms of behavioural changes, as facilitated by increasing incomes. The most obvious of these is alcoholism or drug abuse, as noted in studies at Nanisivik and other northern Canadian sites (North Slave Metis Association, 2002; Brubacher and Associates, 2002). Communities in the North already face serious problems related to alcohol addiction. According to a social indicators

report, the percentage of heavy drinkers (persons 12 years of age and over who consume at least five drinks per occasion more than once a month) in the Northwest Territories in 2001-2002 was over 40%, a rate more than twice that of the Canadian average (Government of the Northwest Territories, 2003). What remains in doubt, however, is whether statistics such as these are exaggerated, subdued, or unaffected by the presence of mining.

There is certainly evidence that mining may create substance abuse problems and/or exacerbate pre-existing addictions. As disposable income increases, mine workers may purchase alcohol for themselves and others. When combined with a lack of both financial experience and the responsibility to support family, as is common for young, male workers, binge drinking can become a main channel for newly acquired earnings (North Slave Metis Association, 2002).

The other path to increased substance abuse, while sometimes synchronous with increased disposable income, is for coping. Due to the increased stresses resulting from mining work conditions (advancement, job insecurity, money management, racism, etc.) and indirect family conflicts (see below), addictive substances may serve as a source of escapism. Drinking has been identified as a coping mechanism to deal with job loss (Gallo et al., 2001), depression (Holahan et al., 2003) family stress — regardless of culture (Orford et al., 2001), and racial discrimination (Martin et al., 2003), but mining studies have not focused on this.

Social and health effects follow heavy alcohol use. While the direct physical health consequences are well known, such as cirrhosis of the liver, brain damage, and fetal alcohol syndrome, indirect effects may be equally damaging. In terms of employment, alcohol has caused miners to miss work (which can lead to dismissal), and created occupational risks, when working while under the influence. While both the diamond mines in the North are dry sites, drugs have made it on site. Diavik Mines has a no-fault treatment policy to help workers kick habits, and they are only tested if they are involved in an incident. A large percentage of crimes, including convictions, assaults, and bankruptcy are related to alcohol. The RCMP estimates that 80% of crime is directly or indirectly related to alcohol or drug abuse (Government of the Northwest Territories, 2002).

Within the family, drinking has created “disrespect for the institution of marriage” (Brubacher and Associates, 2002), and divorces and infidelity have increased correspondingly. Parents suffering from addictions often neglect child-care responsibilities, causing children to have poorer hygiene, show up

to school without lunch, or miss classes all together. Children with alcoholic parents also stand a greater risk of becoming alcoholics themselves (North Slave Metis Association, 2002). Lastly, breaking alcohol addictions is a lengthy and difficult process associated with high levels of anxiety, a tough task for those whose stress level is already very high.

While many sources agree that mining contributes towards increases in alcoholism (Brubacher and Associates, 2002), there are some indications that, in communities with high percentages of heavy drinkers, it may actually alleviate addiction. This reasoning works from the assumption that the substance abuse plaguing many Aboriginal communities has resulted from hopelessness and disempowerment that have come with historic colonial abuses and the loss of traditional lifestyles (Hunter and Desley, 2002). Employment in the mining industry may boost self-reliance, and in turn pride and self-esteem. Further, any initial increases in drinking associated with the opening of the mine may be only temporary. An example is the town of Coppermine, in which an initial 29% increase in alcoholism among Gulf Oil's Inuit workers subsided after a few years (Hobart, 1989), suggesting that alcohol consumption can be a short-term problem mediated with time.

Alcoholism is not the only health-risk/addictive problem that may be enhanced by the high incomes generated by mining. In North Slave Metis Association's (2002) study, 65% of respondents reported that greater personal incomes translate into an increase in gambling. Paralleling the increase in alcohol usage with drinking establishments, gambling may also be enhanced by more businesses or interest in casinos and bingo halls. Even in the absence of infrastructure (buildings, VLTs), gambling continues in the form of back-room poker and blackjack (North Slave Metis Association, 2002). Excessive gambling can lead to financial problems and difficulty paying bills. It also takes time away from spouses and children, which, when combined with the time demands of mining work itself, can lead to neglect. In addition, the addictions fueled by economic growth may not subside when economic recession hits; there is anecdotal evidence from "boom and bust" communities such as Fort Liard that drinking and gambling lifestyles are maintained long past the time when jobs dry up.

Finally, prostitution represents another potentially dangerous behavioural change. Well documented in developing countries (Campbell, 2000), prostitution caters to the high incomes of mine workers. It can negatively affect both miners themselves and the women (or girls) from surrounding communities who are involved in the trade. For the former, infidelity temp-

tations for married workers may be heightened due to long periods of time spent away from spouses, and existing marital friction arising from work-related issues and stress. For the prostitutes themselves, the risk of HIV/AIDS (and other STDs) is increased, a worrisome trend considering the already high rate among Aboriginal Canadians (Royal Commission, 1996).

HUNTING, DIET AND HEALTH

Mining can have a strong influence on the foods consumed by people in the area, both through its effect on animals and people's ability to hunt them. Due to the migration associated with the prosperity of mining projects, mining towns may grow substantially in size. An increased concentration of hunters in a relatively small area puts high pressure on local animal populations (Hobart, 1982). Better hunting technologies, such as rifles and snow machines — equipment that becomes much more feasible to purchase with mining wages — could facilitate increased harvest. Added strain is generated from the associated infrastructure development and human activity that comes with larger population centres.

Participation in the mine economy can also alter the subsistence lifestyle. For people employed by the mine, who work long daily hours and a two week on/off schedule, less time can be spent on the land hunting and fishing. A study of the Slave Lake Metis community found 71% of workers employed by the mine reported spending less time on the land (North Slave Metis Association, 2002). During the time they did have off, workers reported wanting to spend more time at home with their families or simply resting from work. The men from the community of working age, who traditionally do the hunting, are therefore unable to learn traditional skills and ecological knowledge from Elders, or pass this knowledge to the younger generation. Since learning processes in Native societies have historically been oral-based and involve knowledge transmission through *observing*, decreased practice of hunting practices may also signal the loss of associated knowledge.

Cultural festivals and family rituals structured around meat harvests may also be threatened. This condition is further exacerbated because, unlike forestry and other seasonal work, mining is continuous year round and thus does not allow for prolonged hunting trips, necessary due to the long distances sometimes traveled while following herds. The effectiveness of hunters that do go out onto the land can be compromised through the loss of traditional ecological knowledge. As northerners migrate to new mining developments for work, their local expertise of hunting and fishing in their origi-

nal areas may be lost. This can carry negative consequences, especially when considering Weinburg's (1992) assertion that hunting and food gathering knowledge is site-specific (e.g., location of berry patches, direction of caribou migration, etc.). With the development of Faro mine in the Yukon, hunting effectiveness decreased (Weinburg, 1992).

