

**ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AMONG FIRST NATIONS:
A CONTINGENCY PERSPECTIVE**

A Thesis Submitted to the College of Graduate Studies and Research
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Geography
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon

By
Robert Brent Anderson

1997

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0-612-24065-7

University of Saskatchewan

College of Graduate Studies and Research

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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1997

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ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AMONG FIRST NATIONS: A CONTINGENCY PERSPECTIVE

This dissertation explores the economic development objectives and strategies of the First Nations in Canada with three objectives: (i) identify their approach to development, (ii) develop a theoretical perspective capable of providing insight into this approach, and (iii) investigate the activities of First Nations in Saskatchewan to determine if they are consistent with the expected characteristics of the First Nations' development approach and the proposed theoretical perspective.

To address the first objective, a wide range of sources are reviewed to determine the approach to development of the First Nations. Based on this review, the approach emphasizes the creation of profitable businesses competing in the global economy. These businesses are usually collectively owned and often involve partnerships with non-First Nation corporations. The second objective is addressed by a theory review. Both the orthodox and radical perspectives are rejected. Instead, a 'contingency perspective' based on regulation theory, the postimperial perspective and alternative/Indigenous development approaches, is developed.

The third objective is satisfied by research in three parts: (i) an investigation of the activities of the 70 Saskatchewan First Nations, (ii) a study of the attitude of non-First Nation companies toward establishing business alliances with First Nations, and (iii) a study of the activities of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council.

Based on parts one and three of this research, 69% of First Nations' businesses are owned by First Nations alone or in partnership with non-First Nations businesses. These businesses account for 89% of the total estimated annual revenue of all First Nation businesses. Seventy-six percent of First Nation businesses compete in regional and national/international markets. Part two results indicate that non-First Nations corporations are entering into business alliances with aboriginal people more frequently. Five factors motivate this behavior: (i) the shift from a Fordist to a flexible regime of accumulation, (ii) changing standards of corporate social responsibility, (iii) regulatory requirements, (iv) the growing aboriginal population, and its increasing affluence and level of education, and (v) the growing pool of natural and financial resources under the aboriginal control. These results are consistent with the expected characteristics of First Nations' development approach and the proposed contingency perspective.

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Abstract:

This dissertation explores the economic development objectives, strategies, and activities of the First Nations in Canada with three objectives: (i) to identify the approach to development among First Nations, (ii) to develop a theoretical perspective capable of providing insight into this approach, and (iii) to investigate the activities of the First Nations in Saskatchewan to determine if they are consistent with the expected characteristics of the First Nations' approach to development and the proposed theoretical perspective.

To address the first objective, a wide range of sources are reviewed to determine First Nations development objectives and strategies. Based on this review, the First Nations' development approach emphasizes the creation of profitable businesses competing in the global economy. These businesses are usually collectively owned and often involve partnerships with non-First Nation corporations. A review of development theory follows to accomplish the second objective. Both the orthodox and radical perspectives are rejected. Instead, a 'contingency perspective' based on regulation theory, the postimperial perspective and alternative/Indigenous development approaches, is developed.

To address the third objective, research was conducted in three parts: (i) an investigation of the economic development activities of the 70 Saskatchewan First Nations, (ii) a study of the approach of non-First Nations companies to business alliances with First Nations, and (iii) a case study of the development activities of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council.

Based on the first and third parts of this research, 69% of First Nations businesses are owned by First Nations alone or First Nations in joint venture with non-First Nations businesses. These businesses account for 89% of the total estimated annual revenue of all First Nation businesses. Only 24% of First Nations businesses target the local market, the rest compete in broader regional, national and international markets. Part two of the research shows that a growing number of non-First Nations corporations are adopting a strategy of business alliances with aboriginal people. Five factors motivate this corporate behaviour: (i) a shift in the global competitive environment from a Fordist to a flexible regime of accumulation, (ii) society's changing expectations about what constitutes socially responsible corporate behaviour, (iii) legal and regulatory requirements and restrictions, (iv) the growing aboriginal population, and its increasing affluence and level of education, and (v) the rapidly growing pool of natural and financial resources under the control of aboriginal people. These results confirm the eight characteristics of the First Nations' approach to economic development and are consistent with the proposed contingency perspective.

Acknowledgments:

More people than I can thank individually played an important role in the events that have culminated in my completion of this dissertation. Two individuals deserve special recognition – Bob Bone my research advisor for his endless patience and invaluable advice and my wife Bev for her continuous support in this and my earlier education endeavours. I would also like to thank the members of my advisory committee – Dr. Jim Randall, Professor John McConnell and Dr. George Baxter as well as my external examiner – Dr. Robin Armstrong.

I would like to dedicate this work to the people of the First Nations in Canada, particularly those in Saskatchewan. During the past 10 years, while with the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, I have come to appreciate the traditional cultural characteristics that the people of the First Nations have preserved in the face of centuries of assimilation, and still exhibit today. In spite of extraordinarily trying circumstances, most of the people of the First Nations continue to demonstrate endless patience, a wonderful sense of humor, respect for the promises they and others have made in the past, a respectful inclusion in decision-making of all regardless of position or power, and a profound concern about family, community and their ‘Mother Earth’ now and for the generations yet to come. They have much to teach the non-First Nations world.

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List of Abbreviations

ACC	Aboriginal Capital Corporation
ACTC	Agency Chiefs Tribal Council
AFN	Assembly of First Nations
BTC	Battlefords Tribal Council
CCAB	Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business
CTN	Confederation of Tribal Nations
DIAND	Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
FMLA	Forest Management License Agreement
FSIN	Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations
MBA	mutually beneficial alliance
MLFN	Meadow Lake First Nations
MLTC	Meadow Lake Tribal Council
MSR	mode of social regulation
PAGC	Prince Albert Grand Council
PHT	Peace Hills Trust
SETC	South East Tribal Council
SIEF	Saskatchewan Indian Equity Foundation
SIFC	Saskatchewan Indian Federated College
SIIT	Saskatchewan Indian Institute of Technology
SITAG	Saskatchewan Indian Training Assessment Group
STC	Saskatoon Tribal Council
TFHQ	Touchwood, File Hills, Qu'Appelle Tribal Council
TLE	Treaty Land Entitlement
TNC	transnational corporation

1. Introduction

The First Nations in Canada and Indigenous people around the world are becoming increasingly active in economic development activities. Through the creation of business ventures competing at the regional, national and international scale they are struggling to find a place in the new global economy. In pursuit of a greater understanding of this phenomenon, my dissertation explores the economic development objectives, strategies, structures and activities of the First Nations in Canada.

My objectives are threefold. The first is to identify the characteristics of the First Nations' approach to economic development, in particular their objectives and strategies. The second is to develop a theoretical perspective on First Nations' economic development that can provide insight into the likelihood their strategies will result in the attainment of their objectives. My third and final objective is to compare the actual development activities and outcomes of selected First Nations with their stated goals and expectations and my proposed theoretical perspective. A common and important thread running through these objectives is the consideration of the role that mutually beneficial alliances between First Nation and non-First Nation businesses play in the economic development process in the context of an increasingly flexible global capitalist economic system. To accomplish these three objectives, my research focuses on two subject groups -- the First Nations in Canada, particularly those in Saskatchewan, and the non-

First Nation business corporations with whom these First Nations have formed businesses alliances or with whom they might in the future.

My dissertation contains eight chapters. The next chapter begins by identifying and describing the study group, the First Nations in Canada. It continues with an overview of the development objectives and strategies of this group as garnered from numerous First Nation sources. Based on this overview, eight characteristics of the emerging First Nations' approach to development are proposed. The chapter ends with the suggestion that there are three key questions related to this emerging First Nations' approach to development that must be addressed if my three objectives are to be achieved. In Chapter 3, eight premises are developed based on the eight characteristics of First Nations' development and the four questions. The procedure used to test these premises is also described.

Chapter 4 addresses Premise One, that is, that the First Nations approach to economic development is consistent with development theory. The chapter begins with a review of economic development theory as it is evolving in response to changes in the global economic system. Then, a 'contingency perspective' on the economic development of First Nations is developed that is an amalgam of three of these emerging theoretical perspectives -- regulation theory, the postimperial perspective and alternative/Indigenous development approaches.

The remaining seven premises are tested in three ways: (i) an investigation of the economic development activities of the 70 First Nations in Saskatchewan in order to

identify the strategies adopted, structures created and activities undertaken (Chapter 5), (ii) a review of the approach to First Nations business development being adopted by selected non-First Nations companies (Chapter 6), and (iii) an in-depth case study of the economic development activities of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council (Chapter 7). In the eighth and final chapter, the characteristics of the emerging First Nations approach to economic development, the four questions that flow from this approach, and the contingency perspective are revisited in light of the results of my research.

2. Indigenous People and Economic Development

There is a ground-swell of economic development activity occurring among the First Nations in Canada and Indigenous people around the world. The purpose of this chapter is to develop an understanding of the approach to development that is emerging among the First Nations in Canada based on statements made by leading First Nation spokespersons. This understanding will form the basis for my review of economic development theory in the search for a relevant perspective and investigation of actual First Nations development activities.

The chapter contains three sections. The first describes the study area and subjects. The second section is a description of the development objectives of the First Nations and the approach to economic development that is emerging as they pursue these objectives. The final section presents a problem statement and four critical questions. These questions must be answered in order to assess the likelihood that the First Nations will attain their economic development objectives by following their approach.

2.1. Study Area and Subjects

My research investigates the economic development activities of the First Nations in Canada with an emphasis on those in Saskatchewan. Particular attention is paid to the extent to which these activities involve the establishment of mutually beneficial alliances (MBAs) with non-First Nation businesses.

