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Commentary

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Tracking First Nation Self-Government Employment in Yukon

This paper tracks the rise of First Nations government employment and the wages earned by this sector since the rise of the self-government movement in Yukon, and represents, to the best of our knowledge, the first time this Statistics Canada data set has been used to assess the impact of Aboriginal self-government in Canada. In this paper we compare Yukon Aboriginal government employment and wages to data from across Canada and in the North (NWT and Alaska). Since the finalization of the Umbrella Final Agreement (UFA) in 1990, eleven (11) Yukon First Nations have brought into effect Final Land Claim Settlements and Self-Government Agreements.[1] The dates within the parentheses in the list below indicate the year in which each First Nation's agreement came into effect:

- Champagne and Aishihik (1995)
- Teslin Tlingit Council (1995)
- First Nation of Nacho Nyak Dun (1995)
- Vuntut Gwitchin (1995)
- Little Salmon/Carmacks (1997)
- Selkirk First Nation (1997)
- Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in (1998)
- Ta'an Kwäch'än Council (2002)
- Kluane First Nation (2004)
- Kwanlin Dün (2005)
- Carcross/Tagish (2006)

Each of these First Nation governments have started to build a bureaucratic structure with civil servants managing a wide range of portfolios from housing, citizenship, and beneficiaries lists to lands and resources, heritage and, in some cases, education, health, and welfare. This report analyzes the impact of First Nations self-government on Yukon's employment and wage economies. Wage employment is one way in which Yukon's First

1 Three First Nations that have not settled land claims and remain Indian Bands under the federal Indian Act: Liard First Nation, Ross River Dena Council and White River First Nation.

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Nations governments contribute to the territorial economy: other ways, which are not included in this report, are annual budgets for building development; facilities Operations and Maintenance and space rental; consulting and contracting fees; travel, transportation, and associated accommodations; and a wide variety of business investments that have come through their associated development corporations.

> Canada recognizes Aboriginal self-government agreements as being one means of building sound governance and institutional capacity that allow Aboriginal communities to contribute to, and participate in, the decisions that affect their lives and carry out effective relationships with other governments. They also provide greater certainty over rights to natural resources, contributing to a more positive investment climate and creating greater potential for economic development, jobs and growth.[2]

In total, Canada has completed eighteen comprehensive self-government agreements involving thirty-two communities, as well as establishing a public government in Nunavut. These include: five (5) comprehensive land claims with self-government components negotiated in BC, Newfoundland and Labrador, and the Northwest Territories (NWT); two stand-alone self-government agreements negotiated in BC; and the eleven (11) stand-alone self-government agreements negotiated in conjunction with land claims agreements in Yukon.[3]

Yukon has been at the forefront of land claim negotiations in Canada since the early 1990s. The negotiation process for Yukon land claims began when Yukon First Nations people presented *Together Today For Our Children Tomorrow* to Prime Minister Trudeau in 1973.[4] Prior to that, no treaties were in effect between the government and the Aboriginal people of the territory. While initially a bilateral process between Canada and each First Nation, the Government of Yukon became a full party to the process over time, making them trilateral negotiations.

Between 1973 and 1989, the parties involved worked out the Umbrella Final Agreement, a final version of which was signed in 1993.[5] The Umbrella Final Agreement is a policy document between the Government of Canada, Government of Yukon, and Yukon First Nations that represents an agreement on a common template for negotiating First Nation final agreements. It is important to note that the Umbrella Final Agreement, on its own, is not a legally enforceable document. However, because all of its provisions are contained in each First Nation final agreement, those provisions have lawful effect. Each First Nation final agreement is a treaty recognized in Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982 and, as such, takes precedence over other laws.

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2 See Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada Fact Sheet, http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100016293/1100100016294.

3 See Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, Fact Sheet Aboriginal Self-Government, http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100016293/1100100016294.

4 Available at http://www.eco.gov.yk.ca/pdf/together_today_for_our_children_tomorrow.pdf.

5 Available at http://www.eco.gov.yk.ca/pdf/umbrellafinalagreement.pdf.

Land claims have been negotiated for two primary reasons: first, because the First Nations had unresolved legal, moral, and equitable claims; and secondly, because participants preferred the certainty of a negotiated agreement to the uncertain results of court decisions. For a region such as Yukon, which is highly dependent upon natural resource extraction, a third rationale is that the agreements marked the creation of a more stable legal framework in which First Nations would become partners in development, rather than adversaries.

Yukon First Nation final agreements represent an exchange of undefined Aboriginal rights for defined treaty rights. In other words, a Yukon First Nation final agreement, which is a modern-day treaty, sets out specific rights for the particular First Nation and its citizens. The exception is that Aboriginal rights continue on settlement land. However, if an Aboriginal right is inconsistent with a negotiated treaty right, then the treaty right prevails. First Nation final agreements provide for the negotiation of self-government agreements between the various First Nations and the governments of Canada and Yukon. As companion documents to the final agreements, the self-government agreements are not treaties. A self-government agreement establishes the First Nation government as a "legal person," and ensures that the First Nation has a constitution that sets out its governmental structure—in this way, the First Nation has the capacity to act and govern itself. Upon achieving self-government, the Indian Act no longer applies to the First Nation. Each First Nation with a self-government agreement has exclusive law-making powers over its internal affairs and over the management of its citizens' final agreement rights. The First Nation has the power to make citizen-based laws that apply to their citizens, no matter where they live, over issues including child welfare, health care, language, culture, and education. The First Nation also has the authority to make laws in relation to its settlement land, such as land use and zoning, lands and natural resources such as forestry and wildlife, and business activity, including mining royalties, and these laws are applicable to anyone on settlement land. A First Nation can make laws regarding property taxation on settlement land. A First Nation can also make laws for other direct taxes, such as income or sales tax, and some Yukon First Nations have negotiated sharing agreements with the governments of Yukon and Canada for the Goods and Services Tax (GST) and income tax. Each First Nation receives most of their government funding through a negotiated Financial Transfer Agreement (FTA) with the Government of Canada. Negotiations take into account matters such as population, own source revenues, economies of scale, and prevailing fiscal policies. Finally, each First Nation can negotiate, with the governments of Canada and/or Yukon, to assume responsibility for programs and services for their people. The First Nation can negotiate for anything within the scope of their law-making powers, whether or not the First Nation has made a law related to the matter.

SEPH Data Source

Data from the Survey of Employment and Payroll Hours (SEPH) originates weekly with each payroll generated by private and public employers in Canada, Yukon's First Nations

governments being no exception.[6] SEPH is produced from the combination of the Business Payroll Survey results and the payroll deductions administrative data received by Statistics Canada from the Canada Revenue Agency. Statistics Canada acquires the data and processes it using NAICS coding, creating relatively comparable employment and wage categories across Canada. The data gives us a glimpse into the monthly employment levels across the country, as well as into average weekly salaries. The SEHP data for line 914 is only available at the all-employees level of aggregation (monthly and annual) and by weekly wages; more detailed information on salary versus wage employment is not available, probably due to the small size of the population and data quality issues. Similar data is available for the State of Alaska, through the US Bureau of Labor Statistics, some of which is provided below.[7]

SEPH is commonly used in combination with two other labour surveys to generate a monthly evaluation of the economy's labour force dynamics: the Labour Force Survey (LFS) and the Employment Insurance Coverage Survey (EI).[8] All three are available in Yukon. Together, these three monthly surveys tell a more complete story of current labour market events. The LFS focuses on its strengths: timeliness, and demographic analysis of the labour market. SEPH reports, which come out some months later, show greater detail by industry and wages. However, LFS and SEPH generate different labour market numbers, with LFS estimating the number of people employed, and SEPH recording the number of jobs in the market.[9] The EI results provide substantial detail by geography, using postal codes by type of beneficiary, while LFS data is only broken out at the Whitehorse/non-Whitehorse level, and all SEPH data is published at the territorial level only. While all three surveys are available in Yukon, Aboriginal data is only available biannually from LFS, and not at all through EI results. The SEPH line 914 employment data for Aboriginal government provides us with a means of estimating the economic value of self-government in Yukon, but the data represents an aggregation of all people employed by First Nations governments.

SEPH Line 914 and Yukon First Nations Government

In 2010, Statistics Canada began publishing SEPH administrative data for line 914 (Aboriginal Government), providing for the first time a detailed breakout of Aboriginal government employment levels across Canada, as well as the wages that these organizations generate. In Yukon, SEPH acquires data on seventeen First Nation government organizations. Statistics Canada cannot release the names of the organizations, but this is likely to

6 This survey is a census with a cross-sectional design, data are collected for all units of the target population, therefore no sampling is done.

