Research Report

Insights into employers' attitudes and behaviors regarding workforce diversity - the case of Indigenous peoples
(Global Report)

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INSIGHTS INTO EMPLOYERS' ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS REGARDING INDIGENOUS WORKFORCE DIVERSITY (GLOBAL REPORT)

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1. Part A – Research Context

The scarcity of labor affects many sectors of activity around the world (Crinis, 2017, Major and Kovács, 2017, Willis et al., 2016). In Canada, the mining (Arnold and Timmons, 2007, Cianfrini, 2015; MiHR, 2017; Ferguson, 2015), forestry (FPAC, 2014; CSMOAF, 2012, INSPQ, 2018, ISQ, 2018) and fisheries (CSMOPM 2014) sectors are affected. At the same time, many Indigenous communities want to be more involved in their region's economy (Beaudoin et al., 2009, 2015, Proulx 2012, Deanna and John, 2017). Certain characteristics of Quebec's Indigenous communities could help develop a pool of employees and thus address the labour shortage problem. For example, Indigenous communities are experiencing high population growth, have a young population and have high unemployment rates (Statistics Canada, 2018a, 2018b). In addition, the presence of Indigenous peoples[1] in the labor market would have a positive impact on communities, as it would contribute to reducing socio-economic disadvantages (Giddy et al., 2009, Haley and Fisher, 2012).), psychological distress (Waters and Moore, 2002) and depression (Waters and Moore, 2001), in addition to promoting greater self-esteem among those involved (Muller, et al., 1993).

1.   The use of the term "Indigenous" refers here to First Nations and Inuit

In its *National Strategy for the Workforce 2018-2023*, the Québec government expresses its desire to mobilize all labour pools, including the Indigenous workforce. It wishes to promote their integration by adapting several measures, such as the *Employment Integration Program for First Nations and Inuit Peoples* (Gouvernement du Québec, 2018a: 24, 47; MTESS, 2017).

On another front, land claim agreements - also known as "modern treaties" - have an impact on the activities of mining and forestry businesses, since they specify the terms and conditions for Indigenous participation in the management and exploitation of natural resources (Government of Quebec, 2018b).

In the mining sector, Impacts and Benefits Agreements (IBAs) can be concluded between developers and Indigenous communities (Galbraith et al., 2007). Today, the signature of an IBA is legally required in certain regions where land claim agreements have been concluded, Nunavut would be an example (Knotsch et al., 2010). Although the signature of an IBA is not mandatory in the regions of Northern Quebec and the North Shore, it is sometimes preferred by mining companies since

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it facilitates the social acceptability of projects (Knotsch et al. al., 2010). However, the voluntary conclusion of IBAs outside the Agreement territories not subject to modern-day treaties is rare (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, Natural Resources Canada, 2013) and are not developed in all sectors, particularly in forestry. The signing of agreements (modern-day treaties and IBAs) usually involves a commitment by mining companies to recruit Indigenous employees. However, IBAs, which are generally oriented towards the economic development of communities, do not necessarily and automatically generate healthier communities (Knotsh et al., 2010).

As to the forest sector, the Ministry of Forests, Wildlife and Parks (MFFP in French) has implemented a Sustainable Forest Management Strategy with the objective, among others, of supporting the socio-economic development of Indigenous communities through the development of forest lands. For example, the Ministry plans to promote the awarding of silvicultural contracts to Indigenous businesses, particularly to stimulate local hiring (MFFP, 2015). The Government of Quebec's Northern Plan aims to create thousands of jobs, mainly in sectors related to the exploitation of natural resources. The government wishes to promote the training and retention of northern workers by intensifying the network of Indigenous liaison officers at Employment Quebec (Secrétariat au Plan Nord, 2015 : 22; Société du Plan Nord, 2016 : 26). However, it is necessary to ensure that northern development is done in an endogenous, holistic, inclusive, equitable and reflective manner. As Asselin (2011: 44) points out, Indigenous peoples and other Northerners "should be at the heart of decision-making and should play an important role in development projects, including through quality employment and the development of their entrepreneurial skills.