The First Nations in Canada have a well-developed political system. Individual First Nations (Bands) form the cornerstone of this structure. Under the provisions of the Indian Act, each First Nation has its own government, controls its own land-base, and determines its own membership. Access to, control of, and responsibility for federal funding is at the First Nation level. Each First Nation can formulate its own economic development plans and establish its own economic development objectives. First Nations establish and operate business ventures individually or in combination with other First Nations and/or non-First Nations organizations in pursuit of these objectives.

Within Saskatchewan, the First Nations have created a provincial body, the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations (FSIN) to deal with common concerns (e.g. the negotiation of an agreement on gaming with the provincial government). To deal with regional concerns (e.g., larger economic development projects, health services and education), the FSIN is subdivided into ten Districts or Tribal Councils. The FSIN and similar bodies from the other provinces and the territories have joined together to form the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) to represent their interests at the federal level. Internationally, the interests of Indigenous people are served by the World Council of Indigenous Peoples.

The location of its land-base, the resources of that land-base, and the other resources that a First Nation controls play a critical role in determining the development objectives and strategies of that First Nation and the business opportunities available to it. For example, the Key and Cote First Nations are located in an agricultural region of the Province of Saskatchewan and have for years been involved in farming. This fact combined with

their access to capital from a federal government program made them attractive partners to other farm businesses in the area. These two First Nations have formed a joint venture, the Thunderhill Investment Corporation. In turn, this development corporation has joined with farmers in the area to create another joint venture, Norquay Alfalfa Processors Ltd. to produce and market alfalfa pellets to world markets. Similarly, the First Nations of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council in north-west Saskatchewan are extensively involved in forestry, as are some members of the Prince Albert Grand Council in the north-central region. Members of the later Tribal Council are also very active in the mining industry and in wild rice production. More generally, 27 of the 70 First Nations in the province have just ratified a Treaty Land Entitlement Settlement. This settlement will see in excess of \$500 million paid to the entitlement Nations over a 12-year period to purchase land and to foster economic development (see Chapter Five for details). Many other First Nations in Saskatchewan and throughout the country are pursuing similar claims. The greatly expanded capital base created through the settlement of these claims is bound to result in an increase in business development activities among First Nations.

In addition to development activities at the First Nation level, Tribal Councils establish economic development plans and objectives and participate in business ventures on behalf of their member Nations. For example, the Meadow Lake Tribal Council has acquired a fifty percent interest in Norsask Forest Products Ltd. which operates a saw mill in Meadow Lake and holds harvesting rights and reforestation responsibilities for 3.3 million hectares of Crown Land in the Meadow Lake area. Norsask Forest Products

Ltd. has entered into a joint venture with Millar Western Ltd., a company that operates a pulp mill in the area. This joint venture company, Mistik Management Ltd., manages the forest operations that supply timber to both the pulp and saw mills¹. Other Tribal Councils are similarly active. The Price Albert Grand Council owns a hotel, is an active participant in the Northern Lights Casino, operates several mine servicing companies (some joint ventures) and a security company. Tribal Councils are also active in capacity building and support activities including education, training and business support. The bulk of the funding for these Tribal Council activities comes from the federal government on behalf of its member First Nations.

The FSIN is an active participant in economic development. It has established a provincial economic development strategy and guidelines to assist Tribal Councils and First Nations and to coordinate their efforts. The FSIN has also created a variety of institutions to support economic development. These institutions include: the Saskatchewan Indian Equity Foundation, the Saskatchewan Indian Agriculture Program, the Saskatchewan Indian Gaming Commission, the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College and the Saskatchewan Indian Institute of Technology. These institutions are funded in a variety of ways with by far the largest proportion coming from the federal government to the FSIN on behalf of the First Nations in Saskatchewan. An example is the labour force training agreement between the FSIN and the federal government's Department of Human Resources. Announced on June 8, 1996, this three-year \$50

¹ See Chapter Seven for details about the development activities of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council.

million agreement “will allow Indians to design and deliver vocational training based on the needs they see locally” (Star Phoenix 1996b, A1). The program will be administered by the “FSIN’s vocational training arm, the Saskatchewan Indian Training Assessment Group (SITAG)” (Star Phoenix 1996b, A1).

The Federation is also directly involved in large business development projects serving all the First Nations in the province. Two currently occupy much of the organization’s attention -- gaming and the First Nations Bank of Canada (see Chapter Five for more details). Both of these are joint ventures, the first with the Province of Saskatchewan and the second with the Toronto Dominion Bank. Both are ‘self-financing’ with the operating costs being paid from revenues and any surplus reinvested or distributed to First Nations and their partners.

At the Federal level, the AFN works to create an environment that will facilitate development as part of the process of realization of the First Nation right to self-government. It focuses on broad jurisdictional, treaty, constitutional and political issues. It receives that vast majority of its funding from the federal government although member Nations bear some of the costs for the participation of their particular representative (usually the Chief).

The AFN, FSIN, Tribal Councils, some First Nations, and some of their joint ventures and business corporations prepare annual reports. These reports and other documents, along with data gathered through primary research, provide the information necessary to

identify the economic development objectives, strategies, and structures of the First Nations in Saskatchewan.

Because of the importance of alliances with non-First Nation businesses in the First Nations approach to development, such businesses are the other subject of my research. I am particularly interested in non-First Nation businesses that have entered into business alliances with First Nations or have otherwise indicated an interest in corporate First Nations relations. To satisfy this requirement, I have selected for study corporations who are members of the Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business (CCAB). In addition, to assure the availability of annual reports and other public documents, they must be 'public companies' incorporated federally or provincially. These documents, plus the responses to the questionnaire sent to the selected CCAB members, form the basis of my analysis of the reasons why certain corporations have chosen (or might chose) to form business alliances with a First Nation (or Nations)².

2.2. Indigenous People and Economic Development

The United Nations announced the beginning of the International Decade of Indigenous People in 1995. The significance of this announcement is that it acknowledges that Indigenous peoples around the world share in a common struggle for the recognition and realization of their rights. These rights include: "the right to ownership and control of their territories; the right to self-determination; and the right to representation through their own institutions" (Colchester 1994, 73).

As the following material indicates, economic development is emerging as a key component of this struggle in two ways. First, gaining control of land and resources is considered critical to improving the socioeconomic circumstances of Indigenous people. Control over resources improves the potential for the creation of the businesses essential to the development of a viable Indigenous economy. Second, a robust and sustainable economy is regarded as essential to self-determination and the exercise of a measure of real control over the relationship between Indigenous people and non-Indigenous governments and transnational corporations (TNCs)³.

According to Jorge Valente (CANDO 1995c), the President of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, in support of their drive to reassert their rights, Indigenous people are seeking to rebuild their once robust and self-sufficient economies. He and other international Indigenous leaders⁴ attending the Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers (CANDO) Conference held in Winnipeg in the fall of 1995 emphasized that rebuilding their economies will require the return of Indigenous people to their pre-colonial practices of trade and commerce. Recognizing current world realities, the World Council believes that the creation of the businesses and other

² See Chapter Six for the results of this research.

³ For a sense of the relationship between land and resources, development, cultural survival and self-determination of Indigenous people see **The Conclusions and Recommendations of the U.N. Experts Seminar on Indigenous Land Rights and Claims** (World Council of Indigenous Peoples, 1996).

⁴ Sam Mercado, President of the Corporation for Indigenous Economic Development, Nicaragua; Brooklyn Rivera, Miskito Indian Leader and Vice Minister of the Nicaraguan National Government; Reginaldo Marroquin, Guatemalan Mayan leader; and Simon Brascoupe and Wayne Dunn of the Apikan Indigenous Network.

institutions necessary to restoring these patterns and practices will require partnerships between Indigenous people, businesses, and state governments in various combinations.

Wayne Dunn in his address to the conference (CANDO, 1995c) said that because of the business development experience of the First Nations in Canada, other Indigenous peoples are looking to them for advice and assistance. The remainder of this section provides an overview of the approach to business that has emerged among the First Nations in Canada.

2.3. Economic Development and the First Nations in Canada

As with all Indigenous people, the First Nations of Canada are understandably unhappy with their circumstances and are striving to improve them. In the words of George Erasmus, past National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations of Canada and current Co-Chair of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples:

Our people have been relegated to the lowest rung on the ladder of Canadian society; suffer the worst conditions of life, the lowest incomes, the poorest education, and health; and can envision only the most depressing futures for our children (Erasmus 1989, 1).

Elaborating on the current socioeconomic state of the First Nations, according to the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations (FSIN), “only one of every three First Nations citizens in Saskatchewan is employed and over 60% of the province’s First Nations people are classified as living in poverty -- roughly four times the average found in non-Aboriginal communities” (Peters 1996, 8).

Erasmus says that the people of the First Nations in Canada believe that this situation can be turned around. He says to do so will require a return to the self-government

principles underlying the treaties between the First Nations and Europeans. In a manner consistent with the aspirations of Indigenous people around the world, Erasmus states that:

All across North America today First Nations share a common perception of what was then agreed: we would allow Europeans to stay among us and use a certain amount of our land, while in our own lands we would continue to exercise our own laws and maintain our own institutions and systems of government. We all believe that that vision is still very possible today, that as First Nations we should have our own governments with jurisdiction over our own lands and people (Erasmus 1989, 1 & 2).

The people of the First Nations realize self-government will not result in an automatic improvement of their socioeconomic circumstances. As summarized in the next two paragraphs, they acknowledge that the relationship between self-government and socioeconomic development is much more complex with the former enabling the latter and the latter supporting the former.