7 See http://www.bls.gov/cew/cewfaq.htm for explanation of the US data and http://laborstats.alaska.gov/ for access to State of Alaska data.

8 See Statistics Canada, http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/121105/dq121105b-eng.htm.

9 SEPH, for example, in measuring the number of jobs, could record one person as having multiple jobs, be they full and or part-time; meanwhile, LFS records that the person is working, regardless of the number of jobs held.

include Yukon's fourteen First Nation governments, the Council of Yukon First Nations, and possibly the Northern and Southern Tutchone Tribal Councils. We do know that the seventeen governments being collectively analyzed here are resident within Yukon, and that all Yukon Aboriginal government data is released in aggregate. One drawback is that Yukon SEPH data is occasionally suppressed to meet the confidentiality requirements of the Statistics Act. This is a common problem for Yukon data users: being one of the smallest jurisdictions in Canada, Yukon is frequently selected for suppression when national data sets are released at the provincial and territorial level.[10] Aboriginal public administration is defined by NAICS as follows:

> This subsector comprises establishments of Aboriginal governments primarily engaged in providing to their constituents, a wide variety of government services that would otherwise be provided by federal, provincial or municipal levels of governments.[11]

SEPH 914 Limitations and Implications for Policy

Data from SEPH line 914 allows for the analysis of the role of Aboriginal self-government across Canada, by jurisdiction as well as through time. Data for Yukon, unfortunately, suffers as it was regularly suppressed in the years prior to 2002. Equally unfortunately, breakouts for salary employees versus wage employees are not possible due to the small population, so all data is presented as in the category "All Employees." Still, the opportunity exists to build an improved understanding of how the First Nations self-government political movement has allowed for the growth of Aboriginal government and, with that growth, increased training and expertise. Self-government helps to distribute funds from the core to the periphery, in this case from Ottawa to Yukon, but also from Whitehorse to employment in well-paying jobs in remote and rural Yukon communities such as Old Crow, Mayo, Carmacks, and Beaver Creek. For example, in Beaver Creek, forty of the seventy-five employed people there fell within the public administration field, based on the 2006 Census of Canada.[12]

SEPH, however, does not allow us to break out actual First Nation employees by ethnicity—say, Aboriginal versus non-Aboriginal—and, as such, we cannot study the development of a professional First Nations cadre of management and skilled professionals using this tool; such a study would require a survey and review of actual human resources records for each First Nation government. As SEPH provides data in aggregate, it is best used to study change through time and to make comparisons between jurisdictions. An analysis of SEPH data provides an improved understanding of the role of Aboriginal

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10 For a definition of "suppression" under the Statistics Act for Confidentiality, please see http://www.statcan.gc.ca/survey-enquete/participant01-eng.htm; for detail on cell suppression, see http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/12–539-x/steps-etapes/4058325-eng.htm.

11 For SEPH definitions, see http://stds.statcan.gc.ca/naics-scian/2007/cs-rc-eng.asp?criteria=91.

12 See Census of Canada data in Yukon Socio-Economic WebPortal, Beaver Creek, http://www.sewp.gov.yk.ca/data?regionId=YK.BC&subjectId=ECON&groupId=ECON.LBF&dataId=CENSUS_2006_LBF_INDUSTRY&tab=region.

government in Yukon's labour economy, both in strength of numbers and wages. The data allows us to analyze:

- total employment in Aboriginal government by month and annually;
- change over time in Yukon Aboriginal government employment compared to national or other territorial or provincial changes;
- seasonal patterns in employment;
- total wages in Aboriginal government weekly, monthly, and annually;
- Yukon Aboriginal government wages compared to other public administrative categories, both nationally and in Yukon, as average wages and percentage differences.

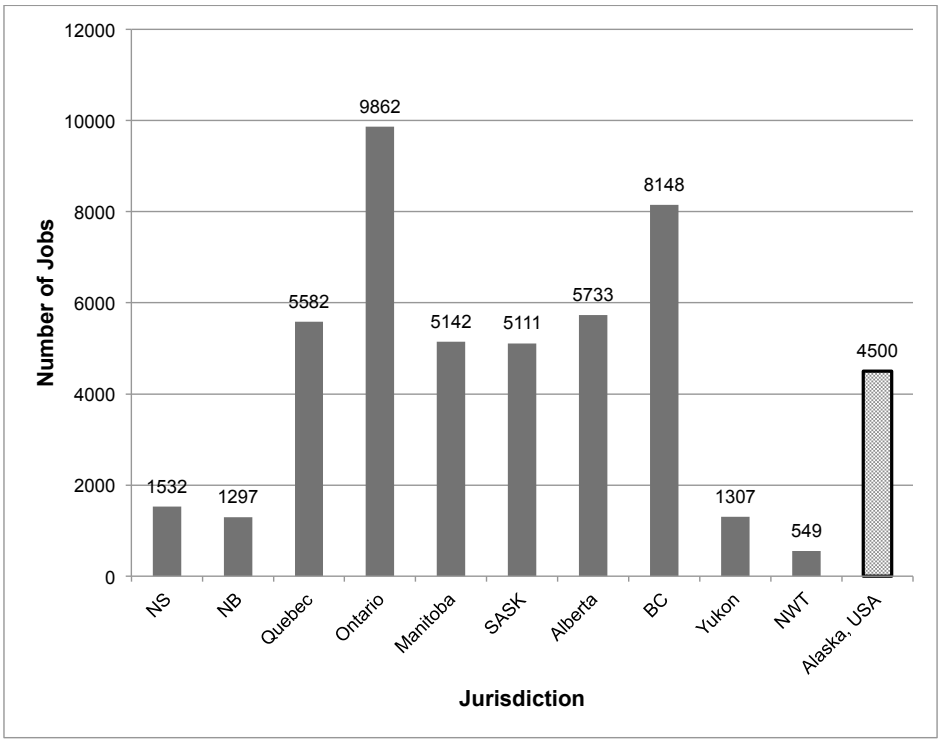
Employment in Aboriginal Public Administration

Aboriginal public administration is part of the 900-series breakout in the Survey of Employment and Payroll Hours (SEPH), along with federal, provincial and territorial, and municipal/local governments. Aboriginal public administration includes all forms of Aboriginal public administration, including "Aboriginal administration, public" and "Indian band or tribe council." Data is available in two major series: employment and wages. This data has been underutilized by researchers and analysts of public administration, yet offers unique insight into the significant role Aboriginal government plays in Yukon's economy.

Employment in Yukon First Nations Government 2011: An Overview

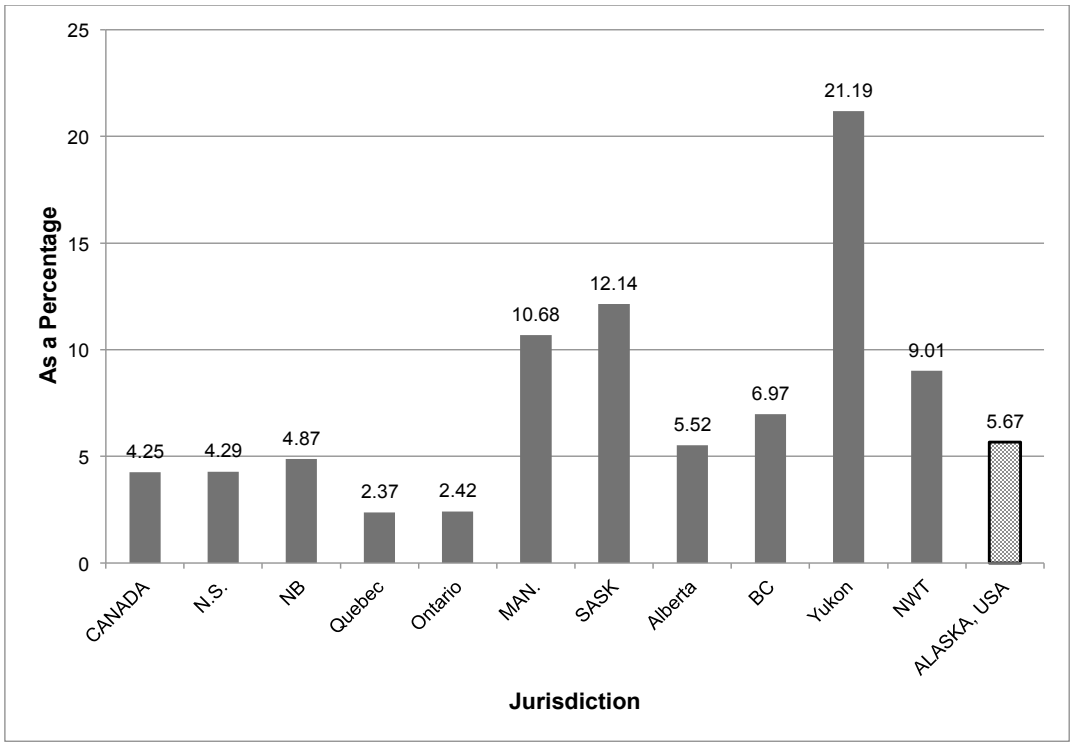
Across Canada in 2011, there were 44,981 positions employed in Aboriginal government (Figure 1; note Newfoundland and PEI are suppressed).