In the fisheries sector, it is mainly Supreme Court judgments that have influenced Indigenous employment. Indeed, the 1990 Sparrow decision allowed Indigenous communities to obtain recognition of their rights with respect to food, social and ceremonial fisheries. This decision led to the implementation of the Indigenous Fisheries Strategy, with the objective,

among others, of contributing to the economic self-sufficiency of Indigenous communities (Charest et al., 2012). In 1999, the Marshall decision granted Indigenous communities the right to market their catches. The fisheries sector is an important centre of socio-economic and community development for the eleven Indigenous communities of maritime Quebec along the St. Lawrence River and its estuary, since it is the band councils that own the fishing businesses and employ the labour force from the communities (Charest et al., 2012). Since the early 2000s, the federal government has allocated fishing licences and quotas to several band councils to provide Indigenous peoples with opportunities to participate in the management and development of businesses in the area. As an employer, the councils are committed to using the fisheries sector as a lever for community economic development (Bergeron, 2012; Capitaine, 2012; Charest, 2012).

Generally, measures exist to promote the attraction and integration of Indigenous workers in the natural resources sector, but few empirical studies have examined the issue in Quebec. The overall objective of this research was to identify the attitudes and behaviours of employers in the forestry, mining and fisheries sectors towards the Indigenous labour force. More specifically, it is about knowing the factors that promote the employment of the Indigenous workforce and understanding how employers view, encourage and manage Indigenous diversity. Since the research mandate focuses on the field of natural resources, this study takes place in a regional context where, because of the homogeneity of the population, prejudices are more difficult to deconstruct.

2. Part B – Possible solutions

The main factors influencing the proportion of Indigenous employees in a company are related to: (1) legal or judicial obligations; (2) collaborations and partnerships with Indigenous communities; and (3) whether the business is owned by Indigenous peoples. Legal and statutory obligations in the mining sector are leading employers to find solutions to promote the recruitment and retention of Indigenous employees (Caron et al., 2018). These obligations have the advantage of encouraging employers to continue their efforts and identify new ways of doing things when they encounter difficulties. With no obligations, it is easier to give up when businesses face an obstacle or failure (Proulx et al., 2018). For the three sectors studied, the development of a relationship of trust between the company and Indigenous employees, as well as the acquisition of a sense of belonging, seems to be key to the recruitment and retention of Indigenous workers, with practices such as mentoring or having an attitude of indulgence, tolerance and patience in the face of social challenges. Moreover, collaborations and partnerships with an Indigenous community contribute to the evolution of this trust relationship (see Table 3 for examples of practices). In addition, it has been noted that Indigenous businesses are successful in recruiting Indigenous employees. One reason may be related to their mission and, above all, to the presence of Indigenous leaders who foster a climate of openness, inclusion and trust, as well as a sense of belonging.

To foster a climate of trust, inclusion and openness, training for all employees in the realities and culture of Indigenous peoples seems essential. It is particularly appropriate to provide training for team leaders and supervisors who play an important role in the company (Proulx et al., 2018; Caron et al., 2018). This type of training can reduce bias against Indigenous workers, improve the inclusion of Indigenous employees and help create a culturally safe environment (Bruce and Marlin, 2012; Julian et al., 2017; ICTC, 2017; National Mining Institute, 2017). The creation of a culturally safe work environment

must be evaluated by Indigenous workers themselves, since the concept of cultural safety is based on the experience of those concerned (inspired by Lévesque et al. 2014)[2]. In this sense, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's call to action (2012) directly engages companies by requiring that senior managers and employees have training on the history of Indigenous peoples: "In this regard, competency-based training in intercultural skills, dispute resolution, human rights and anti-racism will be particularly important" (CVRC, 2012: 13). Moreover, we note that forest sector managers who are aware of Indigenous realities and cultures are more successful in recruiting Indigenous employees (Proulx et al., 2018).