The people of the First Nations want control over their traditional lands through self-government so that they can “decide about and benefit from the type of development we want in our own territories, not have such development forced on us to serve outside interests” (Erasmus, 1989, 2)⁵. According to Lester Lafond, a respected First Nations leader from the Muskeg Lake First Nation in Saskatchewan, such control will:

Create an environment in which Indians can deal more effectively with their social and economic problems in a positive manner. Do not be misled, however, it will not, and I repeat, will not in itself make those problems disappear. ...[the people of the First Nations must] make the

⁵ See Chapters 5 and 6 for a discussion of the role land claims play in building the economic development capacity of the First Nations.

necessary adjustments in our thinking so that we will eventually become self-reliant (Lafond 1985, 16).

From these and other First Nation sources (for example FSIN 1993, MLTC 1991-5a, PATC 1993, SIAP 1992), it is clear that self-government and the related control of lands and resources are expected to play a powerful enabling role in First Nations socioeconomic development.

At the same time, First Nations consider economic self-sufficiency to be critically important to the realization and ongoing support of self-government and to the preservation and strengthening of traditional values and practices. Ovide Mercredi, current Grand Chief of the AFN, succinctly summarizes the First Nations' view of the relationship between economic development and the realization of self-government when he states that "If we gain [political] power for the community but we don't get the economy, we have power that cannot exercise itself" (Mercredi 1994, 7). With respect to the relationship between economic development and traditional values and practices⁶, he says "without an economic base the culture is either dying or dead. So what we have to do is restore an economic base ... everything else will fall in place in terms of self-esteem, in terms of community spirit and in terms of improving the standard of living in our community" (Mercredi 1994, 7). Figure 2-1 captures the essence of the First Nations' view of the relationship between self-government and control of traditional

lands, economic and business development and economic self-sufficiency and an end to dependency. Gains in any one area lead to improvement in others. In turn, these improvements impact positively on the area where the initial improvements occurred, and so on and so on. This view of the development process is entirely consistent with Gunnar Myrdal's concept of cumulative causation and the 'virtuous circle' (Myrdal 1968). At the same time, it reflects the 'Circle World View' that is widely held among the First Nation cultures in North America and Indigenous people elsewhere.

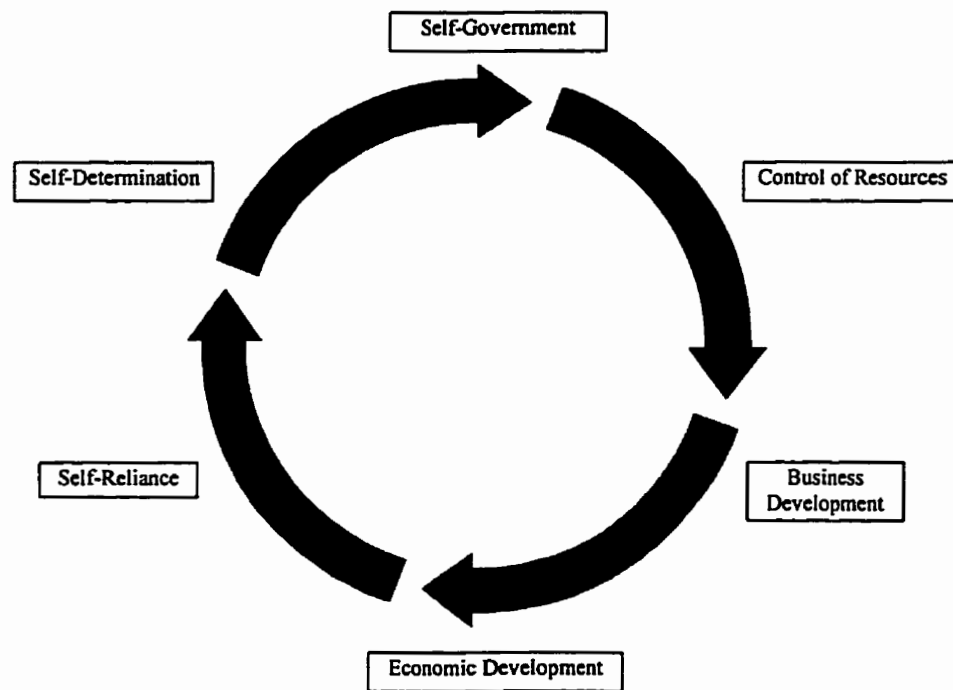


Figure 2-1: The First Nations Development Circle

⁶ For an example of the relationship between traditional values and practices and development see Chapter 7. That chapter contains a description of the key traditional values that are to guide all of the economic development activities of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council and the process used to determine these guiding principles (itself an example of traditional practices in action). The principles include: self-reliance as communities, families and individuals rather than dependency on 'welfare' programs, sharing, community decision-making, respect for the environment and consultation with Elders.

There is general agreement that building First Nation economic self-sufficiency requires participation in the global economy through business development, often in partnership with others (Decter and Kowal 1989, FSIN 1993, MLTC 1991-5 a & b, PATC 1993, SIAP 1992, TFHQ 1993). A sense of this agreement was captured by the National Aboriginal Financing Task Force in its report **The Promise of the Future: Achieving Economic Self-Sufficiency Through Access to Capital** (NAFT 1996). The report identified seven essential steps to economic self-sufficiency. The third step says:

The most effective way (and probably the only way) for Aboriginal communities to address their current socio-economic challenges is to create wealth through business activity (NAFT 1996, 9).

While the NAFT's seventh step says:

To achieve economic self-sufficiency, Aboriginal communities must promote coordination and partnership among many groups and individuals, both within the Aboriginal community and outside it (NAFT 1996, 11).

First Nations recognize that planning to create successful business in the search for self-sufficiency is an intellectual exercise. Going beyond planning, to actually create such businesses and operate them successfully requires capacity -- human, financial and physical. Participants at an Aboriginal Corporate Roundtable conducted by the Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers were asked to identify critical capacity issues relating to economic development. The top three issues identified by Aboriginal participants were:

- 1. Stable and culturally appropriate institutions of government.*
- 2. Recognition of Aboriginal rights regarding land and resources.*
- 3. Education initiatives* (CANDO 1995d, 2).

Responding to these issues, the First Nations are creating administrative structures, negotiating the settlement of outstanding Treaty and other claims, and developing financial and education institutions.

Based on the preceding, it appears that the First Nations approach to economic development has eight key characteristics (Figure 2-2). Overall, individual First Nations exhibit a predominately collective approach to economic development that is closely tied to each First Nation's traditional lands, its identity as a Nation and its desire to be self-governing. The First Nations development approach is intended to serve three purposes: the attainment of economic self-sufficiency, the improvement of socioeconomic circumstances, and the preservation and strengthening of traditional culture, values and languages. It is the strong collective approach with a 'national' focus and the emphasis placed on culture, values and languages that distinguishes the First Nations' approach to economic development from the approach of other Canadian communities of a similar size and in similar locations.

The First Nations believe that they can achieve these purposes through participation in the global capitalist economy and have adopted processes that reflects this belief. They are creating businesses to compete in the global economy in order to generate the wealth necessary to support self-government and improve socioeconomic conditions. At the same time, through ownership, the people of the First Nations expect to exercise greater control over activities in their traditional territories. The First Nations recognize that the success of this approach depends on the long-term profitability of the businesses that they create. Therefore, they are devoting considerable efforts to capacity building to

enhance their ability to develop and manage businesses. First Nations' capacity building goals and strategies fit well with the 'four capitals' of ecological economics: ecological, human, manufactured and institutional⁷ (Straussfogel 1997, 122-123). They are striving to improve their capacity for development on all four fronts.

The First Nations' **approach** to economic development is:

1. A predominantly **collective** one centered on the individual First Nation for the **purposes** of:
 2. **Attaining economic self-sufficiency** as a necessary condition for the realization of self-government at the First Nation level.
 3. **Improving the socioeconomic circumstances** of the people of the First Nations.
 4. **Preserving and strengthening traditional culture, values and languages** and the reflection of the same in development activities

Involving the following **processes**:

5. **Creating and operating businesses to exercise the control** over the economic development process.
6. **Creating and operating businesses that can compete profitably** over the long-run in the global economy, to build the economy necessary to support self-government and improve socioeconomic conditions.
7. **Forming alliances and joint ventures** among themselves and with non-First Nation partners to create businesses that can compete profitably in the global economy.
8. **Building capacity** for economic development through: (i) education, training and institution-building and (ii) the realization of the treaty and Aboriginal rights to land and resources.

Source: adapted from Anderson and Bone 1995a

Figure 2-2: The Eight Characteristics of First Nations Economic Development

⁷ Straussfogel (1997) suggests replacing the usual core-periphery continuum used to describe the relative levels of development among people/places with a set of four continuums – one for each of the capitals. A description of relative development would be based on the aggregate of a people/place's position on all four continuums. This leads to a much richer and more descriptive system for comparing relative levels of development and provides better guidance for policy and program development.

Importantly, in spite of their national status, individual First Nations exhibit many characteristics associated with the local/regional scale (population, size and location of land base, etc.) as opposed to those commonly expected at the national scale. Acknowledging this, they realize that to succeed in the global economic system they will often have to form alliances with other people and groups (Indigenous and non-Indigenous). This gives First Nations' economic development a unique geographic character. It is at the same time a local/regional (from a geographic perspective), national (from an individual First Nation perspective) and global process.

2.4. Problem Statement

First Nations want to develop an economic system that will improve their peoples' socioeconomic circumstances, build economic self-reliance, support self-government, and preserve and strengthen traditional aspects of their society. First Nations control over their own development is an essential characteristic of this system. At the same time, First Nations acknowledged that their economy must be integrated with the global economic system. The challenge facing First Nations is to successfully integrate their economic activities into the global economy while retaining adequate control over development on their lands and attaining their development objectives.

This challenge raises three critical questions that my dissertation will address:

1. What strategies and structures have First Nations established to retain control over economic and business development and assure that an appropriate proportion of the benefits of that development accrue to their people? What role do mutually beneficial alliances play in these strategies and structures?