FIGURE 1: Total Number of Aboriginal Public Administration Jobs, July 2012



This represented 4.25 percent of the over one million people employed in public administration at all levels across the country (federal, provincial, municipal, and Aboriginal). In 2011, Aboriginal government in Yukon accounted for 1,307 jobs, or 21.19 percent of Yukon's 6,167 public administration positions (Figure 2; note Newfoundland and PEI are suppressed).

FIGURE 2: Aboriginal Public Administration as a Percent of Total Public Administration, July 2012



This represents the highest proportion of Aboriginal public administrative employment across Canada as a percentage of the total, and clearly indicates the significant influence Yukon's push for self-government in the late 1990s had on the creation of new jobs in the labour market. The next closest jurisdictions, as a percentage of total public administration (PA) positions, were Saskatchewan at 12.14 percent, Manitoba at 10.68 percent, and British Columbia at 6.97 percent. All three of these provinces have large Aboriginal populations: Saskatchewan has 142,000; Manitoba has 175,000; and British Columbia has approximately 196,000, while, Yukon's Aboriginal population was 7,580 in 2006. In comparison, Alaska, in 2011, had 202 "tribes" reporting employment in tribal government, for a total of 4,500 jobs; these tribes are generally much smaller than those in Yukon or NWT. Alaska and the rest of the US have a complicated process that tribes must go through to acquire federal recognition, and Alaska has a high percentage of the total US number of tribes.

First Nations government in Yukon is a major contributor to the territory's labour economics, representing 1601 jobs, or 6.4 percent, of all jobs in the Yukon labour market, as of July 2012. As a comparison, Yukon College, one of the territory's major employers, has a total of 566 employees, including full-time appointments and casual hires.[13]

Comparing Yukon First Nations Employment to Canada and NWT: 2002–2012

Yukon's considerable advance in First Nations government employment is of further note when we recognize that the Aboriginal population of the NWT is almost three times as large as that of Yukon, at 20,635 versus 7,580 (2006 Census). Furthermore, the NWT has thirty-five Aboriginal communities, compared to the fourteen First Nations in Yukon.[14] This speaks directly to the important role of self-government developments in Yukon in the advancement of a professional First Nations civil service, and the concurrent opportunity for wealth creation that modern land claims settlements and self-government has provided.

Annual SEPH data for 2002 to 2011 (Table 1) indicates that Aboriginal public administration (PA) has been growing by about 10 percent over the past decade nationally, with an increase in the number of jobs in the field growing from 41,020 in 2002 to 44,981 in 2011. Nationally, growth occurred fastest in 2003 and 2004, with some 4,624 new positions added, prior to a period with declines four years out of five, dating from 2005 through 2009. The next two years, 2010 and 2011, saw a small 1 percent growth in Aboriginal PA nationally. The growth of employment in Aboriginal PA has been led by Yukon, where the percentage increase was recorded at 33 percent, with an increase of 326 positions between 2002 and 2011. However, Aboriginal PA appears to have begun to contract since the recession of 2009, with declining staff numbers in 2010 and 2011 of 4 percent and -3 percent. In stark contrast, the NWT has seen a decline of 9 percent in Aboriginal public administration, with actual numbers falling from 603 positions in 2003 to 549 in 2011. Some recovery did occur in 2009 and 2010, prior to employment numbers declining again in 2011.[15]

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13 Personal communication President's Office Yukon College, 14 November 2012.

14 See Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, Aboriginal Canada Portal, http://www.aboriginalcanada.gc.ca/acp/community/site.nsf/eng/nt-all-b.html.

15 Statistics Canada: Table 281–0023 Employment (SEPH), unadjusted for seasonal variation, by type of employee for selected industries classified using the North American Industry Classification System (NAICS), monthly (persons) (4,14,15,16); see http://www5.statcan.gc.ca/cansim/a05?lang=eng&id=2810023 (accessed 3 February 2013).

TABLE 1: Aboriginal Public Administration Employment, Canada, Yukon, NWT: Annual Change in Number Employed and as a Percentage Change

Geography	NAIC System	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	As % Change 2002-2012
Canada	Aboriginal Public Admin	41020	43577	45644	45354	44016	43432	44352	44032	44686	44981	**3961**
	Annual Change		2557	2067	-290	-1338	-584	920	-320	654	295	
	Annual % Change		**6%**	**5%**	**-1%**	**-3%**	**-1%**	**2%**	**-1%**	**1%**	**1%**	**10%**
Yukon	Aboriginal Public Admin	981	988	**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**	1253	1405	1347	1307	**326**
	Annual Change		7					265*	152	-58	-40	
	Annual % Change		**1%**					**27%**	**12%**	**-4%**	**-3%**	**33%**
NWT	Aboriginal Public Admin	603	659	624	553	541	481	472	532	564	549	**-54**
	Annual Change		56	-35	-71	-12	-60	-9	60	32	-15	
	Annual % Change		**9%**	**-5%**	**-11%**	**-2%**	**-11%**	**-2%**	**13%**	**6%**	**-3%**	**-9%**
Alaska, USA	**Tribal Gov't**	**3500**	**3800**	**4100**	**4000**	**3500**	**3500**	**3500**	**3800**	**3900**	**3800**	
	Annual Change		**300**	**300**	**-100**	**-500**	**0**	**0**	**300**	**100**	**-100**	**300**
	Annual Percentage Change		**9%**	**8%**	**-2%**	**-13%**	**0%**	**0%**	**9%**	**3%**	**-3%**	**8%**

Source: Statistics Canada. Table 281-0024 - Employment (SEPH), unadjusted for seasonal variation, by type of employee for selected industries classified using the North American Industry Classification System (NAICS), annual (persons)

X – Data Suppression

Yukon: * - 265 (Change from 2003 to 2008 inclusive)

Change in Public Administration Employment in Yukon

Figure 4 provides data on the change in employment numbers in Yukon's various public administrations between July 2002 and July 2012. Data is available for "All Employees," federal, territorial, and First Nations employees, but not for municipal level employees. For nine of the ten years represented, the civil services grew, with the one exception being 2010, which, possibly, indicates a lag response to the recession of 2008–2009. However, considerable variation occurs over this period within each strata of the civil service, with jobs being reduced at the federal level. Meanwhile, jobs were being increased at the territorial and First Nations levels of government, making for more direct local representation. The decline in federal positions in 2002–2003 is partially, if not wholly, attributable to the transfer of responsibilities between the federal government and the increasingly more responsible territorial government. However, more recent declines in federal PA jobs can be attributed to budgetary cutbacks and the reduction of federal services in Yukon.

TABLE 2: Annual Percentage Growth in Yukon Public Administration July 2002–July 2012

North American Industry Classification System	**July 2002**	**July 2003**	**July 2004**	**July 2005**	**July 2006**	**July 2007**	**July 2008**	**July 2009**	**July 2010**	**July 2011**	**July 2012**
Public administration [91][1]	5169	5451	5643	5673	5828	5965	6373	6641	6374	6559	6767
Percentage Change		***5%***	***4%***	***1%***	***3%***	***2%***	***7%***	***4%***	***-4%***	***3%***	***3%***
Federal government public administration [911]	905	630	615	598	600	603	591	497	500	575	485
Percentage Change		***-30%***	***-2%***	***-3%***	***0%***	***1%***	***-2%***	***-16%***	***1%***	***15%***	***-16%***
Provincial and territorial public administration [912]	2699	3205	3350	3459	3577	3699	3797	3856	3921	3976	4091
Percentage Change		***19%***	***5%***	***3%***	***3%***	***3%***	***3%***	***2%***	***2%***	***1%***	***3%***
Aboriginal public administration [914]	1073	1141	x	x	x	x	1332	1508	1371	1426	1591
Percentage Change		***6%***						***13%***	***-9%***	***4%***	***12%***

[1] Public Administration also includes municipal government (913), which is not broken out here.