In order to maximize trust between the organization and Indigenous employees, several mining businesses have hired a liaison officer who assists, among other things, in recruiting in the communities, welcoming and integrating Indigenous workers into the business, improving interactions between Indigenous employees and supervisors, and raising awareness among non-Indigenous workers of Indigenous realities and cultures (Caron et al., 2018). In the forestry and mining sectors, personalized follow-up of Indigenous workers, sponsorship and mentoring have been identified as practices that promote Indigenous employability (Proulx et al., 2018; Caron et al. 2018).

One of the challenges for businesses wishing to hire Indigenous peoples, mainly in the mining and forestry sectors, is the existence of an accessible pool of skilled labour (Caron et al., 2018; Proulx et al., 2018). Indeed, 27% of Quebec's Indigenous population aged 25 to 64 do not have skills recognized by a certificate, diploma or degree, compared to 12.9% of the non-Indigenous population (Statistics Canada, 2018b). On the other hand, in the fisheries sector, the low level of education of the Indigenous population has led to training and

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2. Lévesque et al (2014) present the concept of cultural security in the field of health. Here, the definition is adapted to the work environment.

skills development efforts. In some communities, the number of people trained exceeds the number of positions available. However, this phenomenon makes it possible to organize replacements when an Indigenous employee must be absent (Vallières et al., 2018).

Several employers interviewed for this project linked the adverse social conditions in some communities to their experiences with the Indigenous workforce and to the challenge of developing an Indigenous work culture (Proulx et al., 2018; Caron et al., 2018 and Vallières et al., 2018). As such, some employers do not feel equipped to manage social problems that exceed their individual and organizational capacities. This encourages an integrated approach to social issues between different organizations, including employers. Nevertheless, some employers have implemented measures to address these problems, including alcohol and drug use by their employees (both Indigenous and non-Indigenous employees). For instance, an Indigenous forestry employer meets personally with his employees in order to offer them resources adapted to their needs (Proulx et al., 2018). In this context, personalized follow-up and mentoring appear to be good management practices for Indigenous employees (see Table 3). In the fisheries sector, some employers have adopted an alcohol and drug policy to promote a healthy and safe workplace (Vallières et al., 2018). Many Indigenous diversity management practices can also promote the employability of non-Indigenous workers, and vice-versa. The application of measures related to social problems is one example, as are those concerning the reconciliation of professional and personal life.

At first glance, measures that promote work-life balance are beneficial for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous employees. Nevertheless, the concept of the family may differ from one culture to another. For example, one mining employer explained that, when a cousin died, it would allow the same number of days of absence as for a brother, since the relationship between the Indigenous employee and the deceased person was very close (Caron et al., 2018). The importance of the "extended family" is present in many Indigenous communities around the world. For example, among the Maori in New Zealand, Whanau (which includes family and extended family) has a significant influence on people's lives, including whether to keep a job or not (Haar et al., 2012). In this respect, the adaptation of employers to the traditional activities and family context of Indigenous employees appears to be a significant factor in employee retention. However, it would still be important to sensitize Indigenous employees to leave planning in order to maintain, as much as possible, the integrity of the organization of the work (Caron et al., 2018). This request was also raised in the fisheries sector where an employer requests that the captain be notified as soon as possible when an employee is to be absent (Vallières et al., 2018). It may be useful to consider a system of work organization where each position is associated with more than one person.