2. Does economic development theory support the goals, strategies and structures adopted by First Nations? Are the outcomes First Nations expect consistent with those anticipated by theory?
3. Are the actual outcomes consistent with theoretical expectations and/or First Nations expectations?

The preceding problem statement and key questions lie at the macro (First Nations) level and are the focus of my dissertation. However, even if my research confirms the eight characteristics of the First Nations approach to economic development answering questions 1 & 2, and returns positive answers to questions 3 and 4, issues at the micro (firm level) remain to be considered.

The ultimate success of the First Nations approach depends on decisions made and actions taken at the firm level. Business-by-business, opportunities and potential partners will have be identified, financing secured, customers' needs assessed, products developed and marketed, employees hired, trained and directed, and the like. These business management activities must be done properly over and over again to create and sustain the profitable businesses that are the key to the successful implementation of the First Nations economic development strategy. Further, doing these activities successfully from a business perspective is not sufficient. They must be done in a way that is consistent with the traditional values and practices that that the people of the First Nations deem important. Although my research concentrates on macro level issues some insight is offered into performance at the firm level in Chapters 5 and 7.

3. Research Premises and Processes

My dissertation has three purposes.

1. To identify the economic development objectives, strategies and structures being adopted by a particular group of Indigenous people -- the First Nations in Canada -- as they strive to rebuild their economies and societies.
2. To develop a theoretical perspective capable of offering insight into this approach and the likelihood of its success.
3. To compare the actual development activities and outcomes of selected First Nations with their stated goals and expectations and my theoretical perspective.

To accomplish these purposes, I developed eight premises relating to the eight characteristics of First Nations economic development and the three key questions raised by that approach. I then conducted research in four phases to confirm or refute these premises. In all four phases, the focus is on: (i) the creation and operation of businesses by First Nations, (ii) the establishment of partnerships with non-First Nation corporations, and (iii) the role of these businesses in First Nations economic development.

The first phase of my research consisted of a search for a theoretical perspective capable of offering insight into the appropriateness and probable outcome of the emerging First Nations approach to economic development. The second involved the study of the economic development strategies, structures and activities of the 70 First Nations in

Saskatchewan and a comparison these expectations, strategies and outcomes with the eight characteristics of the First Nations approach to development and my theoretical perspective. The third phase focused on an investigation of the approach toward joint ventures and other alliances with First Nations exhibited by certain non-First Nation business corporations. The fourth and final phase involved a detailed case study of the economic and business development objectives, strategies, and processes of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council, and the businesses, benefits, costs and reactions associated with these activities⁸.

Overall, the results of my research were expected to:

1. Provide an understanding of the development objectives of First Nations and the business-related strategies and structures intended to attain those objectives.
2. Contribute to the ongoing evolution of development theory by developing and validating (or not) a theoretical perspective on First Nations economic development.

The remainder of this chapter consists of a description of the eight premises and an overview of the procedure used to test them.

3.1. Premise One: Theory Review and Development

Premise One flows from the third question raised in the problem statement. Specifically, does economic development theory support the goals, strategies and structures adopted by First Nations, and are the outcomes First Nations expect consistent with those

⁸ Phases one through four are the subjects of Chapters 4 through 7, respectively.

anticipated by theory? Results of the first phase of my research testing this premise are found in Chapter 4.

Premise One: The emerging First Nations approach to economic development is consistent with contemporary economic development theory and has the potential to deliver the expected outcomes -- economic self-sufficiency in support of self-government, improvement of socioeconomic circumstances, and the preservation and strengthening of traditional cultures, values and languages and the reflection of the same in development activities.

3.2. Premises Two to Five: First Nations Economic Development

Premises Two through Five and the research to test them are directed at determining the extent to which actual First Nation economic development strategies, structures, activities, expectation and results are consistent with the eight characteristics of First Nations' development proposed in Chapter 2 and, by extension, the theoretical perspective developed to address these characteristics. Results of this second phase of my research are reported in Chapter 5.

Premise Two: First Nations consider economic development to be critical to the attainment of their broader development goals and they have adopted a predominately collective approach in pursuit of these goals.

Premise Three: First Nations view the creation and ownership of businesses that can compete profitably in the global economy as critical to the attainment of their economic development goals.

Premise Four: First Nations business development strategies include: support for First Nations individuals to create and operate business, individual First Nation ownership and operation of businesses, and the establishment of joint ventures and other alliances with other First Nation and non-First Nation partners.

Premise Five: First Nations consider capacity building through: (i) education, (ii) institution building, and (iii) the acquisition of financial and physical resources through land claims and treaty negotiations to be critical to the effective implementation of their approach to development.

3.3. Premises Six, Seven and Eight: Corporate First Nations Alliances

Premises Six, Seven and Eight address the issue of corporate First Nations alliances from the perspective of the non-First Nation companies. The purpose of this third phase of my research is to confirm or refute these premises. Results are found in Chapter 6.

Premise Six flows from the fact that the view of the public and of governments about what constitutes socially responsible corporate behaviour has been changing over time. Society's expectations are broadening and deepening particularly with respect to consultation with, and the participation of, various 'publics'. Premise seven is based on changes in the way companies compete in the global economy. The competitive environment is shifting to one of flexible or agile competition⁹. Many companies are narrowing their focus to concentrate on key competencies and core activities.

⁹ See Chapter 4, Section 4.2 for a detailed discussion

Increasingly these companies are seeking alliances with others with their own particular key competencies to supply goods and services once produced 'in-house'. Finally, Premise eight relates to the growing attractiveness to corporations of First Nations as business partners. Through negotiation, litigation, and the assertion of treaty, Aboriginal and constitutional rights, the peoples of the First Nations are gaining control over the resources of vast land bases. As a result of this process they are also acquiring significant pools of investment capital. In addition, the Aboriginal population is growing in numbers and affluence and the education level of Aboriginal people is improving, making Aboriginal people a more attractive market and labour-force.

Premise Six: Companies accept that accommodating society's changing expectations about what constitutes acceptable corporate behaviour is essential to long-run corporate survival. Considering this, many companies are more likely to enter into consultations and other participative processes with First Nations (and others) now than they were in the past.

Premise Seven: Because of the shift to flexible or agile competition, companies are more likely to need to enter into business alliances with others (including the First Nations) now than they were in the past.

Premise Eight: The First Nations are attractive an attractive and growing market and an increasingly capable workforce. In addition, they are acquiring significant resources through successful land claims, treaty negotiations and the recognition of aboriginal

rights to land and resources. potential partners to certain corporations. Business alliances offer corporations access to these First Nation resources.

3.4. Case Study

Phase four of my research involves a case study of the activities of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council. The purpose is to provide a more detailed and richer picture of the First Nations' approach to development as implemented in a particular place by a particular group. It is expected that the case study will provide additional confirmation of Premises One to Eight.

3.5. Research Procedure

3.5.1. Theory Review and Development

An extensive literature review was conducted to identify a theoretical perspective appropriate to use in assessing the approach to economic development being adopted by First Nations. Early in this review, it became apparent to me that no single development theory was adequate for this purpose. Instead, I chose to create a new theoretical perspective called the contingency perspective. This perspective draws elements from three existing theories and, I believe, provides a satisfactory framework for interpreting economic development among the First Nations. This review and the resulting contingency perspective are described in Chapter 4.

3.5.2. First Nations Economic Development in Saskatchewan

My research into the nature of the First Nations economic development in Saskatchewan and the resulting business economy began in January of 1994 and continued through the summer of 1996. It was conducted in two phases.

The first phase ran from January 1994 to September 1994. The purpose of this phase was to obtain information about economic development in three areas: planning, structure and business ownership. In January of 1994, a questionnaire along with an accompanying letter was faxed to each Chief. In February of 1994, a separate questionnaire and letter was faxed to the Director of Economic Development of each Tribal Council. In March of 1994, a second letter and another copy of the questionnaire was sent to those who had not responded to the first¹⁰. Finally, from June to September follow-up phone calls were made to each First Nation. The purpose of these calls was threefold: (i) to elicit responses from those First Nations who had not replied, (ii) to confirm the responses received, and (iii) to clarify any confusing or missing information.

The second part of my research into First Nations business development in Saskatchewan ran from January 1995 through the summer of 1996. During this phase, the objective was to obtain additional details about the First Nations businesses in the province including: (i) the number and types of businesses, (ii) the forms of ownership and (iii) annual sales. I acquired this information using both primary and secondary research. The primary research involved surveying each First Nation by telephone to obtain information about the businesses it owned in whole or in part and about the businesses owned by its members. The two secondary sources were the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations and TransGas Ltd. a subsidiary of SaskEnergy. In 1994,

¹⁰ See Appendix A for copies of the letters and questionnaires.

both of these organizations had separately compiled lists of First Nation (or in the case of TransGas - Aboriginal) businesses in Saskatchewan.

I combined the information from my primary and secondary research to produce a database on the First Nations business and economic development in Saskatchewan. This database contains information for each First Nation and Tribal Council about: (i) the presence and extent of economic development planning, (ii) organization and responsibility for economic development, and (iii) the number, type, annual sales, and form of ownership of businesses¹¹.

Based on this database, First Nations and Tribal Councils were ranked according to level of economic development activity. Then the development approach, location, population, land base and education levels for selected high and low ranked First Nations were examined in a search for underlying causes of differences in levels of economic development activity. In addition, data from the 1991 and 1986 censuses were compared to determine if a difference in level of economic development activity corresponded with a difference in socioeconomic performance¹².

The results of this research and the conclusions drawn from it are presented in Chapter 5.

¹¹ See Appendix B for the entire First Nations' business development database and the summary of First Nations business and economic development activities and Appendix C for the ranking of First Nations and Tribal Councils by level of economic development activity.

¹² See Appendix D for the comparative socioeconomic data.