Source: Statistics Canada. Table 281-0023 - Employment (SEPH), unadjusted for seasonal variation, by type of employee for selected industries classified using the North American Industry Classification System (NAICS), monthly (persons).

Territorial administration positions grew steadily month over month from 2002 through 2012, increasing from 2,699 to 4,091 jobs. Even the recession failed to slow the growth of Yukon's PA. First Nations government employment as tracked in SEPH line 914 suffers from suppression issues, but does generally indicate a rapid growth as more First Nations signed land settlements, began to develop self-government functions, and drew down more powers from federal and territorial governments. Between 2002 and 2012, Aboriginal government grew month over month from 1,037 positions to 1,591 (with the exception of the recession response year of 2010, when employment shrank by 9 percent): an increase of almost exactly 50 percent.

Seasonality and First Nations Government, 2002–2012

Seasonality remains one of the key aspects of employment patterns in rural and remote communities across Canada, and especially in the North. In Yukon, seasonality is tied to a number of industries, including mineral exploration, construction, road construction and repair, and landscaping in the summer months, while trapping accounts for a high percentage of winter period seasonal businesses.[16] Aboriginal public administration follows a similar pattern with the occasional variation.

FIGURE 3: Seasonality in Employment in Aboriginal Public Administration 2010–2012, Yukon/NWT

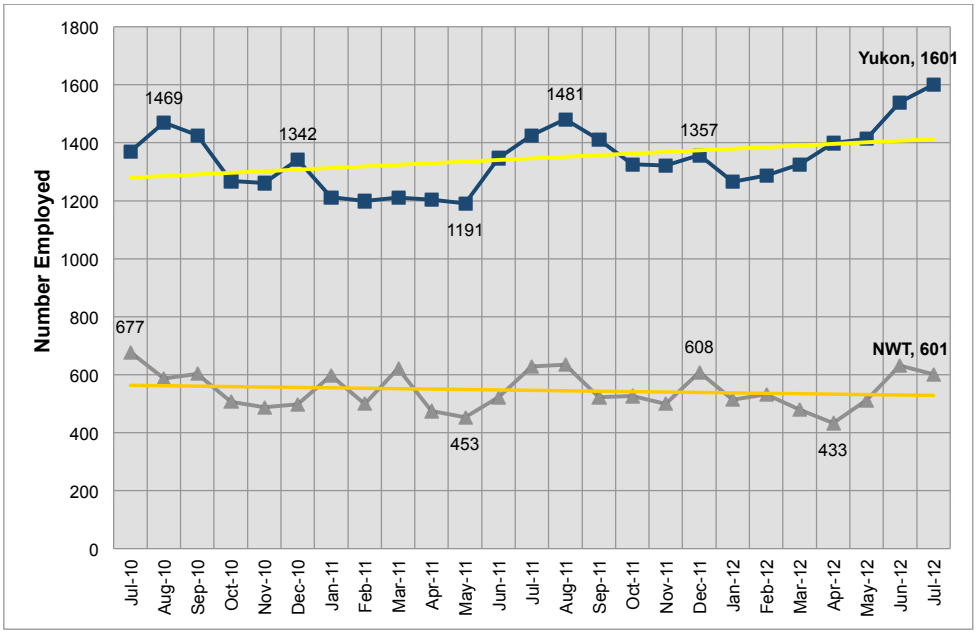


Figure 3 compares employment in Aboriginal public administration over two years on a monthly basis between July 2010 and July 2012 for Yukon and the NWT. In Yukon, employment trends upwards in the summer months (see Figure 3, August 2010: 1469) and tends to decline in early winter through to spring (see Figure 3, May 2011: 1191), prior to a monthly increase through June, July, and August 2011, with the number of jobs rising to 1481. This cycle repeats itself annually, with the July 2012 employment levels topping 1601 jobs.[17] Seasonality also occurs in the NWT. One variation is the apparent hiring up that occurs in December (see 1342 jobs in December 2010, as compared to 1357 in December 2011 in Yukon, and 608 jobs in December 2011 in the NWT) prior to dropping off again in January, suggesting increased hires through the Christmas season. In

16 See Yukon Business and Labour Survey, 2009 and 2010, http://www.eco.gov.yk.ca/stats/pdf/2009_Business_Survey_Report.pdf; http://www.eco.gov.yk.ca/stats/pdf/2010_Business_Survey_Report.pdf.

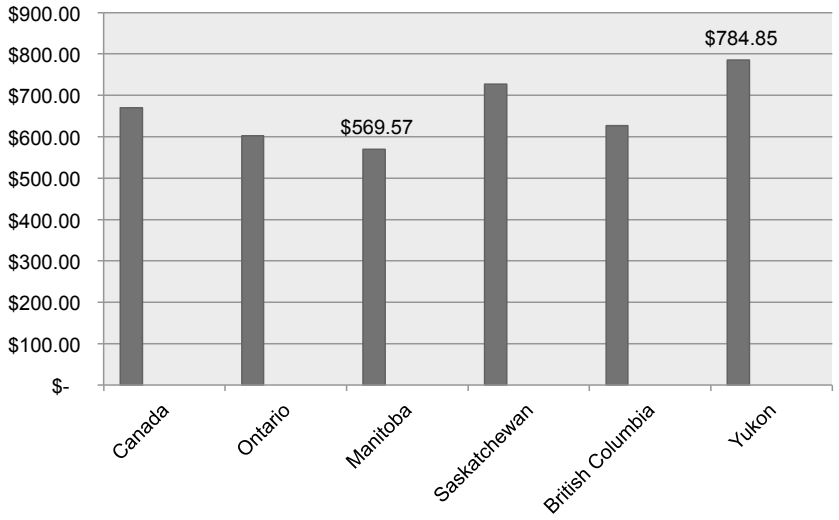
17 Variations in monthly numbers are due to random rounding of the data drawn down from CANSIM: e.g., 1591 versus 1601.

Yukon, Aboriginal government trended upwards, starting at 1371 employees in July 2010 and increasing annually to 1426 in July 2011 and 1601 in July 2012—an increase of 16.8 percent in Aboriginal PA over the two-year period. In comparison, employment in NWT Aboriginal government employment declined from 677 in July 2010 to 628 in July 2011, and dropped again to 601 in July 2012, for a loss of 76 jobs, or an 11.2 percent decline in employment over two years. The role of broad-ranging and advanced self-government in Yukon in generating jobs is clearly demonstrated by these trends. One limitation of the SEPH data that has an impact on our analysis of the difference in job numbers between the two territories is the lack of access to data on full-time versus part-time jobs and salary versus wage employment.

The Wage Disparity: Aboriginal Public Service Compared to General Public Administration

Wage data is published monthly by SEPH as weekly averages. SEPH line 914 wage data is heavily suppressed due to data quality issues in a number of the provinces and the NWT. However, the data that is available indicates that Yukon's First Nations draw down the highest wages of any Aboriginal government employees in the country at $784.85 per week, compared to the lowest (in Manitoba) at $569.57 per week (Figure 4): a difference of 38 percent. While Yukon Aboriginal PA wages compare well to Aboriginal PA wages from across Canada, a considerable difference exists between Aboriginal PA weekly wage packages and public administration weekly wage packages in general, as seen in Figure 5 and Appendix 2.