Hunting is not just site specific; it also relies on particular knowledge and relationships to the land. Dene hunters rely on specialized knowledge and power to secure food for their families. This power, known as *ink'on* in Dogrib communities, allows individual hunters to have special communication and relations with specific animals (Helm, 1994). Reduced presence on the land and increased contact with non-Aboriginal values may have the effect of decreasing the number and range of individuals who seek to develop *ink'on*.

While the above effects demonstrate the negative influence of mining on food security and lifestyle, some aspects of mining may promote the harvest of country foods. Increased wages from mining may facilitate the purchase of skidoos, four-wheelers, boats, tents, gasoline, and the associated maintenance costs. In one study of communities in the region of Diavik, 86% of respondents thought that the majority of Diavik workers would buy hunting equipment with mining wages (North Slave Metis Association, 2002). There are spin-off benefits that come from buying equipment. First, better technology translates into increased efficiency and less time spent hunting (Brubacher and Associates, 2002). Given the time constraints already imposed by work, reduced travel-time is especially vital. Second, the purchase of expensive equipment creates spin-off benefits that extend beyond the owner.

The flip side of increased efficiency, of course, is decreased time spent on the land. As people roar through areas they used to travel slowly by dog-team, they are less apt to learn place names. Place names in the Dene culture inscribe the history, including not only grave sites, but also historic, sacred, and cultural events.

FAMILY INTEGRITY AND GENDER ISSUES

As families represent the most fundamental societal unit, it is important to identify ways in which their integrity may be threatened by mining projects. This can generally be grouped into those stemming from increased time demands from work, work associated stresses, and changing familial roles.

With large amounts of miners' time spent working, commuting to and from work, and recovering after shift's end, family time quickly becomes a rare commodity. As time is important for family bonding, reported decreases

in the quantity of time mine workers spend with family may affect the relationships (North Slave Metis Association, 2002). Early data from the Ekati mine shows roughly half of the workers surveyed reported that their primary relationship had stayed the same, as opposed to growing closer or growing apart (Government of the Northwest Territories, 2000). Work may prevent or limit participation in family and community gatherings, as well as activities important for family bonding such as hunting (North Slave Metis Association, 2002).

Quality of family time may also decrease. Workers returning from the field often require a period of readjustment from work to home life. During that period they may be physically exhausted and irritable (North Slave Metis Association, 2002), Forsyth and Gramling (1987) document five adaptive responses among families with periodic father absences, including the replacement of the father with an alternate authority such as an uncle, shifting authority between the mother and father, increasing conflict between partners, and the periodic guest pattern. A few fathers at Ekati and Diavik are reported to pull children from school when they come home from the mine, traveling the roughly 1500 km to Edmonton to spend time with their kids at West Edmonton Mall. "It is like Santa Claus coming home every two weeks," said one wife of a mine worker.

Limited time can lead families to progressively fragment. By decreasing the amount of time for communication, existing problems can be exacerbated and sometimes lead partners to look elsewhere for interaction. The stress associated with mine work is also passed on to other family members. Spouses are required to take up household responsibilities (such as child care) while their partners are away and home recovering, and also must deal with any financial consequences, not from a lack of income, but poor money management. Children also bear the consequences of prolonged absences and family dysfunction. In a 1979 study on the effect of mining rotation schedules on children, 68% of the respondents reported bad consequences for children (Hobart, 1979), such as missing the father, and a need for father's discipline. The BHP Ekati survey reported an impact on children of age 0-4 years old for 49.5% of mine workers with children (Government of the Northwest Territories, 2000). Impacts may lead to children acting out, dropping out of school, or mimicking addictive behaviours (North Slave Metis Association, 2002).

These strains may materialize in family conflict. Violence is already a serious problem in the North; in 2003, the rate of violent crimes per capita in the

Northwest Territories was five times that of the rest of Canada (Government of the Northwest Territories, 2003). There are indications that this situation may be worse due to mining. Brubacher and Associates reported an increase in alcohol-associated abuse of women at Nunavut's Nanisivik mine (2002). In the Northwest Territories, during the period from 1991 until 1996, a 10% increase in the number of single families in the North was observed (Government of the Northwest Territories, 2002).

CULTURE

In the North, colonialism has radically affected Aboriginal well-being and values. Central to the colonial project, and certainly the reason behind both of the Treaties signed in the North, have been mineral and metal resources (Fumoleau, 1975). Treaties served to cut Aboriginal people out from decision-making about the land, paving the way for extractive industries (Fumoleau, 1975). The modern extractive company is usually from the south, and tends to embody Western values, ways of life, and communication styles.

A shift in values towards those embodied in Western wage labour systems may signal deep cultural change. Elders speak of Dene values, including patience, cooperation, sharing, respect of others, consensus, and family reliance (Zoe, 1989), when they speak about the importance of act of hunting together for food. These values may no longer practiced, reinforced, and taught when an individual is constantly engaged in a new system.

Some studies have reported that mining operations have made their communities more individualistic. Miners work hard during their days on and spend hard on themselves during time off (North Slave Metis Association, 2002). Since personal wealth accumulation is "antithetical to Aboriginal values" (North Slave Metis Association, 2002) of reciprocity and collective responsibility, high wages earned by some community members may shape values. The implications of a shift in values are not purely monetary. Individualism can also affect the social network, or "spider web of relations" (Little Bear, 2000), that make up extended families and communities. Many families with one or both parents working at the mine are already experiencing problems with time shortages, due to the demanding nature of shift work (North Slave Metis Association, 2002). Currently, some of these dilemmas are being solved with grandparents or other relatives assuming child-care responsibilities. If a shift in values translates into weaker relations of the wider family and community, however, there may not be people available to assume care of children while parents are working. This concern is especially

relevant considering the high proportion of young people living in the North (Government of the Northwest Territories, 2003).

Other research, however, has demonstrated that mining may actually have a net positive effect on the cultural values it promotes. Jobs created for local communities may help to rebuild some of the values that were lost through the process of colonization. By instilling a sense of independence, freedom, and pride, work in the mining sector can replace the legacy of dependence and poverty left by residential schools and the loss of traditional lifestyles. Work ethic is a highly placed value in Metis culture, making mine work more culturally healthy than welfare reliance (North Slave Metis Association, 2002). Further, increases in disposable income may even promote sharing within the wider community. By virtue of the fact that there are more resources available to purchase communal equipment, there is more to share. At Nanisivik, an increase in sharing was reported — not of money directly — but through snow machines and other equipment the whole community could use (Brubacher and Associates, 2002) after being bought by a mine worker.