3.5.3. Corporate Aboriginal Alliances

My research into corporate Aboriginal alliances began in the Spring of 1995. Initially, I reviewed selected corporate annual reports and other company literature; material from Aboriginal joint venture partners; reports and other material from the Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business, the Native Investment and Trade Association, the Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers (particularly their Aboriginal Corporate Round Tables) and other organizations; and an excellent book of case studies called **Corporate Aboriginal Relations** (Sloan and Hill 1995). From this review, I was able to form tentative conclusions about the forces that are motivating corporations to form business alliances with Aboriginal people. These tentative conclusions formed the basis of the second phase of my research into corporate Aboriginal alliances.

Work on this second phase, a survey of 30 Canadian corporations, commenced in earnest in the fall of 1995. In November of 1995, I selected from CCAB¹³ membership lists a minimum of ten companies in each of the following categories:

- a. Founding members of the CCAB who were still active in 1994.
- b. Members who joined the CCAB in 1989 and were still active in 1994.
- c. new members who joined the CCAB in 1994.

¹³ The CCAB was founded in 1984 to bring the Native and non-Native business communities together to form partnerships and encourage economic self-sufficiency in Aboriginal Canada. According to its mission statement the:

CCAB is a national organization which brings Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal business people together for mutually beneficial partnerships in the areas of business experience, education, training, networking and potential business opportunities (CCAB 1993, i).

Members of the CCAB were chosen for study because their membership is at least 'prima facie' evidence of a corporate interest in corporate Aboriginal issues.

Within each category, companies were chosen from as wide a range of industrial sectors as possible. I requested from the CCAB the mailing address, phone number and fax number of an appropriate contact person at each of the selected companies. On April 4, 1996, I received the requested information for the CCAB members. On April 9, I faxed a letter and brief questionnaire to each of the contact people requesting a reply to the questionnaire by fax by April 15¹⁴. The letter also included a request that copies of the company's Annual Reports for 1985, 1990 and 1995 be sent by mail as soon as possible. On May 2, a follow-up letter was faxed to those companies that had not responded.

The questionnaire explored the companies' business relationships with Aboriginal people. The responses were analyzed in an effort to determine whether the companies view Aboriginal people as a disadvantaged group needing philanthropic support, a source of current and future employees, a current or potential market, and/or a current or potential source of key inputs. More generally, the responses provided an indication as to the extent to which the companies exhibit behaviour consistent with 'flexible or agile competition' as described in Chapter 4. The annual reports and material describing their Aboriginal programs supplemented the survey responses and provided a deeper understanding about how certain companies' have translated into action their views about social responsibility, Aboriginal labour force and market potential, and/or Aboriginal control of key resources.

¹⁴ See Appendix E for a copy of the letter and questionnaire.

3.5.4. The Meadow Lake Tribal Council

The case study consists of four components. The first focuses on the socioeconomic conditions. Data from the 1986 Census was used to compare the conditions of the people of the First Nations of the MLTC with those of the non-First Nation residents of the region and the province as a whole. The second part of the case study focuses on the general development objectives of the MLTC and the strategies and structures adopted in pursuit of those objectives -- particularly for the period 1986-91. Sources included annual reports and other documents. The impact of these activities is assessed by comparing selected socioeconomic measures from the 1991 Census with those from the 1986 Census¹⁵.

The third and fourth parts of the case study examine the economic development activities of the MLTC since 1991. The third presents a detailed examination of the MLTC's forestry activities during this period. It is based on the analysis of relevant documents, a site visit and interviews with participants and other stakeholders. The final part presents a review of the process used to develop the MLTC's recently completed twenty year development plan called **From Vision to Reality**, and the contents of this plan. As with part three, this part involved the analysis of relevant documents, a site visit and conversations with participants and other stakeholders, particularly while attending the MLTC's three day economic development symposium in April, 1985.

¹⁵ See Appendix F for the 1986 data and G for the comparative (1986 to 1991) socioeconomic data.

4. Theory Review and Development

My objective in this chapter is to find or develop a theoretical framework for interpreting the economic development taking place among First Nations. In doing so, I will be addressing the first of my nine premises, that is: that the emerging First Nations approach to economic development is consistent with contemporary economic development theory and has the potential to deliver the expected outcomes.

The chapter begins with a brief review of the orthodox (modernization) and radical (dependency, world system and modes of production) perspectives on development. Both are rejected as incomplete and incapable of offering adequate insight into the prospects for the emerging First Nations' approach to economic development. Questions about the usefulness of the orthodox and radical perspectives are not restricted to a First Nations context. There is a strong and growing body of theory that rejects both and instead proposes a less dogmatic and deterministic view of the development process within a global capitalist economy.

According to these emerging perspectives, the outcome of interaction with the global economy experienced by a developing area at a particular time is determined by (contingent upon) the actions and characteristics of the parties involved and not pre-ordained by some inviolable law of capitalism. In the second part of this chapter, three of these perspectives -- regulation theory, the postimperial perspective and

alternative/Indigenous approaches to development -- are reviewed. Following this review, a contingency (as opposed to a modernization or dependency) perspective on development is proposed. Finally, the emerging First Nations' approach to development is evaluated in light of this theoretical perspective in order to test Premise One and, in doing so, to answer question three from the problem statement.

4.1. The Orthodox and Radical Perspectives

The orthodox and radical perspectives, in particular their modernization and dependency variants, have commonly been used to describe and analyze the process of development and its outcomes among the First Nations in North America. Given this dominance, these two perspectives will serve as a starting point for the search for a perspective capable of providing insight into the emerging First Nations approach to development as described in the Chapter Two (see Figure 2-2).

The dependency argument goes as follows. The objectives of the Europeans since first contact has been assimilation through modernization or elimination through genocide of the First Nations as unique peoples in North America. Indirectly as a result of the former or directly as a result of the latter, the once self-reliant peoples of the First Nations have been reduced to a state of underdevelopment and dependency. Alternatively, the modernist argument holds that the process of modernization, far from being the cause of these current circumstances, is its cure. The problem, in the view of those espousing this perspective, is that the process of modernization has not been allowed to run its course. They argue that only when First Nations people have shed their traditional ways and become fully adjusted to the modern world can they be expected to reap its socioeconomic

benefits. The policy of the Reform Party of Canada with respect to First Nations is an example of this perspective and an indication of its continuing and perhaps even growing acceptance.

4.1.1. The Modernization Perspective

The classic modernization (orthodox) perspective emerged in the years following the Second World War to address development in newly independent countries of the Third World. According to Rostow (1953) an early and leading proponent of the perspective, a developing country or region passes through a series of stages during which its people build economic capacity, shed traditional and adopt modern ways, and from which they emerge as fully modern, prosperous states.

Dube (1988, 2-4), drawing heavily on the work of Huntington identifies nine characteristics of the modernization/development process. Combining his first three characteristics, modernization is a complex, revolutionary and systematic process affecting all aspects of a society resulting in its transformation from a traditional to a modern one. Dube's fourth, fifth and sixth characteristics combine to suggest that the modernization/development process is a lengthy and phased one that involves the diffusion of modern characteristics from the core or First World to the traditional or Third World. According to his seventh and eighth characteristics, development is a homogenizing and irreversible process resulting in the decline in the differences between nations as they all adopt modern (western European) characteristics. Ninth and finally, modernization is considered to be progressive and desirable in its own right, as well as inevitable and essential to socioeconomic development. Brohman (1996, 16-17)

describes six features of classic modernization theory (circa 1965) that are consistent with the views of Dube and Huntington. He is even more explicit about the theory's position on the relationship between traditional culture and practices and development saying that:

Especially important for the overall process [development] is the removal of various social and cultural 'barriers' to modernization, many of which are linked to the continuing existence of a traditional sector (Brohman 1996, 17).

Development involved much more than simply instituting economic changes: new values, norms, institutions, and organizations had to be introduced to transform the old social order. Elements of traditional societies that constitute obstacles to modernization had to be replaced (Brohman 1996, 20).

Recently, and largely as a result of the experience of the rapidly developing countries of the Far East, proponents of the modernization perspective have been forced to modify their views. According to So (1990), new modernization studies differ from classic ones on the following grounds:

- 1. They avoid treating tradition and modernity as a set of mutually exclusive concepts. ... instead of arguing that tradition is an obstacle to development, the new modernization studies attempt to show the beneficial role of tradition.*
- 2. The new modernization studies do not assume a unidirectional path of development toward a Western model.*
- 3. The new modernization studies lay more emphasis on external factors than before. ... They often incorporate the factors of class conflict, ideological domination, and religious revolution into their analyses (So 1990, 61).*

4.1.2. The Radical Perspectives

4.1.2.1. The Dependency Perspective

The dependency perspective arose in the early 1960's in response to the obvious failure of Third World development efforts based on the modernization approach (Frank 1966,

Cardoso 1979, and others). Results since the end of the Second World War were not those expected by modernists. The newly independent colonies, particularly those in Central and South America and in Africa, were not developing along the western path into fully modern economies. In fact, while per capita GNP growth did occur in some cases, the gap between the standard of living of the mass of people in the developing countries and the developed widened. Frank and others sought an alternate view of the development process that would explain this failure to modernize. They found their answer in the operation of the capitalist economy and in particular in the principle of unequal exchange.

According to the dependency perspective, the capitalist economy in the core evolved naturally as the merchant class wrested control of the economic surplus from the landowners through commercial activity. Through the reinvestment of this surplus in productive activities a new class who controlled the means of production (the capitalist) and a new mode of production (capitalism) began to emerge. This process continued and culminated with the creation of the capitalist economy in the core. An important element in the develop of capitalism in its later stages was the reaching of an accommodation between capital and labour (as a result of government intervention and/or collective action by labour) to "share" the surplus, leading to a mass consumption society based in large part on the purchasing power of labour.