The three qualitative sectorial studies, as well as the provincial forestry sector survey, provided a snapshot of employers' perceptions of the Indigenous work force. Nevertheless, several employers refused our requests for interviews. In the fisheries
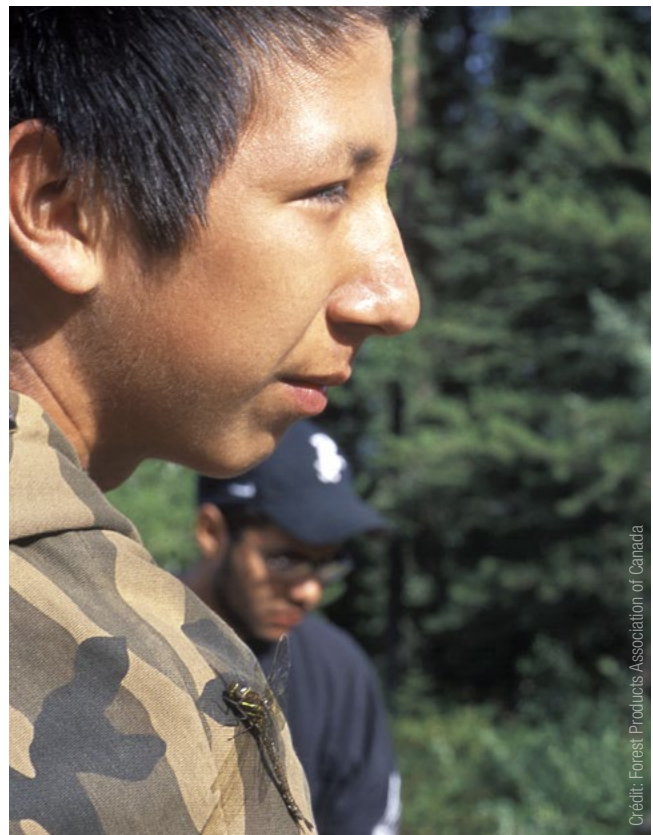
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sector, we only met with Indigenous employers. In this respect, although the data studied are varied, our results do not necessarily reflect all points of view.

The data collected allows us to identify the success factors and challenges related to the management of Indigenous workers, which leads us to formulate solutions[3] for employers and government authorities:

2.1.   EMPLOYERS

- **SOLUTION 1:** Invest in efforts to establish ongoing and direct contacts, formal and informal, with Indigenous communities for a better mutual understanding (e.g., visits by Indigenous peoples to businesses or by businesses to the communities);

- **SOLUTION 2:** Raise awareness of Indigenous realities and cultures among management and employees;

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3. Solutions are presented in no particular order

- **SOLUTION 3:** Establish collaborations or partnerships with Indigenous communities and jointly develop actions to recruit, retain and support the development of Indigenous workers;

- **SOLUTION 4:** Foster the development of the skills of Indigenous workers through more appropriate apprenticeship opportunities, such as internships, mentoring and work/study placements.

- **SOLUTION 5:** Hire a liaison officer responsible for links with Indigenous communities, for welcoming and integrating Indigenous employees, and sensitizing non-Indigenous employees to Indigenous realities and cultures. Since SMEs have fewer financial resources, a consolidation effort to hire a liaison officer is desirable.

- **SOLUTION 6:** Establish a welcoming and culturally safe integration process for Indigenous workers (personalized meetings, sponsorships and mentoring, management of concerns, personalized follow-up over time).

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- **SOLUTION 7:** Review work - personal life balance policies to ensure that they are consistent with Indigenous realities (definition of family, importance of traditional activities, management of work schedules, etc.).

- **SOLUTION 8:** Implement internal advancement programs specific to Indigenous employees (to enable them to access supervisory positions).

2.2. GOVERNMENT BODIES

- **SOLUTION 1:** Continue efforts to establish modern treaties, or land claim settlements, to promote the realization of the full potential of Indigenous job creation.

- **SOLUTION 2:** Support and encourage the partnership approach between employers and Indigenous communities, in particular by promoting existing tools (for example, Guide to Good Practices for Building Sustainable Business Partnerships between the Innu Community and the Regional Environment (Groupe de travail Premières Nations. 2015) or by supporting the development of new tools.

- **SOLUTION 3:** Develop different types of Indigenous cultural awareness training for employees and business leaders through recognized educational institutions (e. g. university, CEGEP, FNHRDCQ).

- **SOLUTION 4:** Encourage employers to provide Indigenous cultural awareness training for employees, supervisors and business leaders.

- **SOLUTION 5:** Implement measures to encourage the development of learning opportunities that are consistent with Indigenous realities (e. g. internships, mentoring, work-study programs, workplace learning programs) for Indigenous workers that promote their progression to higher levels (e. g. supervision, management and leadership).

- **SOLUTION 6:** Provide specific support (e.g., financial assistance for Indigenous employment) to small and medium-sized businesses, which often have limited means to deal with Indigenous diversity.