The most directly measurable cultural effect is the loss of traditional languages. Language is an important indicator of culture, in that it conveys meaning and holds the keys to identity. Over the last fifteen years, fewer people can speak an Aboriginal language in the Northwest Territories, demonstrated across all age groups and in both urban and rural communities. Overall, it has dropped from 55.6% of the Aboriginal population in 1989, to 45.1% in 1999 (Government of the Northwest Territories, 2003). This trend has been attributed to greater participation in the English labour market, the aging of the most fluent community members, a lack of educational materials and programs in Aboriginal languages, and the migration of non-Aboriginals into the North (Government of the Northwest Territories, 2003).

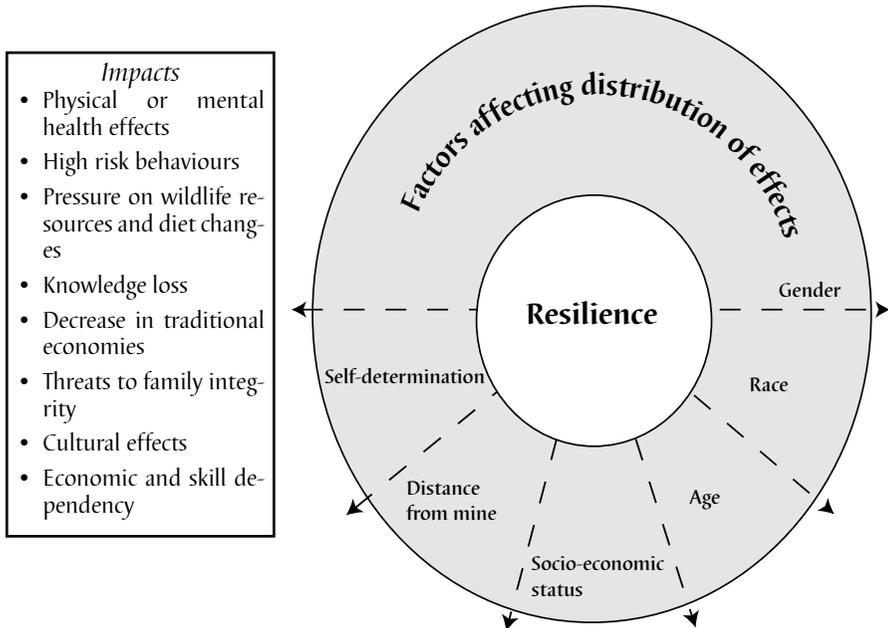
While not solely responsible for trends “occurring prior to the development of the [Northwest Territories] diamond industry” (Government of the Northwest Territories, 2003: 36), mining may contribute to this trend. In the workplace, for example, where workers spend up to twelve hours a day and sometimes several weeks at a time at sites, English predominates. Work safety concerns and policies arising from potential miscommunication prevent any widespread use of Aboriginal languages while on the job. The high wages and job potential of mining have also spawned a migration of non-Aboriginal people seeking work into the North, and larger English-speaking populations increase the need for English services.

EQUITY FACTORS

While many of the effects described are related to the nature of the mining industry (high wages, cyclical work patterns), the way impacts materialize in a community may have more to do with the status of the individual or the community itself. What we term “equity factors” are the interfaces between an impact and how it translates into effects on individual, familial, and community well-being. Resilience is the quality in individuals or communities that helps them to recover from impacts, or mediates whether they are even felt. However, equity factors serve to distribute the most significant benefits – jobs, economic growth, and training (generally to individuals) and costs – environmental, cultural, and familial.

In Figure 1, we portray these “equity factors” and how they can play out to distribute risk and benefit. At the centre of the equity factors is resilience – institutions, values and norms, cultural aspects, and historical experience – the elements that allow a community to respond to risks and recover from shocks. Below each equity factor discussed below is a table, illustrating how resilience may buffer how an impact is distributed.

Figure 1. What Factors Affect Whether an Individual or Community Experiences Impact from a Mine?



SOCIO-ECONOMIC

Probably the most significant direct community benefit of mining is the employment it provides. However, while efforts have been made to ensure employment quotas of local and/or Aboriginal workers, outsiders still disproportionately occupy the highest rank and paid positions. Without training, entry level positions carrying the least opportunity for advancement are the default positions for most Northerners, thus maintaining geographic and racially defined hierarchies.

Mining in the North has favoured communities closest to the mines, with the Indigenous communities signing private agreements with the companies. Communities remote from the mine may be a much lower priority for mine employment. Within a community, employment also favours those with the highest levels of education and experience. In this regard, mining may leave behind those with the lowest education qualifications, and further stratify communities into "haves" and "have nots."

Also, due to the time demands and remote locations associated with shift work and mine operations, mining employment is more feasible for those with the least financial responsibilities: people without families. Thus mining is "disproportionately attractive to those who least need the income and are most likely to spend it wastefully, if not in socially abusive ways" (Hobart, 1982: 72), such as alcohol. Indeed, at Nanisivik mine, 42% of the workers were single and 49% did not have any children (Hobart, 1982). Those who do have families as well as elderly or youth dependents to support are also those most in need of the added income. While there is some evidence that this is only an initial effect (Hobart, 1989), workers that head families spread the wealth and benefits much more widely than the more practically feasible and frequently employed young, single males.

Social stratification may result in lower population health status and well-being (Wilkinson and Marmot, 1999). International evidence comes from Wimberley (1990), whose compilation of studies shows inequality is directly associated with increases in infant mortality, even when health care

Table 2. Resilience Aspects Buffering Social Stratification from Wages

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Institutions</i>	<i>Norms</i>	<i>Cultural aspects</i>
Young, single person or adult with supportive family	Quotas for hiring throughout the hierarchy	Sustainable development policies	Sharing of wages through extended family

access is high. Despite the Northwest Territories having incomes well above the Canadian average, there still exist a high proportion of low income earners (Government of the Northwest Territories, 2003).

ENVIRONMENTAL

The environmental risks and benefits associated with mining can contribute to inequity. From the onset, the very location of the mineral deposit determines which communities will collect royalties and employ people. As deposits are often clumped in the same area, some communities may become extremely prosperous while others remain relatively barren. Further, the environmental damage inflicted by the extraction process is not uniform either, its severity depending upon such factors as transportation routes, mine type, ore body characteristics, among others. Since all existing and previous mines are located in traditional territories of the Dene and Inuit, there are impacts on cultural and environmental landscapes, which will disproportionately affect some. Giant Mine has been abandoned by Royal Oak, leaving the toxic legacy of 237,000 tonnes of arsenic in the hands of the government. The government has recently agreed to clean the mine up to industrial standards, but arguably the Yellowknives Dene, who claim the land, have been burdened by contamination from a mine that never employed Aboriginal people.