FIGURE 4: Average Weekly Wages Selected, Aboriginal Government in Canada, July 2012

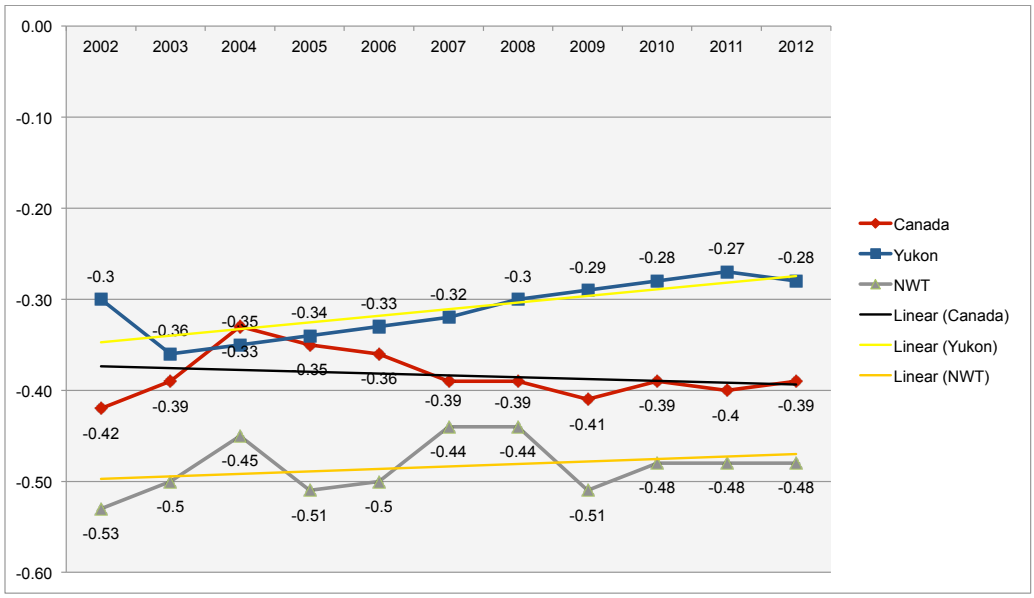


Source: Statistics Canada. Table 281-0026 - Average weekly earnings (SEPH), unadjusted for seasonal variation, by type of employee for selected industries classified using the North American Industry Classification System (NAICS), monthly (current dollars)

On a monthly basis, average weekly wages are influenced by changing employment levels, with the assumption being that casual hires, whose numbers fluctuate each month, are paid less than salaried permanent employees. As seen above (see Figure 3), Yukon First Nation PA employment fluctuates monthly on a seasonal basis. In any given month, employees of Aboriginal governments earn considerably less than those in other levels of public administration. In some months, this can be as much as 53 percent less, as in the case of July 2002 figures indicate in the NWT. In Figure 5, Aboriginal PA weekly wages are represented as a percentage less than the weekly wages for all PA in each jurisdiction, with the weekly wages of Canadian Aboriginal PA compared to employee weekly wages for all Canadian PA. In Alaska (2011), total earnings for tribal government were a little over $101 million, with average earnings per job at about $28,000, as compared to $48,900 for the state overall. Salary data is not directly comparable between the Canadian SEPH data and US data presented here. However, comparison of the percentage that tribal salaries are below the state average is comparable to those of the NWT (-.48%) and Canada (-.40%) in general, at negative .43 percent.[18]

In Canada, Aboriginal PA weekly wages have been declining as a percentage of the Canada weekly wage for all PA since 2004, when it reached a -33 percent difference, each year since the gap between Aboriginal salaries and all PA salaries has for the most part worsened, reaching -41 percent in 2009 prior to a slight recovery in 2012 to -39 percent. The disparity is even worse for Aboriginal wages in the NWT, where the wage gap fluctuates between -53 percent and -44 percent, prior to ending up at -48 percent in 2012.[19]

FIGURE 5: Aboriginal PA Weekly Wages as a Percentage Difference of All PA Wages, Canada, Yukon and Northwest Territories: July 2002–2012



18 Personal communications with Dan Robinson, State of Alaska, Department of Labour, November, 2012.

19 Some data interpolation was required to create this graph, as Yukon data is missing due to suppression and some NWT was not released due to quality.

While Aboriginal government wages in Yukon also lag behind PA weekly wages in general, the situation is considerably better in Yukon than either nationally or in the NWT. Here we see the probable impact of final land claims settlements and the evolution of First Nation self-government on Yukon Aboriginal PA wages, with the disparity improving each year from 2003 through to 2011. In 2002, Yukon Aboriginal PA staff was receiving pay packages that were 30 percent less than those of than the average PA wage. This discrepancy increased to 36 percent in 2003, possibly as the young Yukon Aboriginal governments hired up new employees, prior to a steady improvement through to 2012. The slight increase in wage disparity recorded in 2012 may be the result of increased hires, which would lower the average weekly wage. As shown in Figure 5, Aboriginal government employees in Yukon are considerably better off than Aboriginal PA employees in the rest of Canada in general, and especially better paid than the Aboriginal government employees in the NWT.

Analyzing the Contribution of Yukon's Aboriginal Public Administration to the Yukon Economy

Using the average number of jobs documented annually in SEPH, multiplied by the average weekly salary, allows us to build a new data set that calculates the annual contribution of First Nations government to Yukon's wage economy. Once again data suppression has had an impact upon the timeline for Yukon's data set, with the years 2004–2008 suppressed by Statistics Canada. Table 3 provides an overview of the released data with some interpolation required in some years to complete the data set.

TABLE 3: Change in Yukon Aboriginal Public Administration Annual Wages, 2002–2012

	Estimated Total Annual Wages		
	Aboriginal Government in Yukon		
Year	Value	Absolute Difference	Est. Percentage Annual Change
2002	$30,767,972.67		
2003	$33,418,774.25	$2,650,801.58	8.62%
2004	*Suppressed*		*7.99%*
2005	*Suppressed*		*7.99%*
2006	*Suppressed*		*7.99%*
2007	*Suppressed*		*7.99%*
2008	$46,765,966.21	*$13,347,191.96**	*7.99%*
2009	$56,854,533.93	$10,088,567.72	21.57%
2010	$53,037,194.94	*-$3,817,338.99*	*-6.71%*
2011	$56,239,296.05	$3,202,101.11	6.04%
2012	$60,354,049.07	$4,114,753.02	7.32%

* Due to suppression of Yukon Data 2004-2007 we have used the 2003 to 2008 difference here to estimate change through time with the assumption of constant annual growth.

Source: Statistics Canada. Table 281-0026 - Average weekly earnings (SEPH), unadjusted for seasonal variation, by type of employee for selected industries classified using the North American Industry Classification System (NAICS), monthly (current dollars)

Between 2002 and 2012, the wages paid out by Yukon's First Nations governments have doubled from some $30 million to over $60 million. Wages rose steadily from 2002 to 2010, when a correction, probably related to the recession, dropped wages by almost $4 million. Wages continued to climb the next year, recovering most of the 2010 losses, and again in 2012, with projected wages rising to slightly over $60 million by year's end. In comparison, the NWT Aboriginal PA contributed only $18 million to the NWT economy in 2002, rising to an estimated $23 million in 2011.

Conclusion

While the SEPH data for Aboriginal public administration is imperfect, with numerous years suppressed and the data for some months not being released due to low confidence levels, we are still able to see the positive impact of land claims settlements and self-government in Yukon on the creation of jobs in, and wages earned by, Yukon First Nation government employees. This is especially the case when we compare Yukon Aboriginal PA job numbers and relative wages with the national level and NWT data. Since 2002, Aboriginal PA barely rose in the NWT, moving from $18 million to $23 million, while in Yukon, Aboriginal PA increased by $30 million to $60 million, and now has a thousand-job advantage over the NWT, despite that region having a much larger Aboriginal population.