3. Part C – Methodology

In order to analyse the different perceptions and attitudes of employers towards the Indigenous workforce in the mining, forestry and fisheries sectors, a qualitative method (Miles and Huberman, 2003) was first used. In a flexible and rigorous context (Beaupré et al., 2017), the semi-structured interview, individual or group, focused the discussion on pre-established themes while allowing for the emergence of new themes during the analysis (Sauvayre, 2013).

In the mining sector, we interviewed 25 people representing 11 businesses and 17 projects located in Abitibi-Témiscamingue, Northern Quebec and Nunavut. In the forestry sector, we met 22 respondents from 19 businesses (7 small, 8 medium and 4 large), including 3 Indigenous businesses, located in six administrative regions of Quebec. In the fisheries sector, 19 participants working in an Indigenous context were interviewed. They held positions in fisheries coordination, training,

human resources management and corporate management. A thematic analysis was conducted, based on the diversity model of Guillaume et al. (2014), to highlight employers' attitudes and behaviours towards the Indigenous work force (Beaupré et al., 2017).

In addition to the qualitative approach, we conducted a survey of forest sector employers. The main objective was to assess the level of maturity of Indigenous diversity management practices among participating firms. For each aspect, respondents were asked to position their firm along a gradient ranging from non-existent or minimal practices, to intermediate practices, to proactive practices. Data from 127 businesses were analyzed.

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4. Part D – Results

4.1. EMPLOYER ATTITUDES

While contexts vary from one sector to another, legal and judicial obligations, partnerships with Indigenous communities and the fact that a business is owned by Indigenous peoples influence employers' attitudes and practices, as well as the success in recruiting Indigenous employees. In the mining sector, companies from non-signatory projects[4] experience many challenges related to the integration of the Indigenous workforce, including absenteeism, as well as a lack of organization, training and interest among Indigenous peoples (Caron et al., 2018). For employers from signatory projects, the Indigenous workforce is, in their view, a clear solution to scarcity. Several benefits can be associated with integrating a diverse workforce, such as creativity and innovation that can improve organizational performance and efficiency (Dijke et al., 2012; Guillaume et al., 2012; Joshi and Roh, 2009). These benefits have been highlighted by employers from signatory projects (Caron et al., 2018). In the forestry sector, employers' interest in hiring Indigenous workers varied from one company to another (Proulx et al., 2018). Indigenous businesses and those with collaborations with Indigenous communities were more proactive (Proulx et al., 2018; Théberge et al., 2018). In the fisheries sector, the employers we met, mainly Indigenous organizations, wanted to increase the proportion of Indigenous employees in their crews (Vallières et al., 2018). In addition, the evolution of the political and legal context of the fisheries sector (encouraging Indigenous communities to obtain commercial fishing quotas) has led to the development of Indigenous businesses in this sector and, in turn, to an increase in the number of Indigenous employees working in this field.

Nevertheless, the positions of captain and fisheries coordinator are often held by non-Indigenous peoples, partly because of the skills required to obtain a diploma.

4.2. PROPORTION OF INDIGENOUS EMPLOYEES

In the mining sector, the proportion of Indigenous employees differs significantly between signatory and non-signatory projects:

Table 1 - Indigenous employees (mining sector)

		Total Number of Employees	Number of Indigenous Employees	% Indigenous Employees
Non-Signatory Project	SRM	90	0	0,0
	Operations	4	0	0,0
		70	0	0,0
		130	1	0,8
		432	1	0,2
		703	0	0,0
		716	4	0,6
		997	0	0,0
		998	1	0,1
Total		4140	7	0,17
Signatory Projects	SRM	2	1	50,0
		50	8	16,0
		191	25	13,1
		200	50	25,0
	Operations	220	3	1,4
		500	60	12,0
		680	177	26,0
		850	300	35,3
Total		**2693**	**624**	**23,17**

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4. Some companies have signed Impact and Benefit Agreements (IBAs) with indigenous communities, or their operations are located in territories where modern treaties (land claims agreements) have been concluded with indigenous peoples.