Table 3. Resilience Aspects Buffering Environmental Risks

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Institutions</i>	<i>Norms</i>	<i>Cultural aspects</i>
Strong leaders who work to control land use and contamination	New local land and water boards and the development of closure plans	Equity	Stewardship ethic and the perceived relationship between humans and the environment

RACE

Certain groups can be discriminated against, either as a group through actions that exclude them, or as a group by exposure to undue risk. Gold mines in the Territories rarely hired Aboriginal workers and they participated only through the informal economy, providing firewood and goods to mine workers. Now, hiring quotas serve to ensure Aboriginal hiring. While mines have goals of hiring Aboriginal people at senior levels, educational requirements inhibit movement through hierarchies.

**Table 4: Resilience Aspects Buffering Social Stratification from Wages:
Race**

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Institutions</i>	<i>Norms</i>	<i>Cultural aspects</i>
Ability to get along with people of different racial backgrounds	Funds for Aboriginal training	Human rights	?

GENDER

Women are especially vulnerable to inequity as they experience more of the negative effects of a mine. Some of these gender-specific consequences include higher rates of depression (Burvill and Kidd, 1975), risk of poverty, increased STD incidence due to rape and prostitution (Oxfam Australia, 2002), and reduced levels of participation in development decisions (Oxfam Australia, 2002). For those that are able to find work in the male-dominated mining industry, women often face sexist views that limit career advancement (Gibson and Scoble, 2004; Tallichet, 2000). Further, in many instances, the burden of shift rotation stress and addictive problems (especially alcoholism) that mine work causes in men, is passed on to women through abusive relationships, increased conflict, and an abdication of household and child rearing responsibilities.

Gender equality is well recognized in the context of development as a key indicator of well-being. The influence of women on societal well-being is largely felt through the significant role they play within the family, especially with children. The inclusion of women in areas such as education, for example, has been found to produce a wide range of socioeconomic and health benefits, such as increased economic growth, reduced fertility and child mortality, and lower rates of under-nutrition (Abu-Ghaida and Klasen, 2004). The heavy effect of gender equity on child development indicators and, as such, future community well-being, underscores the importance of this factor.

**Table 5. Resilience Aspects Buffering Social Stratification from Wages:
Gender**

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Institutions</i>	<i>Norms</i>	<i>Cultural aspects</i>
Tenacity and belief in self	Quotas for hiring and funds for training of women	Human rights	Differentiated roles in families that translate to mines

SELF-DETERMINATION

Communities that are self governing may have new abilities to control activities that take place on their lands. While some literature suggests that new structures of self governance hold little promise for empowerment (Irlbacher Fox, 2005; Nadasdy, 2003), some communities, such as the Tlicho, are hopeful as they become decision-makers on their land. As a group asserts decision-making power over their destiny, they may begin to control the effects of mining through their own institutions that are developed based on traditional governance models. This authority combined with the new institutions and continued reliance on Dene values and norms may enhance the resilience of groups affected by mining. Groups that have concluded self-government agreements may be more resilient than those who are still negotiating.

Table 6: Resilience Aspects Buffering Social Stratification from Wages: Self-determination

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Institutions</i>	<i>Norms</i>	<i>Cultural aspects</i>
Self government agreement	Local institutions with local Boards	Self determination	Traditional governance styles, e.g., chief talks to and supports workers at mine

CONCLUSION

The many paradoxes outlined in this paper may be reflective of a wider issue facing the North. As the demand for materials pushes southern-based industries into more and more remote places at larger and larger scales, northern development seems unavoidable. Yet, this occurs in a time of devolution and self government, while new institutions are forming.

Communities are seeking to negotiate the ways in which these changes occur so that they can understand, influence, and adapt to them. If mining is to be more than simply a method of getting northern resources to southern markets, or "capitalism with an Aboriginal face" (Newhouse, 1993), all players must work towards a self-defined community health and well-being. To that end, increased research into resilience and well-being indicators will prove a valuable tool, allowing us to buttress the key elements and track how benefits and impacts are distributed.

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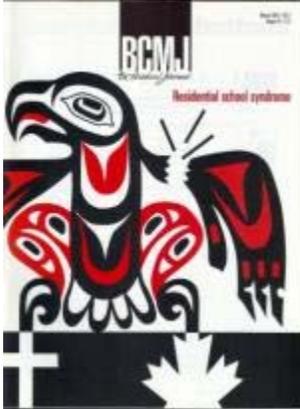
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Residential school syndrome

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Whether Indian residential schools are seen as an attempt at benevolence or a plan to annihilate a culture, many native people who attended the schools present with symptoms similar to those of post-traumatic stress disorder. This constellation of symptoms has come to be known as *residential school syndrome*.

ABSTRACT:

Residential school syndrome is a suggested diagnostic term that might be appropriately applied to survivors of the Indian residential school system. Many of these former students have presented to the author with sufficiently similar concerns to suggest a common etiology. The suggested diagnostic criteria may further the discussion of what appropriate care might be provided. Many of the suggested diagnostic features are similar to the diagnosis of post-traumatic stress disorder, but with specific cultural impact. Healing of this disorder has important long-term implications for Canadian society.

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Introduction

Throughout Canada, and particularly in British Columbia, the Indian residential school issue is a significant problem.

Litigation is currently underway or planned, with a potential liability of several billion dollars. The defendants are the Government of Canada and a number of churches. The plaintiffs are the alleged victims of the Indian residential schools. The schools were established by the Government of Canada, with the actual operation of the schools delegated to a number of Christian churches. In BC, the schools operated from approximately 1863 to 1984, and as many as 10,000 native children across Canada were attending residential schools in the 1960s. Many children alleged psychological, physical, and sexual abuse during the time of their residential school attendance, and many of those now-adult survivors allege continuing negative impact of their experiences. The continuing negative impact is what has come to be called residential school syndrome; although there is no general agreement as to what such a syndrome might be.

History

In 1635, Governor Champlain stressed the fact that leaving children with the missionaries would improve relations with the Huron. This appears to be the first attempt to establish boarding schools for First Nations children in Canada.[1] In British Columbia the schools operated from 1863 to 1984, when St. Mary's was finally closed. In all, there were 16 such schools in BC operated by the Government of Canada, the United Church, the Anglican Church, and the Roman Catholic Church. Attendance for every native child between the ages of 7 and 15 became mandatory in 1920.[2] From one point of view the schools were an enlightened attempt to educate native children in English, mathematics, and practical skills. From a First Nations' point of view, the schools were an arrogant, Eurocentric, cynically calculated attempt to destroy indigenous cultures in order to obtain resources without hindrance.

An overview of traditional cultures in BC should help readers understand the impact of the Indian residential schools. Because there are more than 100 bands in BC, this overview will necessarily be a summary, and not entirely accurate for any particular band.