This process has been absent in the periphery. Instead, capitalism 'invaded' from the outside. There was no Indigenous bourgeoisie. Instead, the elites (the landholders) of the periphery formed an alliance with the external capitalists that satisfied the needs of both,

but usually not the needs of the masses in the periphery. As a result, the economy that emerged in the periphery operated to suit the needs of the core and the local elites. The decisions that drove the system were made in the core and all the surplus generated by activities in the periphery was appropriated by the core or the elites of the periphery -- the process of unequal exchange. The result was that the very forces that fostered and sustained development at the core at the same time, and as part of the same process, created underdevelopment and dependency in the periphery.

The dependency view was anticipated much earlier by Innes in his work on the staple theory (Drache 1982, Laxer 1991 and Watkins 1963). His work, and the work of those following his lead, suggest a range of outcomes extending from the full development of the regional economy at one extreme to "an ever-deepening arc of dependency of the hinterland on the metropole" (Drache 1982, 22) at the other as a result of a peripheral region's interaction with core. Actual outcomes are attributed to the operation of linkages (forward, backward and final demand) between the core and the periphery and within the peripheral region. The first outcome (full development) occurs when a significant proportion of the linkages operate within the region and the later (dependency) when the bulk of the linkages extend from the region to the metropole or core.

As with the modernization school, actual development outcomes contrary to their expectations have forced proponents of the dependency perspective to modify their views. So (1990) describes the characteristic of the new dependency studies saying that:

1. *The new dependency studies have paid more attention to historically specific situations.*
2. *The state of the Third World is no longer perceived as a dependent state for foreigners, but as an active agency that tacitly works together with local capital and international capital. In addition, it is the political struggle among the state, local capital, and international capital that shapes the ever-changing situations of dependency.*
3. *The final characteristic of the new dependency studies is their willingness to acknowledge the existence of two contradictory processes – dependency and development (So 1990, 164 - 165).*

4.1.2.2. *The World System Perspective*

The world-system perspective (Wallerstein, 1979) arose in response to dissatisfaction with the conflicting modernization and dependency perspectives on development. It addresses the regional development process within the context of a global economic system. While an outgrowth of the dependency perspective, it differs from it in several respects.

The world-system perspective asserts that the capitalist economy has evolved into a single world-wide economic system that accommodates all manner of cultural and political systems and to which all such systems must adapt. The world system perspective rejects the conflicting bi-modal, unidirectional structure of the dependency and modernization perspectives in favour of a tri-modal one consisting of the periphery, the semiperiphery and the core. It anticipates movements in both directions among the three stages of development and stresses that the current circumstances of a particular state or region are transitory and potentially reversible. The perspective accommodates the possibility of a unique outcome in a particular region shaped in part by the characteristics of the region, its people and their culture.

4.1.2.3. *The Modes of Production School*

The modes of production school arose from dissatisfaction with the dependency perspective of Frank and others and the world system perspective of Wallerstein (both often characterized as being 'neo-Marxist' in their approach). Corbridge (1989) says that the 'modes' school is a return to a more classic Marxist approach from these neo-Marxist ones.

The classic Marxist criticism of the dependency perspective centers on the nature and source of the surplus that is exploited by the capitalist economic system. They (classic Marxists) hold that this surplus is generated not by unequal exchange (as argued by the 'dependenistas') but from production; hence the emphasis on modes of production. Those arguing for a classic Marxist approach also criticize Frank and Wallerstein for seeing the capitalist mode of production everywhere and not acknowledging the presence and role of other pre- and co-existing modes of production.

The modes of production school has three variants: i) the articulation of modes, ii) the peripheral mode, and iii) the internationalization of capital. All three variants have in common a core/periphery view of the world and seek to explain the reasons for the development of the former and the persistent chronic underdevelopment of the later. All view the global capitalist economy (a particular mode of production) as the integral factor in their explanation. The three differ about the mechanism through which the global capitalist system imposes and maintains the inequality between the core and the periphery.

The articulation of modes variant sees the capitalist mode from the core entering a peripheral area where other modes exist (traditional and/or feudal/plantation). Initially, the capitalist mode draws on these other modes for its benefit (i.e. surplus "free" labour, required resources). Over time, the externally-controlled capitalist mode grows in strength supplanting or marginalizing the other modes. In supplanting or marginalizing the other modes, the capitalist mode does not reproduce a 'modern economy' in the periphery but rather one that is integrated (articulated) into the global economy in a dependent fashion. This process is lengthy and may never be complete with traditional and/or feudal/plantation modes persisting alongside the capitalist mode indefinitely.

The peripheral mode of production school sees the same economy in the periphery; that is, a combination of capitalism, feudalism/plantation, and traditional modes. It differs from the 'articulation variant' in that it does not see this as a transitional stage during which one mode -- capitalism -- is in articulation with one or two other modes. Rather, this variant views the entire package as a 'mode' in its own right -- one consisting of a combination of pre-capitalist modes locked in an unequal and persistently dependent relationship with the core through the workings of the global capitalist economy.

The internationalization of capital variant takes the view (as does Frank) that capitalism is globally pervasive and that the economies of peripheral countries are part of the capitalist mode. Their underdevelopment is an outcome of their place/role in that mode. Of the three variants, this last one is the closest to Frank's original dependency perspective.

In summary, the dependency and world system perspectives focus on unequal exchange between the core and the periphery and the expropriation of the surplus from that exchange by the core. In contrast, the modes school focuses on the surplus from production and its tendency to accrue to the capitalist mode and, through its control of this mode, to the core. However, all three radical perspectives paint the same bleak picture of the prospects for the people of the periphery as an outcome of interaction with the global capitalist economy -- chronic dependency and under-development.

4.1.3. Concluding Comments on the Orthodox and Radical Perspectives

In spite of the recent modifications to each, the expectations of the (orthodox) modernization and radical perspectives remain irreconcilable one with the other and with many of the actual outcomes in developing regions. Is the outcome of interaction with the capitalist economic system full development with the possible retention of unique aspects of traditional culture (neo-modernization) or is it dependency with the chronic poverty allayed to some degree by incomplete development (neo-dependency)? The modes of production school does little to resolve this dilemma. Its three variants all see the periphery as a creature of the capitalist core with its economic activity controlled by, and subservient to, the core.

A resolution of this seemingly irreconcilable difference between the orthodox and radical perspectives is essential before the likelihood of success of the emerging First Nations approach to economic development can be assessed. It is comforting to note that

concern about the limitations of the orthodox and radical perspectives is not limited to a First Nations context. For example, Brohman says that there has been a realization that

neither mainstream nor radical frameworks offer viable solutions to critical Third World problems ... Tired old conceptual dichotomies (e.g. modernization-dependency, internal-external) seem no longer to afford needed explanatory power. On a more practical level, none of the traditional approaches seems capable of offering a coherent alternative strategy or viable way out of the present crisis (Brohman 1996, 24).

In fact, the search for a solution to the impasse between the orthodox and radical perspectives has been widespread. This search and the views on development flowing from it are the subjects of the next section.

4.2. *The Emergence of Contingent Perspectives on Development*

Faced with the conflict between them, many have rejected both the orthodox and radical perspectives as incomplete with each describing a possible, but not inevitable, outcome of interaction between a developing region and the global capitalist economy¹⁶. For example, Stuart Corbridge says that:

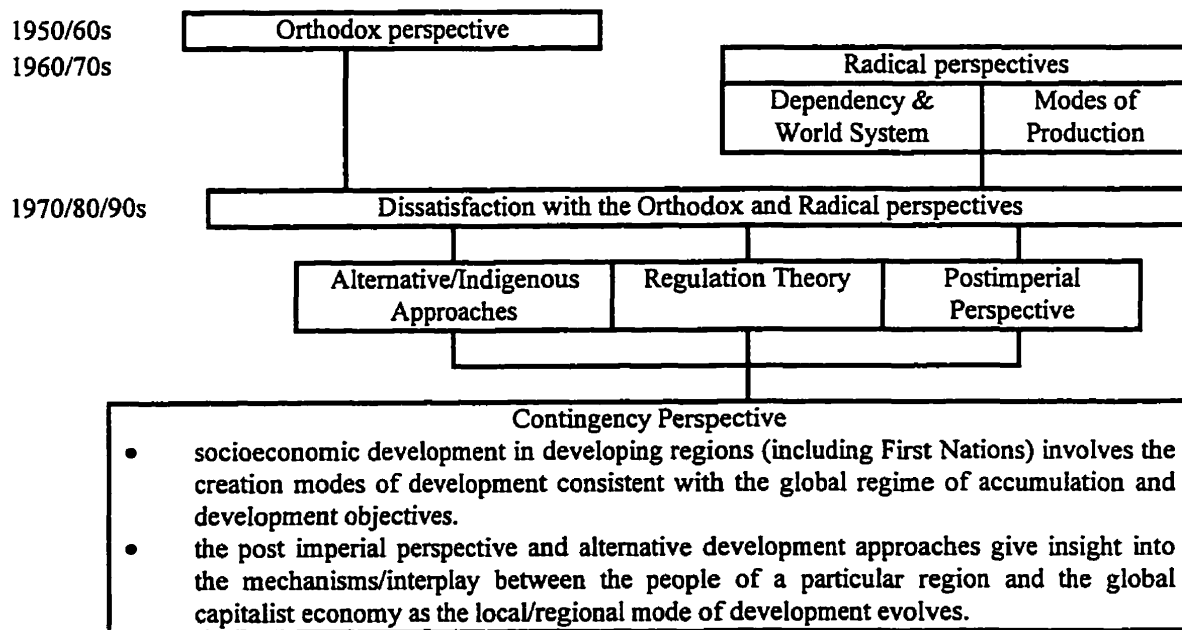
The changing contours of global production are no more accessible to accounts of modernization theory and neoclassical economics than they are to MDS [Marxist development studies]: indeed, a metatheoretical commitment to the logic of diffusion or to freely functioning markets is even less fitted to the task than is a faith in the development of underdevelopment (Corbridge 1989, 624).