Thus, where the legal context does not require it, mining companies make less of an effort to include Indigenous peoples in their workforce (projects that have signed agreements = 23% Indigenous employees and non-signatory projects = <1%). On the other hand, the mining sector study points out that the higher the proportion of Indigenous employees, the more favourable the working climate within the signatory projects (Caron et al., 2018).

In the forestry sector, where there is no distinction between signatory and non-signatory projects, Indigenous businesses stood out clearly in terms of the proportion of Indigenous employees (Proulx et al., 2018). The same trend was observed in the provincial forest sector survey, where, when a business is owned by Indigenous peoples, there is a positive influence on the maturity of the management practices for Indigenous employees (Théberge et al., 2018). In addition, certain types of collaborations and partnerships have an impact on the proportion of Indigenous employees. The size of the company is also a factor of influence, as large businesses would have more resources to devote to managing Indigenous employees (Proulx et al. 2018; Théberge et al. 2018).

In the fisheries sector, all the businesses interviewed were linked to Indigenous communities (Vallières et al., 2018), which is a unique feature of this study. Thus, the proportion of Indigenous employees varied between 40 and 90%, suggesting, once again, that Indigenous businesses are leaders in the recruitment and retention of Indigenous employees. Partnerships also seem to be a success factor in this sector. For example, on the North Shore, at a plant owned in partnership with three Indigenous communities, Indigenous employees represented 50 to 60% of the work force, unlike other plants in this sector where there were virtually no Indigenous employees (Vallières et al., 2018).

Table 2- Indigenous Employees (Forest Sector)

Type of Link with communities	Total Number of Employees	Number of Indigenous Employees	% Indigenous Employees
No Specific Link	n.d.	0	0,0 %
	47	0	0,0 %
	60	0	0,0 %
	105	0	0,0 %
	135	0	0,0 %
	230	0	0,0 %
	350	0	0,0 %
Collaboration	350	2	0,6 %
	400	6	1,5 %
	80	5	6,3 %
Partnership	25	n.d.	n.d.
	100	2	2 %
	125	3	2,4 %
	97	3	3,1 %
	120	20	16,7 %
	5	1	20 %
Indigenous Business	30	12	40 %
	50	20	40 %
		42	91,3 %

4.3. BEST PRACTICES

Businesses with a high proportion of Indigenous employees implement different practices. These practices are presented in Table 3. They are classified according to the analytical categories of Guillaume et al (2012). Each practice is associated with at least one of the reports in the project's appendix, in order to guide the reader who wishes to learn more.

Table 3 – Best practices

Best Practices	Mines	Forestry	Fisheries	Documentation Review
SOCIETAL FACTORS				
Indigenous Social context — Adaptation to social problems (indulgence, tolerance and patience, ...)	X (p.28)	X (p.14)	X (p.22)	
Organizational policies and awareness specific to alcohol and drugs		X (p.14)	X (p.22)	
Indigenous health improvement initiative				X (p.12)
Work Location — Organization of a personalized transportation system for Indigenous employees		X (p.16)	X (p.13)	X (p.14)
Image of the natural resources sector/ Corporate image — Raising awareness among young people in schools	X (p.20)	X (p.17)		
Creating role models for Indigenous workers	X (p.18)	X (p.17)		
Commitments to social responsibility and workforce diversity / participatory management process with Indigenous workers	X (p.43)			X (p.22)
Obtaining certification (e.g. FSC) that shows that the company favours the hiring of Indigenous peoples.				X (p.29)
Emphasis on the positive effects of work on the community / creation of a sense of pride in working for the company			X (p.24)	X (p.35)
ORGANISATIONAL FACTORS				
Training and Skills Development — PSC - business - Indigenous community collaboration		X (p.18)	X (p.35)	
Bridging project, work-study and internship		X (p.18)		
Reconnaissance des acquis/formation regroupant uniquement des Autochtones	X (p.19)	X (p.18)		X (p.18)
Recognition of prior learning / training involving only Indigenous peoples	X	X (p.35)	X (p21)	
Mentoring in companies		X(p.18)		
Financing training courses; Training offers	X (p.19)		X (p.30)	X (p.18)
Training adapted to the needs of Indigenous peoples (e.g. short-duration, practice-oriented, in communities)	X (p.19)		X (p.30)	X (p.18)