Most cultures in what is now BC were matrilineal and matriarchal, clan-based, and highly developed. Populations were stable and appropriate to the food supply. The societies were communal, with the elderly and less fortunate cared for by the more successful. Most societies were of the hunter/gatherer sort, with inherited rights to resources of specific land and sea areas.

Marriage within clans was prohibited, and clan membership across tribes was recognized. There were six major language groups, along with regional variations. There were specific birth, naming, puberty, marriage, divorce, and funerary rituals, as well as specific beliefs in cosmology and the afterlife. Wars were not unusual, but also were not general.

The feast system was a means of public recognition and sanction of important events, ranging from the bestowal of inherited names to the resolution of conflict between tribes.

There were secret societies to which only the invited might belong. The initiation rituals, known as the spirit quest, often involved prolonged deprivation and the finding of spirit/ animal helpers who would persist during the life of the individual.

Into this intensely evolved set of societies came Europeans with technologically advanced material goods, demands for territory, and entrenched ideas of proper social conduct, land use, and religion. They were insistent that their ideas were correct and believed themselves to be benevolent to the First Nations.

Some treaties with the First Nations were signed by the Government of Canada and the First Nations peoples were allowed land reserves. Many of the treaties were never observed, but the First Nations peoples were relegated to the reserves. (In 1920, the same year that attendance at Indian residential schools was made mandatory for First Nations children, the British Columbia Indian Lands Settlement Act implemented recommendations reducing reserve lands to less than 0.36% of the total area of British Columbia, without the consent of First Nations people.) Not surprisingly the population dwindled to near-extinguishment.

In the late 1800s, the Indian residential school system was established. Eventually, there were 16 such schools in BC, the last being closed in the 1980s. Children were taken from their homes and confined in schools in isolation from their families and cultures. They were instructed in Christianity, mathematics, and farming and ranching.

I have heard, in my own practice, of no instruction in the English language. Instead, most patients I have seen indicate that they were simply punished for speaking their own language. There is an apocryphal story of children being punished by being forced to kneel on broken glass in front of a cross with a needle propped under their tongue as a punishment for speaking their own language. I have not personally seen a patient to whom this was done, but the story is widely believed.

Certainly it is the case that many masks, regalia, and ritual artifacts were confiscated and burned as pagan works of the devil—or simply held and later sold for profit.

The Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council has done a large survey of Indian residential schools affecting their people.[1] Their report indicates that, across Canada, there were 11 schools in operation in 1880, 88 schools in 1909, and 60 remaining open in the 1960s. In the 1940s, 8000 native children were attending and in the 1960s 10,000 native children were attending. Forty years later many of those children and their descendants survive and continue to show evidence of the effects of the residential school system.

Of 96 individuals interviewed by Nuu-chah-nulth interviewers, 30% to 83% indicate that they were victims of abuse in some form, and more than half indicate that they continue to have need of counseling, therapy, or healing.

Symptomology

For most people who attended Indian residential schools, there is no symptomology other than that similar to other people who have attended a boarding school for an extended period of time. However, for a significant minority of Indian residential school students, there is symptomology quite similar to post-traumatic stress disorder. More specifically, there are recurrent intrusive memories, nightmares, occasional flashbacks, and quite striking avoidance of anything that might be reminiscent of the Indian residential school experience. At the same time, there is often a significant detachment from others, and relationship difficulties are common. There is often diminished interest and participation in aboriginal cultural activities and markedly deficient knowledge of traditional culture and skills. Often there is markedly increased arousal including sleep difficulties, anger management difficulties, and impaired concentration. As might be the case for anyone attending a boarding school with inadequate parenting, parenting skills are often deficient. Strikingly, there is a persistent tendency to abuse alcohol or sedative medication drugs, often starting at a very young age.

Some or all of the symptomology is referenced by the term *residential school syndrome*, but there is no formal agreement, even among health-care personnel dealing with the survivors of the Indian residential schools, on exactly what the diagnostic criteria should be. Those criteria presented in [Table 1](#), modelled after DSM-IV,[3] are simply offered as a suggestion.

As all of the Indian residential schools are now closed, any person presenting with this constellation of symptoms presently has, by definition, a chronic disorder lasting months or years.

This definition of the term *residential school syndrome* is somewhat similar to that of *post-traumatic stress disorder* as defined in DSM-IV. Both residential school syndrome and post-traumatic stress disorder share criteria that the person has undergone or witnessed some degree of trauma and that his or her response was fearful or helpless. The two diagnoses share requirements of re-experiencing, avoidance, and increased arousal. The residential school syndrome diagnosis is different from that of post-traumatic stress disorder in that there is a significant cultural impact and a persistent tendency to abuse alcohol or other drugs that is particularly associated with violent outbursts of anger. The residential school syndrome diagnosis also highlights possible deficient parenting skills.

Chrisjohn et al[4] have suggested another set of criteria for the diagnosis of residential school syndrome. These criteria are reproduced in [Table 2](#). Chrisjohn's conclusions are worth quoting. "We really don't care whether or not anyone appreciates our attempt at humor. Like a lot of comedy, this parody has its roots in reality: that it is not the aboriginal peoples who are sick, but the society that, among other things, created the residential schools. The inability to face up to that fact, for whatever reasons, is a festering wound that bears dealing with."

Whether the residential school syndrome describes the children traumatized by the Indian residential school system or those in authority who created the possibility of such traumata, children were damaged. To deny the existence of the damage is to deny these now-adult survivors the possibility of redress and compensation.

Litigation

Into this syndrome of chronic distress has come the current litigation. Some residential school syndrome survivors have had the unprecedented courage to hire lawyers to represent them before the courts and seek redress. What they want is not complicated: recognition of wrongdoing, apologies, money for their losses of potential careers and relationships, and healing of the symptoms of residential school syndrome.

Healing

Though rarely explicated, the healing process is not unknown or arcane. Some of it occurs in healing centres known and funded as alcohol and drug treatment centres. The funding is based on the essentially racist view that native people are peculiarly subject to alcohol and drug abuse. Treatment of that problem is presumed to be all that is required. Those who work at the treatment centres know otherwise. Their actual work is necessarily far broader and includes, as it must,

treatment of the residential school syndrome.

A second aspect of healing is the outpatient follow-up in the home community. There are very few resources for the necessary follow-up, and the demands are often excessive. The utility of local therapists is also limited in that they are often relatives of potential clients, and many people will not use therapeutic services due to issues of confidentiality.

In some cases, traveling therapists visit the villages on a regular and continuing basis. Once trust is established, the services of these therapists are often well utilized. I have been one such therapist and the approach I use is modelled after Patricia Resick's cognitive processing therapy for rape trauma.[5]

Conclusion

The Indian residential schools are now closed, and some survivors have recovered from their traumata and pressed for compensation and recognition. Their efforts have brought the issues to attention and some efforts to assist in healing of the injuries have begun. If these efforts are adequately funded and sufficiently expanded, residential school syndrome can perhaps be eliminated within the generations currently alive. Without sufficient efforts, residential school syndrome will continue to reverberate through yet more generations.