Appendix 1: Aboriginal Public Administration Canada and Yukon

Source: Statistics Canada: Survey of Employment, Payrolls and Hours						
Type of employee: All employees						
Date	**Canada Public Administration**	**Canada Aboriginal Public Administration**	***As a Percentage***	**Yukon Public Administration**	**Yukon Aboriginal Public Administration**	***As a Percentage***
Jul-02	897,383	45,107	*5.03*	5,169	1,073	*20.76*
Aug-02	906,541	45,114	*4.98*	5,157	1,066	*20.67*
Sep-02	875,579	42,473	*4.85*	4,800	957	*19.94*
Oct-02	862,336	41,100	*4.77*	4,639	890	*19.19*
Nov-02	867,908	42,250	*4.87*	4,648	947	*20.37*
Dec-02	860,084	41,373	*4.81*	4,508	915	*20.30*
Jan-03	853,245	39,492	*4.63*	4,613	887	*19.23*
Feb-03	861,011	40,235	*4.67*	4,824	1,003	*20.79*
Mar-03	874,950	40,597	*4.64*	4,633	963	*20.79*
Apr-03	881,553	40,592	*4.60*	4,907	961	*19.58*
May-03	908,112	41,640	*4.59*	5,043	940	*18.64*
Jun-03	938,590	44,154	*4.70*	5,237	1,028	*19.63*
Jul-03	942,601	48,307	*5.12*	5,451	1,141	*20.93*
Aug-03	941,673	49,045	*5.21*	5,329	1,043	*19.57*
Sep-03	908,640	45,619	*5.02*	5,144	952	*18.51*
Oct-03	899,991	45,362	*5.04*	5,083	1,013	*19.93*
Nov-03	896,024	43,918	*4.90*	4,807	930	*19.35*
Dec-03	896,363	43,965	*4.90*	4,855	991	*20.41*
Jan-04	875,543	42,236	*4.82*	4,857	x	
Feb-04	877,025	42,390	*4.83*	5,157	x	
Mar-04	881,120	42,731	*4.85*	5,055	x	
Apr-04	880,709	43,089	*4.89*	4,975	x	
May-04	907,429	44,218	*4.87*	5,218	x	
Jun-04	933,915	46,384	*4.97*	5,469	x	
Jul-04	948,208	51,393	*5.42*	5,643	x	
Aug-04	944,634	49,505	*5.24*	5,616	x	
Sep-04	917,950	47,473	*5.17*	5,460	x	
Oct-04	900,639	47,119	*5.23*	5,304	x	
Nov-04	898,937	45,525	*5.06*	5,295	x	
Dec-04	906,261	45,664	*5.04*	5,554	x	
Jan-05	886,029	42,778	*4.83*	5,214	x	
Feb-05	901,189	43,016	*4.77*	5,126	x	
Mar-05	900,268	43,763	*4.86*	5,130	x	
Apr-05	909,403	44,263	*4.87*	5,041	x	
May-05	930,331	44,834	*4.82*	5,426	x	
Jun-05	955,385	45,412	*4.75*	5,601	x	
Jul-05	972,226	50,851	*5.23*	5,673	x	

Sep-05	942,464	46,949	*4.98*	5,590	x	
Oct-05	938,249	45,199	*4.82*	5,416	x	
Nov-05	935,148	43,865	*4.69*	5,196	x	
Dec-05	929,130	43,493	*4.68*	5,324	x	
Jan-06	908,059	41,832	*4.61*	4,983	x	
Feb-06	916,501	42,751	*4.66*	5,187	x	
Mar-06	922,966	43,371	*4.70*	5,389	x	
Apr-06	939,392	42,181	*4.49*	5,368	x	
May-06	977,113	44,357	*4.54*	5,607	x	
Jun-06	1,001,818	45,289	*4.52*	5,649	x	
Jul-06	1,008,594	47,156	*4.68*	5,828	x	
Aug-06	984,463	47,385	*4.81*	5,838	x	
Sep-06	953,406	43,828	*4.60*	5,699	x	
Oct-06	942,833	43,209	*4.58*	5,538	x	
Nov-06	943,182	43,134	*4.57*	5,523	x	
Dec-06	946,055	43,699	*4.62*	5,569	x	
Jan-07	930,582	42,078	*4.52*	5,412	x	
Feb-07	940,991	41,891	*4.45*	5,339	x	
Mar-07	944,567	42,475	*4.50*	5,420	x	
Apr-07	949,819	41,666	*4.39*	5,431	x	
May-07	970,890	42,766	*4.40*	5,465	x	
Jun-07	998,112	44,146	*4.42*	5,721	x	
Jul-07	1,012,017	46,387	*4.58*	5,965	x	
Aug-07	1,002,919	47,461	*4.73*	6,065	x	
Sep-07	971,464	42,941	*4.42*	5,896	x	
Oct-07	976,749	43,093	*4.41*	5,601	x	
Nov-07	965,366	43,244	*4.48*	5,598	x	
Dec-07	970,377	43,041	*4.44*	5,523	x	
Jan-08	960,325	41,577	*4.33*	5,576	1,035	*18.56*
Feb-08	991,353	43,805	*4.42*	5,671	1,133	*19.98*
Mar-08	1,001,780	43,237	*4.32*	5,594	1,137	*20.33*
Apr-08	996,113	43,144	*4.33*	5,681	1,169	*20.58*
May-08	1,020,134	44,082	*4.32*	5,928	1,201	*20.26*
Jun-08	1,048,659	45,565	*4.35*	6,223	1,294	*20.79*
Jul-08	1,055,535	47,592	*4.51*	6,373	1,332	*20.90*
Aug-08	1,051,317	48,191	*4.58*	6,488	1,475	*22.73*
Sep-08	1,024,200	44,418	*4.34*	6,281	1,323	*21.06*
Oct-08	1,019,717	44,403	*4.35*	6,060	1,304	*21.52*
Nov-08	1,014,265	43,069	*4.25*	5,892	1,228	*20.84*
Dec-08	1,016,455	43,140	*4.24*	6,116	1,407	*23.01*
Jan-09	993,019	41,921	*4.22*	5,884	1,326	*22.54*
Feb-09	1,005,398	42,353	*4.21*	5,940	1,346	*22.66*
Mar-09	1,008,938	42,178	*4.18*	6,021	1,416	*23.52*

May-09	1,039,941	43,426	*4.18*	6,042	1,218	*20.16*
Jun-09	1,067,385	43,792	*4.10*	6,456	1,385	*21.45*
Jul-09	1,083,465	47,601	*4.39*	6,641	1,508	*22.71*
Aug-09	1,075,056	46,906	*4.36*	6,505	1,484	*22.81*
Sep-09	1,053,932	45,011	*4.27*	6,321	1,323	*20.93*
Oct-09	1,044,081	45,044	*4.31*	6,136	1,369	*22.31*
Nov-09	1,036,574	43,511	*4.20*	6,123	1,482	*24.20*
Dec-09	1,037,507	44,807	*4.32*	6,489	1,727	*26.61*
Jan-10	1,017,107	42,055	*4.13*	5,877	1,301	*22.14*
Feb-10	1,023,322	42,512	*4.15*	6,194	1,330	*21.47*
Mar-10	1,028,899	42,911	*4.17*	5,969	1,386	*23.22*
Apr-10	1,032,791	42,837	*4.15*	5,872	1,225	*20.86*
May-10	1,054,727	43,148	*4.09*	6,078	1,266	*20.83*
Jun-10	1,077,422	44,328	*4.11*	6,576	1,519	*23.10*
Jul-10	1,088,889	47,566	*4.37*	6,374	1,371	*21.51*
Aug-10	1,078,464	47,795	*4.43*	6,418	1,469	*22.89*
Sep-10	1,061,367	46,364	*4.37*	6,507	1,427	*21.93*
Oct-10	1,049,963	46,157	*4.40*	6,321	1,268	*20.06*
Nov-10	1,040,318	45,533	*4.38*	5,995	1,261	*21.03*
Dec-10	1,043,158	45,030	*4.32*	6,079	1,342	*22.08*
Jan-11	1,017,883	44,542	*4.38*	5,863	1,213	*20.69*
Feb-11	1,029,835	43,754	*4.25*	5,811	1,199	*20.63*
Mar-11	1,037,183	44,280	*4.27*	5,879	1,211	*20.60*
Apr-11	1,038,078	42,834	*4.13*	5,892	1,204	*20.43*
May-11	1,077,437	44,216	*4.10*	6,175	1,191	*19.29*
Jun-11	1,107,951	45,833	*4.14*	6,448	1,347	*20.89*
Jul-11	1,109,313	48,668	*4.39*	6,559	1,426	*21.74*
Aug-11	1,086,817	48,084	*4.42*	6,562	1,481	*22.57*
Sep-11	1,061,859	44,818	*4.22*	6,423	1,411	*21.97*
Oct-11	1,044,756	43,663	*4.18*	6,164	1,326	*21.51*
Nov-11	1,038,904	44,382	*4.27*	6,120	1,321	*21.58*
Dec-11	1,044,144	44,700	*4.28*	6,103	1,357	*22.23*
Jan-12	1,020,161	43,213	*4.24*	6,051	1,266	*20.92*
Feb-12	1,030,559	43,936	*4.26*	6,016	1,287	*21.39*
Mar-12	1,034,792	44,586	*4.31*	6,051	1,326	*21.91*
Apr-12	1,036,156	46,464	*4.48*	6,152	1,399	*22.74*
May-12	1,059,428	47,811	*4.51*	6,456	1,413	*21.89*
Jun-12	1,086,839	50,008	*4.60*	6,654	1,540	*23.14*
Jul-12	1,087,556	50,803	*4.67*	6,767	1,591	*23.51*

Appendix 2: Average Weekly Earnings (SEPH), unadjusted for seasonal variation, by all employees, including overtime