Instead, many argue that the outcome experienced at a particular time and in a particular place is contingent on a variety of factors, many of which are under at least the partial control of the people of the developing region. In this vein, Corbridge says that there is a

¹⁶ For example, see Bertramsen 1991, Brohman 1996, Corbridge 1989 & 1990, Friedman 1992, Thomsen 1991, Shatz 1987a and 1987b, Stander and Becker 1987, Straussfogel 1997 and Torfing 1991.

powerful trend “towards theories of capitalist development which emphasize contingency. ... a new emphasis on human agency and the provisional and highly skilled task of reproducing social relations” (Corbridge 1989, 633). Figure 4-1 summarizes this evolution.

In the following sections, three of the emerging perspectives that emphasize the contingent nature of the outcomes of the development process are reviewed in search of greater insight into the First Nations approach to development and the likelihood of its success. Following this review, a ‘contingency perspective’ on development is proposed that is an amalgam of the three perspectives.



Source: Anderson and Bone 1995a, 124

Figure 4-1: The Emergence of a Contingency Perspective

4.2.1. Regulation Theory

Regulation theory is one of the new approaches to development that emphasize contingency and human agency. Hirst and Zeitlin say that it executes

a slalom between the orthodoxies of neo-classical equilibrium theory and classical Marxism to produce a rigorous but nondeterministic account of the phases of capitalist development that leave considerable scope for historical variation and national diversity (Hirst and Zeitlin 1992, 84).

Expanding on the notion of diversity, Elam says that regulation theory addresses the complex interrelationship between national and subnational units and global capitalist economy. On one hand, national and regional units are seen as constantly in a state of flux as they adjust to broader processes of influence in the global economy. On the other hand, these broader global influences “are seen as having essentially local origins” (Elam 1994, 66). Extending the discussion, Torfing (1991) says that regulation theory refuses to explain the dynamics and outcomes of capitalism in terms of necessary and abstract ‘laws’. Instead, the economy is seen as an evolving social system created by people with its ‘laws’ at a particular time “socially determinate and always related to a precise specification of the historical conditions of their validity” (Torfing 1991, 68). The process of regulation involves the “dynamic formation of rules, norms and institutions which are ... constantly altered as we progress. The contingent process of regulation reflects the contingent nature of what is regulated” (Torfing 1991, 73). In other words, it is the actions of people that determine the characteristics of the economic system rather than the system that determines the actions of people.

Regulation theory analyzes the evolution of the capitalist economy “in terms of a series of **modes of development** based on a combination of **regimes of accumulation** and **modes of regulation**” (Hirst and Zeitlin 1992, 84-85). These concepts are the key to understanding regulation theory and are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The regime of accumulation determines the general possibilities for the capitalist economy (Torfing 1991). Peck and Tickell describe the regime of accumulation as:

The dominant mode of economic growth and distribution. Elements of the accumulation system include the conditions of production (such as the amount of capital invested, the distribution of capital among the various branches and the norms of production) and the conditions of consumption (Peck and Tickell 1992, 349).

In the same vein, Scott says that:

A regime of accumulation can be rather simply defined as a historically specific production apparatus (in capitalism) through which surplus is generated, appropriated, and redeployed. ...[it has] four distinctive elements:

- (a) a set of production techniques,*
- (b) a characteristic way of organizing production and labor relations,*
- (c) a distributional mechanism governing the appropriation and redeployment of the surplus,*
- (d) a process of aggregate demand driving forward the evolution of productive capacity (Scott, 1988 p. 8&9).*

Finally, the regime of accumulation is a “relationship between production and consumption defined at the level of the international economy as a whole” (Hirst and Zeitlin 1992, 85).

Speaking of the modes of social regulation that combine with the global regime of accumulation to form various modes of development, Scott says that stability in the economic system is:

dependent on the emergence of a further set of social relations that preserve it, for a time at least, from catastrophic internal collisions and breakdowns. These relations constitute a mode of social regulation. They are made up of a series of formal and informal structures of governance and stabilization ranging from the state through business and labor associations, to modes of socialization which create ingrained habits of behaviour, and so on (Scott 1988, 9).

Hirst and Zeitlin agree saying that a mode of social regulation (MSR)

is a complex of institutions and norms which secure, at least for a certain period, the adjustment of individual agents and social groups to the overarching principle of the accumulation regime. ... composed of a number of interrelated elements: the form of monetary and credit relationships; the wage-labor nexus; the type of competition; the mode of adhesion to the international regime; and the form of state intervention (Hirst and Zeitlin 1992, 85).

While regulation theory does not prescribe the exact nature of a particular mode of social regulation, the authors reviewed generally agree that:

1. A regime of accumulation does not create or require a particular mode of social regulation, "each regime, in short, may be regulated in a multiplicity of ways" (Scott 1988, 9).
2. Because modes of social regulation are based on such things as "habits and customs, social norms, enforceable laws and state forms" (Peck and Tickel 1992, 349) unique modes "can exist at virtually any territorial level -- local, regional, national, global" (Storper and Walker 1989, 215).

A mode of development is the coupling of a particular mode of regulation with the currently dominant global regime of accumulation. Torfing describes it as the articulation of "a regime of accumulation with the institutional features of a mode of regulation into a regulatory ensemble capable of generating growth, prosperity and social peace in the context of the international division of labor" (Torfing 1991, 77). Hirst and Zeitlin (1992) echo this definition and then go on to stress that "each mode of development also contains its own internal limits -- reflecting the deeper contradictions of capitalism as a mode of production - and eventually comes to decay over time" (Hirst and Zeitlin 1992, 85).

According to regulation theory, periodically this decay causes a system-wide crisis that in turn results in the emergence of a new regime of accumulation and modes of social regulation. This process is not automatic nor are its outcomes preordained. Instead the new modes of development that emerge depend “on the strategic choices and political struggles of the major social actors” (Hirst and Zeitlin 1992, 85). Corbridge (1989) says regulation theory indicates that the capitalist system has gone through four stages in the Twentieth Century (see Figure 4-2). The evolution of the capitalist economic system has implications for First Nations and others developing and pursuing an economic development strategy. The emergence of a new regime of accumulation following a period of crisis creates the need and opportunity to develop new modes of social regulation and resulting modes of development. As the following material indicates, the global economy is in the midst of just such a period of adjustment.

In stage one, the system was in equilibrium. Stage two was a period of crisis or disequilibrium resulting from a shift from the extensive to the Fordist regime of accumulation. Equilibrium returned in stage three when a suitable mode of social regulation emerges. The fourth (current) stage is also one of crisis. Most authors (Dicken 1992, Getimis and Kafkalas 1992, Gottdiener and Komninos 1989, Komninos 1989, Peck and Tickel 1992, Scott 1988 and Storper and Walker 1989) suggest this crisis -- the collapse of the Fordist equilibrium -- was caused by a failure of the monopolistic mode of social regulation to accommodate changes in the nature of the regime of accumulation. This collapse, and the equilibrium that is struggling to emerge from it, are discussed in some detail in the remainder of this section.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Regime of Accumulation</u>	<u>Modes of Social Regulation</u>
Stage 1: Prior to 1920	extensive: expanded reproduction of the capitalist system, sharp international divisions of labour, orientation to external markets; colonial or imperialistic capitalism	competitive: national regimes of accumulation adjust to one another through exchange and interest rates; output is adjusted and wages are adjusted to changes in price; classic economics
Stage 2: 1920 to 1945	intensive: emergence of Fordism, mass production based on the principles of Henry Ford and Frederick Taylor, growth of vertically integrated corporations	Competitive: as above; is in crisis, unable to regulate Fordist regime of accumulation; economic 1930s collapse; early emergence of Keynesian policies; World War II
Stage 3: 1945 to 1965	intensive: expansion of Fordism, growing importance of multinational corporations, international trade, increased mobility of capital	monopolistic: increase in productivity matched by increase in consumption through sharing of surplus and promotion of mass consumption; collective bargaining, minimum wage laws, unemployment insurance, etc. to share surplus and support mass consumption; Keynesian economic policies re: business cycle; international regulation of capital -- Bretton Woods, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, etc.
Stage 4: 1965 to present	flexible accumulation	monopolistic: as above; is in crisis, unable to regulate flexible accumulation; collapse of Bretton Woods in the face capital mobility; demise of Keynesian economic policy because of growing government deficits, recurring periods of inflation and recession, Third World Debt crisis, etc..

Source: based on Corbridge 1989

Figure 4-2: The Evolution of the Capitalist Economic System

The Fordist equilibrium is well described by Getimis and Kafkalas (1992, 74) as consisting of:

The Fordist compromise, a regime of accumulation according to which mass production was matched with mass consumption through a constant sharing-out of value added and the parallel growth of real income and productivity.

and

Keynesian policies, a mode of regulation whereby social legislation, collective bargaining, and welfare measure, together with credit controls, [that] allowed the regulation of demand and investment.

Storper and Walker (1989, 151) provide a typical description of the characteristics of the

Fordist regime of accumulation:

- *large capital-intensive factories organized around either continuous flow processes (e.g. petrochemicals, steel) or assembly-line processes (e.g. cars, electrical machinery);*
- *production and marketing posited on standardization of output, long production runs, and dedicated, non-adaptable capital equipment;*
- *large firms internalizing large parts of production systems, seeking to enhance internal economies of scale;*
- *the factory of the large corporation occupying the critical position between upstream suppliers and downstream fabricators, who often manufacture using batch production methods;*
- *multiplant oligopolistic corporations operating within a relatively stable competitive framework;*
- *industry-wide unions with national contracts.*

Peck and Tickel (1992, 349) offer insight into the mode of social regulation associated with Fordism saying that:

The Fordist system of accumulation was complemented by a monopolistic MSR [mode of social regulation], which served to secure the conditions appropriate to the maintenance of mass labor and consumer demand. The state played a particularly important role here, as through Keynesian policies it sought to minimize the vulnerability of the accumulation system to cyclical recessions.