Table 1. Diagnostic criteria for residential school syndrome.

A. The person has attended an Indian residential school or is closely related to or involved with a person who has attended such a school.

- (1) The school attendance was experienced as intrusive, alien, and frightening
- (2) The person's response to the school attendance involved fear, helplessness, passivity, and expressed or unexpressed anger

B. The effects of attendance at the Indian residential school persist following cessation of school attendance in one (or more) of the following ways:

- (1) Recurrent and distressing recollections, including images, thoughts, or perceptions
- (2) Recurrent distressing dreams of the Indian residential schools
- (3) Acting or feeling as if the events of Indian residential school attendance were recurring (includes a sense of reliving the experience, illusions, hallucinations, and dissociative flashback episodes, including those that occur on awakening or those that occur when intoxicated)
- (4) Intense psychological distress at exposure to internal or external cues that symbolize or resemble an aspect of Indian residential school attendance
- (5) Physiological reactivity on exposure to internal or external cues that symbolize or resemble an aspect of the Indian residential school attendance

C. Persistent avoidance of stimuli associated with the Indian residential school and numbing of general responsiveness (not present before Indian residential school attendance) as indicated by three (or more) of the following:

- (1) Efforts to avoid thoughts, feelings, or conversations associated with the Indian residential schools
- (2) Efforts to avoid activities, places, or people that arouse recollections of Indian residential school attendance
- (3) Inability to recall one or more important aspects of Indian residential school attendance
- (4) Markedly diminished interest or participation in significant cultural activities
- (5) Feelings of detachment or estrangement from others
- (6) Restricted range of affect (e.g., apparently high levels of interpersonal passivity)

D. Persistent symptoms of increased arousal (not present before Indian residential school attendance), as indicated by two (or more) of the following:

- (1) Difficulty falling or staying asleep
- (2) Irritability or outbursts of anger, particularly when intoxicated with alcohol
- (3) Difficulty concentrating, particularly in a school setting
- (4) Hypervigilance, particularly with regard to non-First Nations social environments
- (5) Exaggerated startle response

Symptoms may also include:

- E. Markedly deficient knowledge of one's own First Nations culture and traditional skills
- F. Markedly deficient parenting skills, despite genuine fondness for offspring
- G. A persistent tendency to abuse alcohol or sedative medication/drugs, often starting at a very young age

Table 2. Alternative diagnostic criteria for residential school syndrome.

A pervasive pattern of attempted indoctrination of children of another group of people, combined with the theft of all manner of the group's property, beginning in the late 1800s and persisting through the 1970s. In addition to this characteristic behavior pattern, a diagnosis of residential school syndrome requires four (or more) of the following:

- (1) A grandiose sense of self-importance and/or infallibility
- (2) Unjustified feelings of moral and/or intellectual superiority
- (3) An intense desire to change the subject when the phrases "economic self-interest" or "crimes against humanity" arise, or the words "genocide," "racism," "colonialism," or "oppression" are heard
- (4) Lack of personal insight, or an absence of self-criticism
- (5) Unwillingness to accord human status or rights to creatures not passing arbitrary and inexpressible "standards"
- (6) Obsession with juggling history books and/or shredding documents
- (7) Marked fluency in rhetoric, including ability to sound like apologizing without doing so, to call people "liars" without actually using the word, and to sound sympathetic while studiously avoiding accepting any criminal or financial liability
- (8) Tendency to repeat certain phrases, like "We don't need an inquiry" or "Let's let bygones be bygones"

Note

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the World Association for Social Psychiatry, August 1998, Vancouver, BC; at the Fifth International Conference in Clinical Medicine of the World Police Medical Officers, August 1999, Vancouver, BC; the Yukon Medical Association, Nov. 1998, Whitehorse, Yukon; and at meetings of family physicians in 1999 in Terrace and Smithers, BC.