Survey or program details: Survey of Employment, Payrolls and Hours - 2612						
Geography	**Canada**	**Canada**	**Yukon**	**Yukon**	**NWT**	**NT**
Date	**Public Admin. [91]**	**Aboriginal Public Admin. [914]**	**Public admin. [91]**	**Aboriginal Public Admin. [914]**	**Public admin. [91]**	**Aboriginal Public Admin. [914]**
Jul-02	$ 842.81	**$ 488.47**	$ 940.15	**$ 662.03**	$ 1,140.46	**$ 531.23**
Aug-02	$ 846.63	**$ 539.86**	$ 911.79	**$ 634.70**	$ 1,132.99	**$ 547.73**
Sep-02	$ 845.64	**$ 526.63**	$ 928.42	**$ 652.26**	$ 1,121.26	**$ 570.17**
Oct-02	$ 864.18	**$ 562.68**	$ 954.39	**$ 761.60**	$ 1,160.49	**$ 617.56**
Nov-02	$ 872.67	**$ 585.06**	$ 947.06	**$ 709.59**	$ 1,151.18	**$ 693.06**
Dec-02	$ 877.70	**$ 594.61**	$ 967.59	**$ 733.99**	$ 1,150.66	**$ 683.71**
Jan-03	$ 858.55	**$ 562.72**	$ 933.86	**$ 615.62**	$ 1,128.35	**$ 574.46**
Feb-03	$ 862.46	**$ 570.95**	$ 888.83	**$ 633.88**	$ 1,153.73	**$ 626.21**
Mar-03	$ 860.08	**$ 587.31**	$ 926.19	**$ 644.70**	$ 1,145.31	**$ 635.35**
Apr-03	$ 857.21	**$ 560.35**	$ 908.12	**$ 595.60**	$ 1,139.22	**$ 590.86**
May-03	$ 857.36	**$ 606.33**	$ 879.39	**$ 652.59**	$ 1,135.19	**$ 589.03**
Jun-03	$ 856.43	**$ 580.93**	$ 888.65	**$ 620.46**	$ 1,113.49	**$ 580.31**
Jul-03	$ 857.73	**$ 520.77**	$ 871.55	**$ 561.85**	$ 1,125.30	**$ 562.09**
Aug-03	$ 862.80	**$ 576.10**	$ 889.61	**$ 678.10**	$ 1,130.54	**$ 636.26**
Sep-03	$ 875.31	**$ 540.12**	$ 898.51	**$ 658.68**	$ 1,158.39	**$ 565.63**
Oct-03	$ 889.08	**$ 607.20**	$ 877.30	**$ 704.53**	$ 1,166.42	**$ 613.88**
Nov-03	$ 887.29	**$ 574.06**	$ 911.08	**$ 718.78**	$ 1,163.56	**$ 594.99**
Dec-03	$ 906.29	**$ 637.99**	$ 931.94	**$ 740.76**	$ 1,172.67	**$ 668.99**
Jan-04	$ 907.24	**$ 608.94**	$ 955.03	**x**	$ 1,182.10	**$ 678.62**
Feb-04	$ 905.29	**$ 591.03**	$ 890.73	**x**	$ 1,187.85	**$ 645.51**
Mar-04	$ 904.10	**$ 592.64**	$ 895.11	**x**	$ 1,189.81	**$ 659.34**
Apr-04	$ 894.53	**$ 596.66**	$ 933.59	**x**	$ 1,163.28	**$ 609.76**
May-04	$ 908.53	**$ 631.09**	$ 915.21	**x**	$ 1,204.35	**$ 660.03**
Jun-04	$ 887.03	**$ 609.41**	$ 904.18	**x**	$ 1,144.33	**$ 628.61**
Jul-04	$ 889.05	**$ 595.25**	$ 944.37	**x**	$ 1,153.08	**$ 636.24**
Aug-04	$ 891.66	**$ 569.96**	$ 935.22	**x**	$ 1,177.75	**$ 635.17**
Sep-04	$ 888.38	**$ 582.60**	$ 892.96	**x**	$ 1,135.51	**$ 568.52**
Oct-04	$ 887.91	**$ 580.21**	$ 895.62	**x**	$ 1,178.30	**$ 617.78**
Nov-04	$ 893.89	**$ 578.18**	$ 901.23	**x**	$ 1,172.95	**$ 555.47**
Dec-04	$ 902.28	**$ 566.90**	$ 915.95	**x**	$ 1,200.67	**$ 599.51**
Jan-05	$ 922.32	**$ 599.20**	$ 964.57	**x**	$ 1,202.39	**$ 583.09**
Feb-05	$ 920.09	**$ 618.20**	$ 943.59	**x**	$ 1,210.11	**$ 609.56**
Mar-05	$ 929.56	**$ 641.51**	$ 997.88	**x**	$ 1,213.37	**$ 635.70**
Apr-05	$ 926.57	**$ 617.60**	$ 957.39	**x**	$ 1,221.84	**$ 596.84**
May-05	$ 925.79	**$ 601.86**	$ 911.20	**x**	$ 1,216.50	**$ 600.16**
Jun-05	$ 910.83	**$ 615.68**	$ 922.76	**x**	$ 1,199.97	**$ 616.46**
Jul-05	$ 911.03	**$ 595.76**	$ 962.23	**x**	$ 1,178.86	**$ 581.64**
Aug-05	$ 916.54	**$ 578.56**	$ 903.02	**x**	$ 1,207.78	**$ 746.76**
Sep-05	$ 931.13	**$ 643.09**	$ 933.39	**x**	$ 1,211.00	**$ 630.75**
Oct-05	$ 935.06	**$ 638.27**	$ 935.84	**x**	$ 1,228.50	**$ 603.44**
Nov-05	$ 940.97	**$ 647.49**	$ 950.08	**x**	$ 1,205.57	**$ 586.00**
Dec-05	$ 954.87	**$ 662.04**	$ 939.21	**x**	$ 1,199.88	**$ 622.68**
Jan-06	$ 954.52	**$ 626.27**	$ 1,026.45	**x**	$ 1,220.27	**$ 625.41**
Feb-06	$ 951.82	**$ 604.52**	$ 977.12	**x**	$ 1,208.98	**$ 558.09**
Mar-06	$ 971.31	**$ 649.55**	$ 993.47	**x**	$ 1,220.21	**$ 582.46**
Apr-06	$ 940.72	**$ 628.20**	$ 942.56	**x**	$ 1,221.04	**$ 572.76**
May-06	$ 929.57	**$ 619.08**	$ 948.31	**x**	$ 1,212.35	**$ 605.19**
Jun-06	$ 932.08	**$ 654.54**	$ 955.19	**x**	$ 1,193.20	**$ 630.87**
Jul-06	$ 920.27	**$ 590.50**	$ 957.39	**x**	$ 1,193.88	**$ 592.01**
Aug-06	$ 947.25	**$ 604.89**	$ 943.99	**x**	$ 1,203.91	**$ 620.03**
Sep-06	$ 968.61	**$ 629.50**	$ 936.04	**x**	$ 1,207.97	**$ 566.20**
Oct-06	$ 970.26	**$ 615.60**	$ 948.90	**x**	$ 1,228.56	**$ 630.19**
Nov-06	$ 971.27	**$ 617.23**	$ 946.60	**x**	$ 1,227.53	**$ 655.97**
Dec-06	$ 977.87	**$ 617.62**	$ 947.85	**x**	$ 1,226.09	**$ 698.27**
Jan-07	$ 985.94	**$ 621.40**	$ 949.87	**x**	$ 1,232.48	**$ 638.73**
Feb-07	$ 993.15	**$ 631.86**	$ 969.35	**x**	$ 1,238.28	**$ 690.91**
Mar-07	$ 1,001.03	**$ 651.20**	$ 994.03	**x**	$ 1,224.04	**$ 643.34**
Apr-07	$ 998.38	**$ 652.97**	$ 1,009.17	**x**	$ 1,232.80	**$ 637.64**