Best Practices	Mines	Forestry	Fisheries	Documentation Review
Selection and recruitment				
Preferential hiring policy	X (p.19)			X (p.28)
Offer scholarships / internships to students		X (p.11)	X (p.16)	X (p.19)
Partnership and collaboration with Indigenous communities / community involvement in the tracking of candidates	X (p.23)	X (p.25)	X (p.15)	X (p.24)
Posting through Band Council bodies / community meetings / use of community employment counsellors / working with Indigenous recruitment agencies	X (p.23)			
Job fairs	X (p.23)	X (p.25)		
Social media	X (p.23)	X (p.25)	X (p.15)	X
Radio ads (in local language) / local community newspapers	X (p.23)			X (p.24)
Inclusion of a section allowing the personal identification of the candidate in the description of the job offer / possibility of completing a CV by hand with a liaison officer			X	X (p.22)
Outreach to potential candidates by Indigenous employees / visits to schools and communities			X (p.16)	
Offer "field tests" to see the capacities / interests of the candidate.	X (p.30)	X (p.27)		X (p.27)
Welcome, integration and retention				
Opportunities for advancement / permanent contract	X (p.30)	X (p.27)		X (p.27)
Personalized follow-up over time for Indigenous workers		X (p.27)		
Stratégie/politique d'accueil et d'intégration proactive (rencontre personnalisée, parrainage, gestion des inquiétudes, comité de travail, mécanisme de communication, bonis pour ceux qui demeurent en poste)	X (p.17)	X (p.26)		X (p.30)
Politique de conciliation vie professionnelle et vie personnelle (incluant pratique d'activités culturelles)	X (p.17)		X (p.19)	X (p.37)
Sondage annuel au sujet du niveau d'engagement et de sentiment d'appartenance dans une perspective d'amélioration continue	X (p.37)			
Characteristics of forestry jobs	Transitional phase between hourly pay and productivity pay			X (p.28)

Best Practices		Mines	Forestry	Fisheries	Documentation Review
GROUP PRACTICES					
Work Climate	Training related to Indigenous realities and culture	X (p.16)	X (p.21)		X (p.19)
	Promotion of a sense of belonging to the working group (e.g., social activities, cultural hall, gathering of Indigenous employees outside working hours, etc.) and the promotion of the uniqueness of the individual.	X (p.26)		X (p.24)	X (p.30)
Working Group Composition	Establish Indigenous work teams		X (p.31)		
	In-company mentoring	X (p.26)	X (p.31)		
	Use of different types of supervision, e.g. external, self-evaluation, etc.	X (p.34)			X (p.31)
Complaint and conflict management	Procedure in conflict resolution / multicultural committee to address workplace climate issues / dispute resolution mechanism developed in collaboration with Indigenous workers	X (p.33)			X (p.32)

5.   Part E – Research Avenues

The project *Insights into Employers' Attitudes and Behaviors Regarding Indigenous Workforce Diversity* has produced a list of good practices, as well as recommendations for employers and governments. Nevertheless, the implementation of these recommendations and the applicability of good practices in the different sectors studied need to be further developed.

The political-legal frameworks related to Indigenous realities are complex and affect different areas of society. Fostering the participation of Indigenous employees in the labour market requires the coordination of several actors. Who is responsible for this coordination? What would be the roles of each actor? This «Actions Concertées» project addresses some of these questions, but more work needs to be done to promote Indigenous employment in the natural resources sector.

To support this reflection, it would be wise, first, to follow ongoing research aimed at documenting the perspective of Indigenous workers, which aims to identify their motivations and resistance to these jobs[5]. Second, it would be relevant to document the practices of Indigenous employers and to better understand the factors that explain their success in recruiting Indigenous employees. Specifically, we should grasp how a non-Indigenous employee feels in an Indigenous business and how these businesses manage diversity. Third, it would be useful to better understand the dynamics of partnerships between businesses and Indigenous communities. Fourth, an analysis of the management practices of companies with a high proportion of Indigenous employees would provide a better understanding of how to promote Indigenous employment.

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