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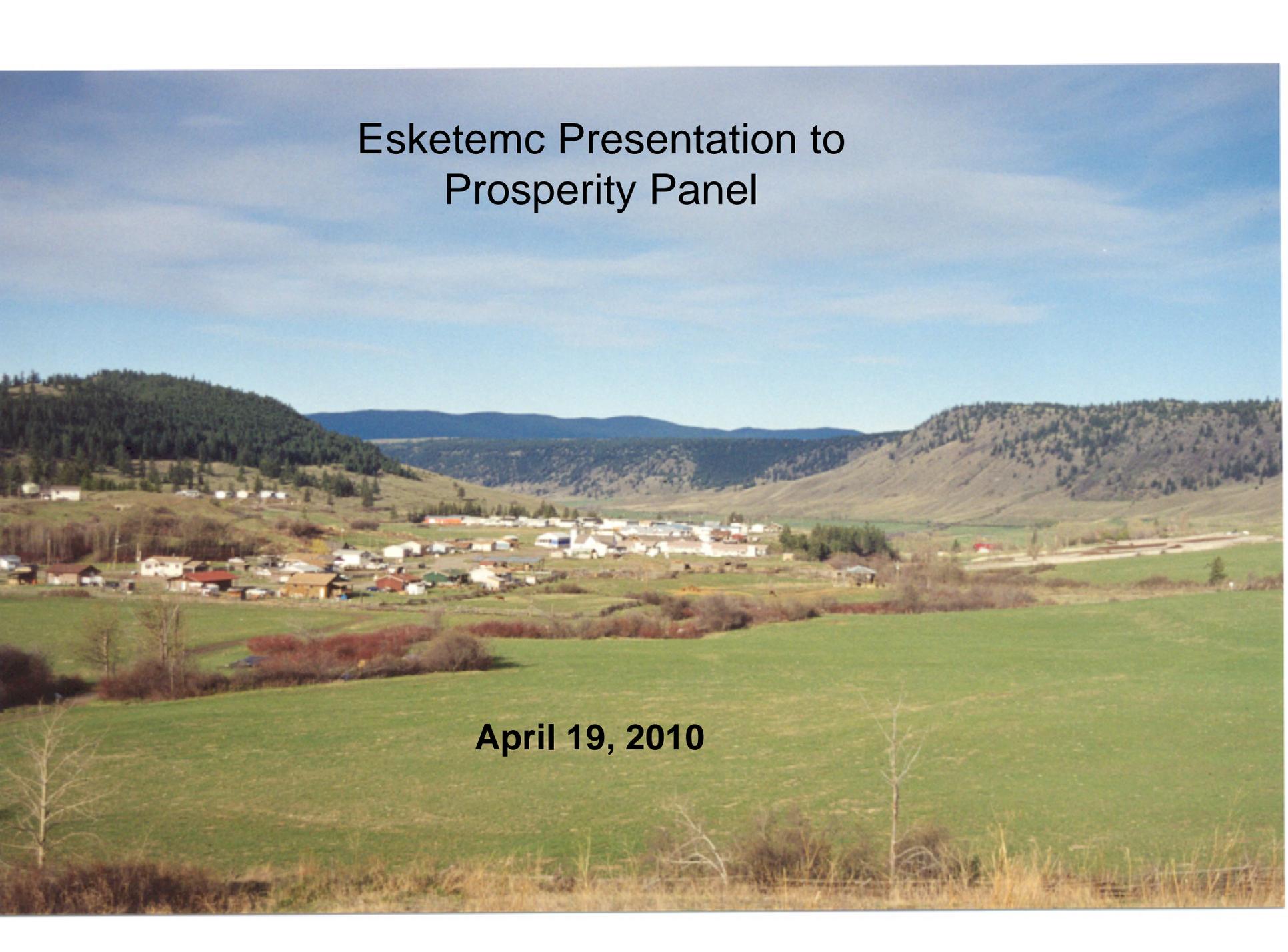
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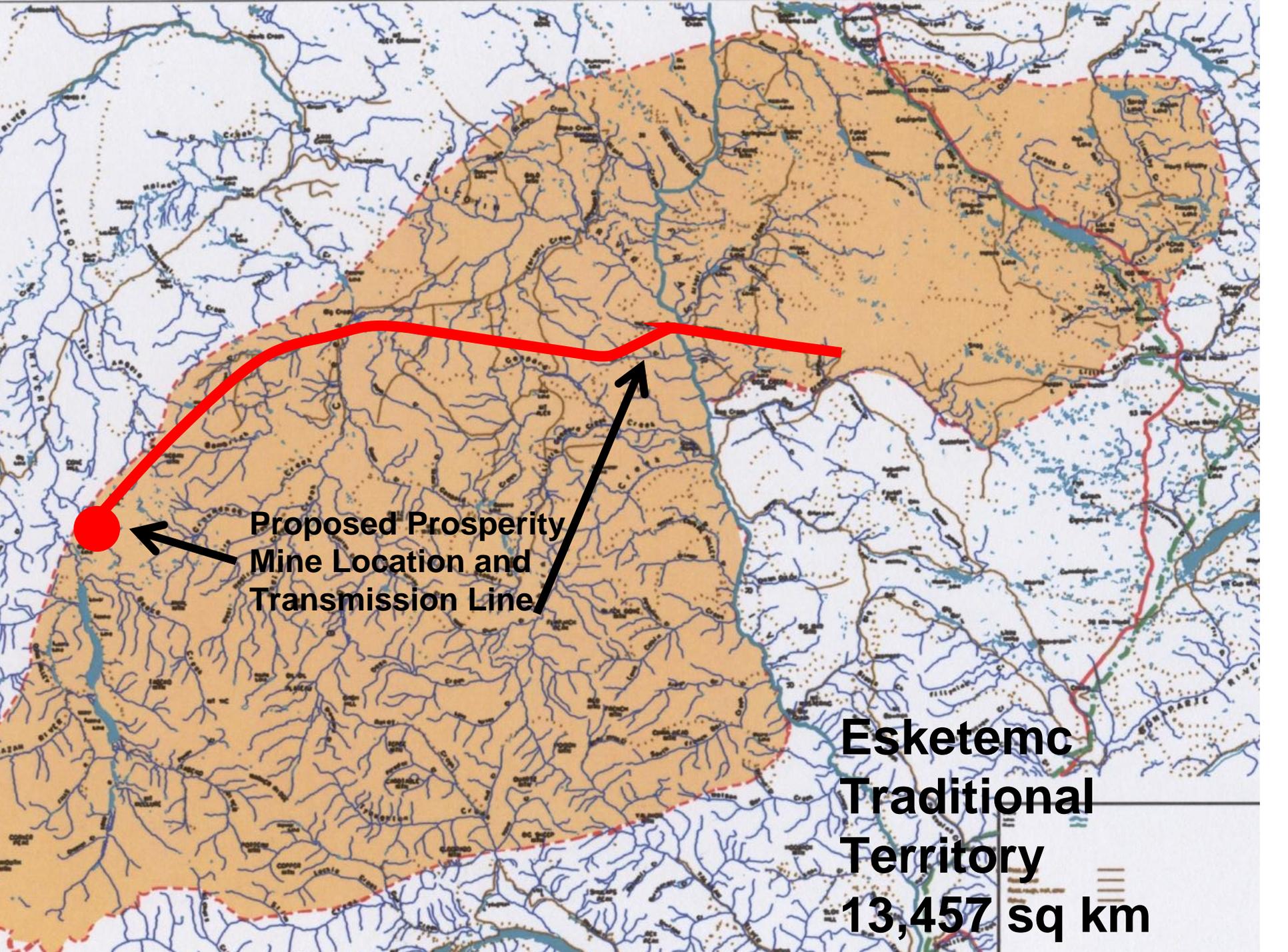
Esketemc Presentation to
Prosperity Panel