May-07	$ 998.32	**$ 644.86**	$ 981.28	**x**	$ 1,238.24	**$ 674.43**
Jun-07	$ 993.93	**$ 641.15**	$ 1,021.48	**x**	$ 1,240.89	**$ 693.28**
Jul-07	$ 989.52	**$ 605.71**	$ 1,028.75	**x**	$ 1,222.06	**$ 679.93**
Aug-07	$ 1,021.57	**$ 631.90**	$ 993.20	**x**	$ 1,246.51	**$ 664.13**
Sep-07	$ 1,020.32	**$ 635.52**	$ 982.82	**x**	$ 1,255.10	**$ 654.53**
Oct-07	$ 1,019.31	**$ 654.56**	$ 1,003.72	**x**	$ 1,249.58	**$ 725.61**
Nov-07	$ 1,035.05	**$ 664.29**	$ 993.85	**x**	$ 1,256.93	**$ 691.24**
Dec-07	$ 1,037.12	**$ 665.18**	$ 1,006.06	**x**	$ 1,253.96	**$ 667.67**
Jan-08	$ 1,054.21	**$ 717.61**	$ 1,015.15	**$ 783.75**	$ 1,257.86	**$ 711.85**
Feb-08	$ 1,054.07	**$ 680.92**	$ 997.05	**$ 742.77**	$ 1,266.17	**$ 711.46**
Mar-08	$ 1,055.45	**$ 690.19**	$ 1,065.87	**$ 748.14**	$ 1,280.40	**$ 698.78**
Apr-08	$ 1,061.42	**$ 697.75**	$ 1,019.06	**$ 751.08**	$ 1,251.28	**$ 674.64**
May-08	$ 1,037.60	**$ 700.89**	$ 994.52	**$ 699.30**	$ 1,254.81	**$ 732.04**
Jun-08	$ 1,021.69	**$ 662.80**	$ 1,003.04	**$ 702.19**	$ 1,237.59	**$ 711.29**
Jul-08	$ 1,020.29	**$ 623.56**	$ 984.92	**$ 691.90**	$ 1,234.84	**$ 688.69**
Aug-08	$ 1,013.09	**$ 645.70**	$ 978.21	**$ 691.50**	$ 1,261.63	**$ 665.51**
Sep-08	$ 1,025.01	**$ 619.98**	$ 982.66	**$ 703.03**	$ 1,249.17	**$ 666.55**
Oct-08	$ 1,038.82	**$ 663.60**	$ 964.88	**$ 663.08**	$ 1,288.99	**$ 716.82**
Nov-08	$ 1,044.43	**$ 620.16**	$ 991.33	**$ 698.21**	$ 1,298.44	**$ 687.15**
Dec-08	$ 1,067.69	**$ 675.37**	$ 1,008.97	**$ 765.34**	$ 1,301.12	**$ 888.55**
Jan-09	$ 1,038.14	**$ 653.02**	$ 1,018.90	**$ 775.04**	$ 1,314.19	**F**
Feb-09	$ 1,065.76	**$ 672.05**	$ 1,062.97	**$ 801.21**	$ 1,312.52	**F**
Mar-09	$ 1,074.04	**$ 698.09**	$ 1,113.32	**$ 838.34**	$ 1,351.48	**$ 1,059.92**
Apr-09	$ 1,072.59	**$ 646.12**	$ 1,069.67	**$ 803.80**	$ 1,355.15	**$ 734.66**
May-09	$ 1,049.25	**$ 647.25**	$ 1,091.79	**$ 868.89**	$ 1,315.86	**F**
Jun-09	$ 1,057.95	**$ 620.73**	$ 1,063.24	**$ 766.93**	$ 1,309.99	**F**
Jul-09	$ 1,057.30	**$ 621.40**	$ 1,045.19	**$ 743.37**	$ 1,358.50	**$ 666.00**
Aug-09	$ 1,062.73	**$ 640.95**	$ 1,082.82	**$ 770.17**	$ 1,381.41	**$ 574.34**
Sep-09	$ 1,076.06	**$ 638.82**	$ 1,095.52	**F**	$ 1,342.58	**F**
Oct-09	$ 1,079.35	**$ 651.47**	$ 1,073.33	**$ 749.42**	$ 1,352.88	**F**
Nov-09	$ 1,081.05	**$ 646.43**	$ 1,030.61	**$ 665.23**	$ 1,355.03	**$ 605.59**
Dec-09	$ 1,098.86	**$ 703.88**	$ 1,028.81	**$ 767.79**	$ 1,317.52	**$ 810.51**
Jan-10	$ 1,085.43	**$ 676.98**	$ 1,060.85	**$ 718.05**	$ 1,365.15	**$ 643.04**
Feb-10	$ 1,095.58	**$ 644.57**	$ 1,056.39	**$ 739.18**	$ 1,370.00	**$ 590.24**
Mar-10	$ 1,082.23	**$ 594.15**	$ 1,139.09	**F**	$ 1,343.26	**$ 711.05**
Apr-10	$ 1,114.61	**$ 687.12**	$ 1,097.53	**$ 809.32**	$ 1,439.15	**$ 682.38**
May-10	$ 1,077.33	**$ 651.08**	$ 1,078.87	**$ 892.76**	$ 1,388.15	**$ 776.42**
Jun-10	$ 1,067.37	**$ 616.50**	$ 1,193.55	**F**	$ 1,389.59	**$ 661.32**
Jul-10	$ 1,081.10	**$ 660.16**	$ 1,100.83	**F**	$ 1,408.16	**$ 731.78**
Aug-10	$ 1,087.45	**$ 586.36**	$ 1,078.29	**F**	$ 1,398.05	**$ 673.19**
Sep-10	$ 1,116.94	**$ 681.20**	$ 1,106.93	**$ 769.50**	$ 1,417.04	**$ 691.17**
Oct-10	$ 1,096.99	**$ 613.26**	$ 1,096.80	**$ 718.08**	$ 1,394.61	**$ 790.81**
Nov-10	$ 1,117.30	**$ 625.47**	$ 1,057.46	**F**	$ 1,407.75	**$ 808.68**
Dec-10	$ 1,115.54	**$ 639.75**	$ 1,047.32	**$ 713.53**	$ 1,287.90	**F**
Jan-11	$ 1,109.96	**$ 634.88**	$ 1,133.20	**F**	$ 1,441.15	**F**
Feb-11	$ 1,127.38	**$ 648.93**	$ 1,110.10	**$ 769.30**	$ 1,405.93	**F**
Mar-11	$ 1,107.91	**$ 650.15**	$ 1,178.08	**$ 805.75**	$ 1,417.46	**$ 811.92**
Apr-11	$ 1,118.32	**$ 681.17**	$ 1,130.08	**$ 891.16**	$ 1,452.72	**$ 825.72**
May-11	$ 1,098.58	**$ 657.90**	$ 1,184.53	**$ 834.77**	$ 1,447.94	**F**
Jun-11	$ 1,092.14	**$ 676.78**	$ 1,111.13	**$ 795.70**	$ 1,482.95	**$ 775.22**
Jul-11	$ 1,098.20	**$ 656.64**	$ 1,119.03	**$ 814.38**	$ 1,520.54	**F**
Aug-11	$ 1,108.56	**$ 653.13**	$ 1,130.92	**$ 801.91**	$ 1,478.42	**$ 687.89**
Sep-11	$ 1,119.01	**$ 707.84**	$ 1,098.94	**$ 814.99**	$ 1,434.00	**F**
Oct-11	$ 1,127.16	**$ 635.99**	$ 1,090.85	**$ 818.03**	$ 1,477.66	**$ 944.99**
Nov-11	$ 1,126.64	**$ 642.34**	$ 1,095.30	**F**	$ 1,451.38	**F**
Dec-11	$ 1,135.22	**$ 653.26**	$ 1,135.46	**$ 926.18**	$ 1,341.01	**$ 888.85**
Jan-12	$ 1,135.55	**$ 660.00**	$ 1,140.21	**$ 825.26**	$ 1,517.97	**$ 962.40**
Feb-12	$ 1,138.16	**$ 679.82**	$ 1,118.82	**F**	$ 1,468.12	**$ 845.10**
Mar-12	$ 1,142.57	**$ 693.41**	$ 1,205.74	**F**	$ 1,446.90	**$ 844.36**
Apr-12	$ 1,131.66	**$ 701.63**	$ 1,119.44	**$ 827.84**	$ 1,481.81	**$ 834.89**
May-12	$ 1,129.41	**$ 715.37**	$ 1,120.84	**$ 860.39**	$ 1,438.52	**$ 892.20**
Jun-12	$ 1,114.44	**$ 724.94**	$ 1,148.39	**F**	$ 1,507.83	**$ 852.21**
Jul-12	$ 1,149.43	**$ 670.28**	$ 1,117.08	**$ 784.85**	$ 1,502.98	**F**
X	Suppressed to meet the confidentiality requirements of the Statistics Act					
F	Too unreliable to be published					