April 19, 2010

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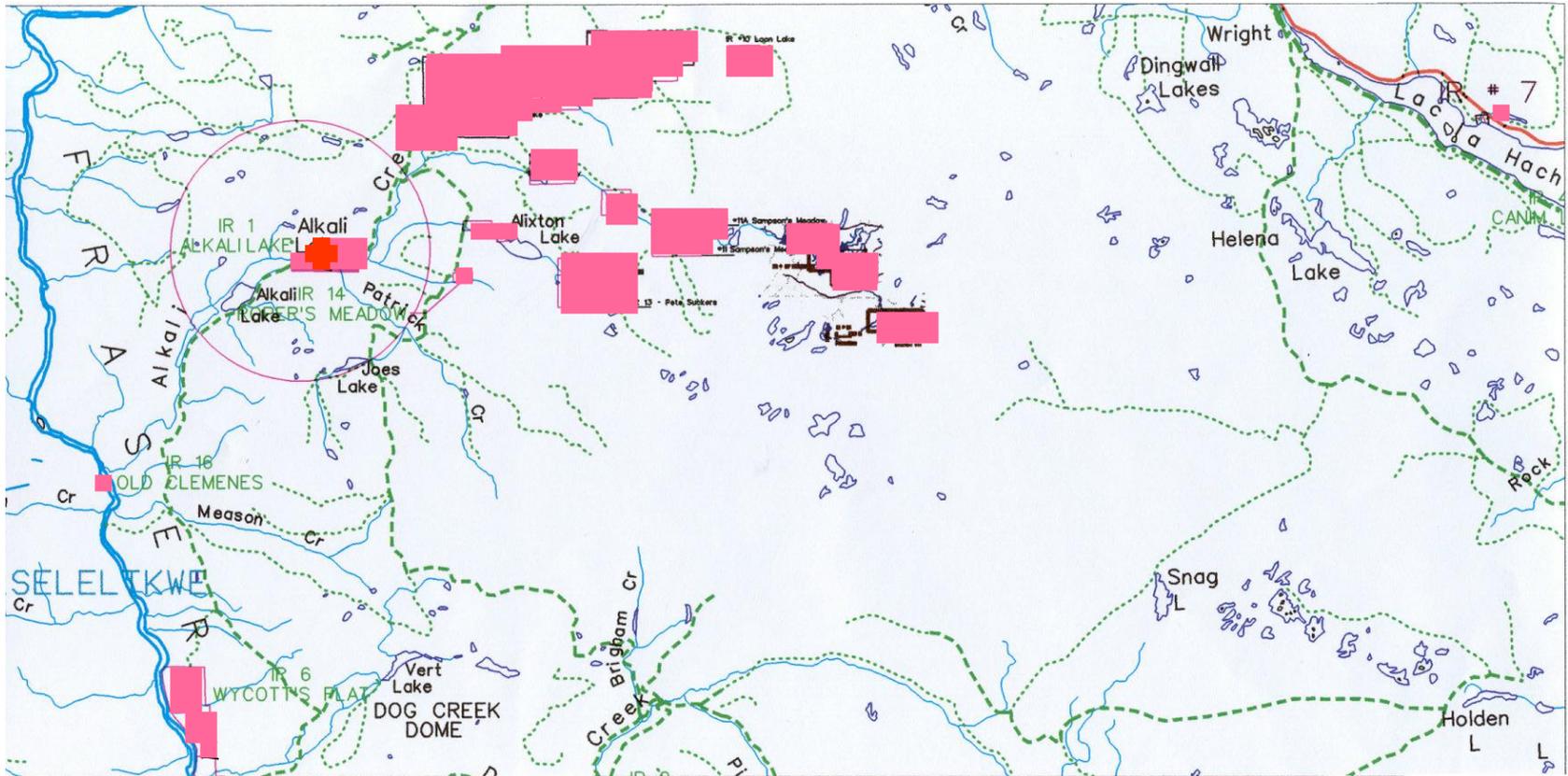






**Proposed Prosperity
Mine Location and
Transmission Line**

**Esketemc
Traditional
Territory
13,457 sq km**



Esketemc Reserves

Less than 38 sq km or less than .3% of the traditional territory

13,457 sq km

2009 Bringing horses up from Wycotte Flats, adjacent to proposed transmission line.
Concerns about the increased visitor traffic to winter horse pastures.



**Family cabins situated in hunting areas,
berry picking areas and hay meadows.**



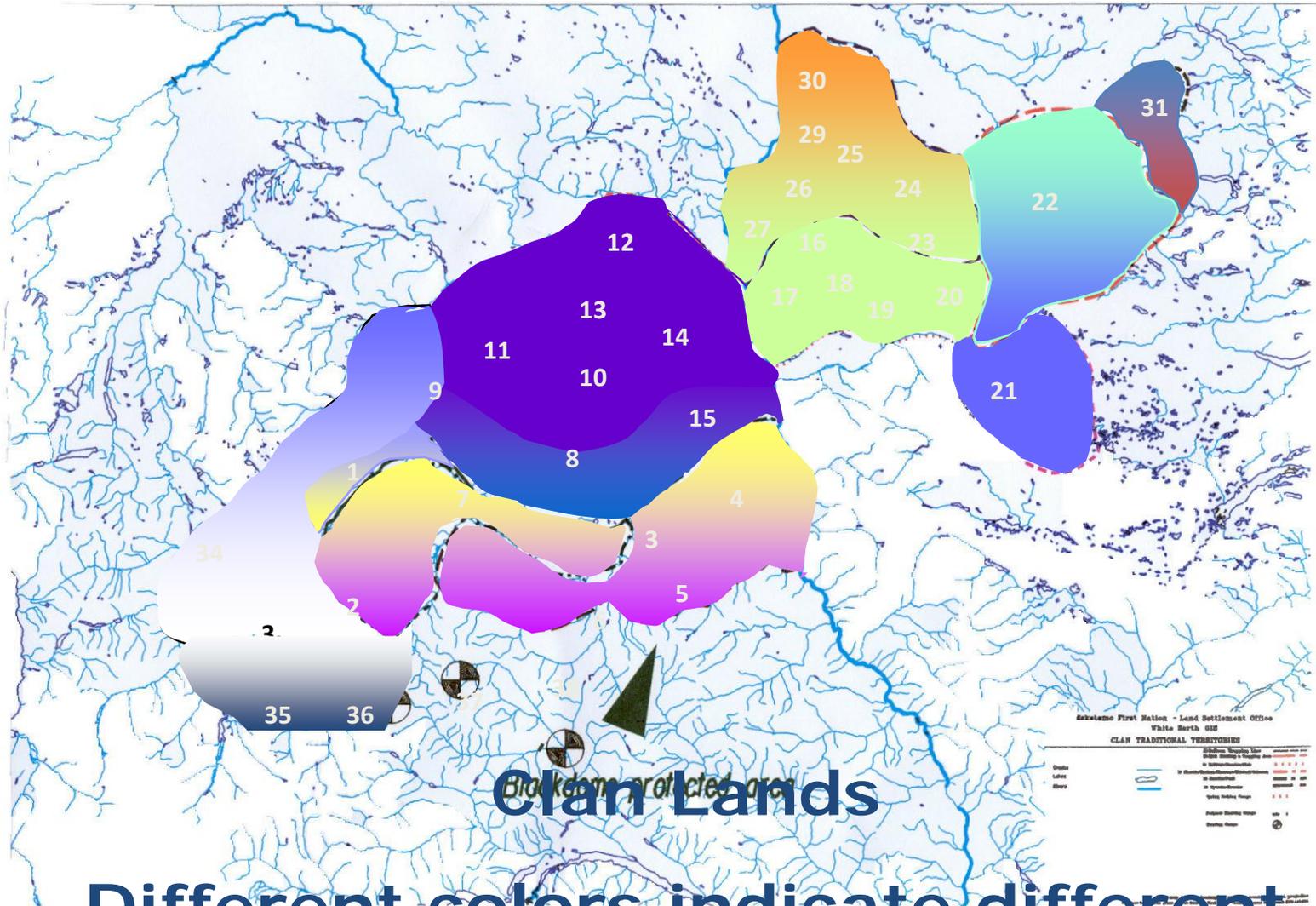
Current transmission line has negatively impacted cabins, resources, and quality of life.





Water Sources contaminated a once healthy spring is damaged





Blackfoot protected area

Different colors indicate different clans or sustenance focii for the areas