Under the broad umbrella of the global Keynesian mode of social regulation, distinctive national and regional variants emerged (for example the ‘free enterprise’ approach of the United States and the ‘social democratic’ approach of the Scandinavian countries).

The Fordist coupling began to collapse in the 1970s. Causes of this collapse include: technical limits to rigid fixed capital production techniques, working class resistance to Taylorist and Fordist forms of work organization (Jessop 1989), a change in consumption patterns “toward a greater variety of use values ... [that] cannot be easily satisfied through mass production” (Amin 1994, 12), the increasing mobility of capital and the resulting ability of transnational corporations (TNCs) to move among spatially-

bounded regulatory jurisdictions in the pursuit of greater profits (Leyshon 1989), and in the face of this internationalization of capital, the inability of national Keynesian policies to avert crisis (Komninos 1989).

According to regulation theory, the crisis in Fordism has ushered in a period of turmoil (that continues still) in the capitalist economic system as a new regime of accumulation and associated modes of social regulation, struggle to emerge. Most authors agree that the restructuring of the global economy in response to the crisis in Fordism has involved, and continues to involve, a "selective move from mass production to various forms of flexible production" (Norcliffe 1994, 2). For example, Amin and Malmberg (1994, 119) say that the "irreversible growth in recent decades of consumer sovereignty, market volatility and fragmentation, and shortened life cycles for products require that production be organized on an extremely flexible basis". In a similar vein, Ash Amin says that the ongoing transition to a post-Fordist economy has resulted in companies:

Shifting emphasis in production from scale economies, rigid technologies and compartmentalization toward scope economies, flexible manufacturing systems and the integration of design, production and marketing (Amin 1994, 17).

Storper and Walker (1989, 152), compare the emerging flexible regime with Fordism, saying that flexible production systems have:

- *more general purpose equipment and machinery, especially machines based around variable labor processes and/or programmable computerized equipment;*
- *smaller, more specialized workplaces and firms and greater reliance on subcontracting;*
- *greater attention to demand variations, to which the quantity of inputs and outputs can be rapidly adjusted by altering the procedures or the mix of participants;*

- *collective social and institutional order in place of hierarchical control exercised by the mass production corporation;*
- *more temporary and part-time hiring and more relaxed internal rules for assigning workers and managers to various tasks.*

Business literature echoes regulation theory's view that the capitalist economy is passing through a period of crisis from which a flexible regime of accumulation is emerging. For example, Steven Goldman (1995) in an issue paper examining leading edge management processes and practices for the Society of Management Accountants of Canada, says that:

A new system of creation, production and distribution of goods and services has begun to take shape. It is defined by a distinct set of relationships, interdependencies, and forms of interaction among suppliers, producers, distributors, and customers. It demands new approaches to organizing, operating, and measuring the performance of both individual companies and clusters of cooperating companies. It will entail sweeping changes in social institutions, as well as social and personal values (Goldman 1995, 1).

Goldman calls this new system 'agile production' and the companies exhibiting these characteristics 'agile corporations'. He elaborates on the changes in companies associated with the shift to agile (flexible) production, saying that they include:

- *organizing the operational workforce into cross-functional teams, ranging from manager-led to self-directing;*
- *distributing decision-making authority much more widely, reducing the levels of middle management;*
- *systematically bench-marking business process and production operations against external standards;*
- *integrating the flow of information across divisions within the company and between the company and other companies, especially suppliers and customers;*
- *creating a more open internal information environment, and a culture of universal workforce accountability and mutual responsibility for the company's success;*

- *introducing concurrent engineering, that is, integrating the design, engineering, manufacturing, marketing, finance, and service dimensions of new product development;*
- *highlighting customer responsiveness as a primary and universal company value;*
- *developing new products cooperatively with suppliers, and even collaboratively with competitors* (Goldman 1995, 5).

Goldman expands on the last point stressing that strategic and interactive relationships among networks of companies are often the most effective way of producing complex goods and services in “a competitive environment of continuous and unanticipated change”. In such an environment it may “be advantageous on the grounds of cost, speed, or market penetration, to utilize only some company-owned resources, combining them with others available in other companies” (Goldman 1995, 6-7). This shift to a strategy of alliances and networks suggests that the First Nations’ emphasis on joint ventures with non-First Nations is well-founded.

A number of authors offer observations about the nature of the modes of social regulation and the resulting modes of development that are emerging in various places as people struggle to adapt to the demands of the emerging flexible regime of accumulation. Two aspects of these emerging modes are particularly significant. First, there is evidence of an increasing emphasis on local/regional and global strategies at the expense of national approaches. For example, Amin and Malmberg (1994, 222) say the crisis in the global economy has resulted in “new opportunities for the location of economic activities” and that “the geography of post-Fordist production is said to be at once local and global”. Second, many of the emerging modes of development attempt a seemingly incompatible simultaneous emphasis on competition and on coordination,

cooperation and trust. These efforts seek to create networks, alliances and other methods of cooperation among various local and global players as they seek a competitive advantage in the global economy at the expense of other networks and alliances.

With respect to the local/global aspect of the emerging modes of development, Peck and Tickell (1992, 352) suggest that "geographies of accumulation interact with one another (as well as pre-existing spatial structures), to produce unique regional couplings ". Peck and Tickell's observations about unique regional flexible accumulation couplings (modes of development) are echoed by other authors. For example, Gottdiener and Komninos (1989) suggest that different societies have embarked on their own modes of development which stand in subtle contrast despite similarities. Komninos (1989), writing separately, says that there has been a shift to the local as an important level of regulation as a result of the collapse of the national modes associated with Fordism. He suggests that development initiatives are increasingly in the hands of local or regional institutions and enterprises, often in joint venture. Scott (1988, 108) says that new industrial spaces result from a "very specific articulation of local social conditions with wider coordinates of capitalist development in general". Finally, Dicken (1992, 307) emphasizes that successful participation in the global economic system "is created and sustained through a highly localized process" and that "economic structures, values, cultures, institutions and histories contribute profoundly to that success". The strategy adopted by the First Nations is an example of this 'highly localized process' of development involving participation in the global economy.

Moving from the local to the global level, Peck and Tickel and others caution against over estimating the power of, and the prospects for, particular localities in the face of the fierce competition that is part of the emerging global accumulation system, saying that:

It is difficult to see how local strategies can do anything other than bend to the will of global competition ... The basic difficulty lies in trying to establish local order in the face of global disorder (Peck and Tickel 1994, 298).

Jessop agrees saying that the “local economy can only be seen as a node within a global economic network” (Jessop 1994, 271). Expanding on this, Amin and Malmberg suggest that because transnational corporations (TNCs) have emerged as the prime players in the global economy there is a “growing dependence of such development [at the local level] on the events and decisions within a wider corporate division of labour” (Amin and Malmberg 1994, 235). Dicken (1993) says that it is folly to assume that the local will have significant power and control in the emerging regime of accumulation unless it possesses unique resources. From this, it follows that an effective mode of development is more likely to emerge among a people or in a region that controls such key resources. Further, such a mode must involve interaction directly or indirectly with the key payers in the global economy -- the TNCs. Again, the First Nations appear to be on the right track with their strategy of business development through alliances and joint ventures and capacity building through resource acquisition.

As a note of caution, several authors warn that the success of one locality in the global system is often achieved at the expense of failure in other places. Such success can be transitory in the face of the power of global actors and the competitive reaction of other localities as they in turn woo these global players. This specter emphasizes the need for

mechanisms of cooperation and coordination to curb destructive competition among developing regions.

Moving from the local/global aspect of the emerging modes of social regulation to the issues of competition, coordination and cooperation, Peck and Tickel (1994, 311) suggest that “solutions to the crisis of uneven development in *after*-Fordism are unlikely to come from the bottom - *through local competition* - but must begin with action from above - *through national and global coordination*”. Expanding on this notion, Peck and Tickell (1994, 282) say that a post-Fordist mode of social regulation “capable of restoring *sustainable* growth requires the reining in of the destructive processes of deregulated competition”. To do so, they say the relations within and between localities must be reconstituted through the establishment of coordinating regulatory mechanisms. For example, Jessop (1994, 272) suggests that “efforts to make regional economies more competitive in the new global economy” involve strategies to foster cooperation and coordination including such things as “labour market policies, education and training, technology transfer, venture capital, innovation centres, science parks, and so forth.” Amin and Malmberg (1994, 230) express similar sentiments about the necessary local/regional coordinating responses saying that they involve a:

local pool of expertise and know-how; a social structure and a culture which encourages labour flexibility and social cooperation as a result of face to face contact and the build up of communal ties; and the growth of a local infrastructure of specialized services, distribution networks and supply structures.

While Hirsch and Zeitlin say that:

Flexible specialization depends for its long-term success on an irreducible minimum of trust and cooperation among economic actors ... the

establishment of rules limiting certain forms of competition ... as well as on collective institutions for the supply of nonmarket inputs such as technological information and trained labor [and] ... the resolution of disputes (Hirst and Zeitlin 1992, 76).

The First Nations, in their approach to development, address the issues of supralocal cooperation and coordination through the organizational structures they have created (e.g. Tribal Councils, the FSIN and similar bodies in other provinces, the AFN and the World Council of Indigenous Peoples), their activities at the United Nations and other international bodies, their capacity-building efforts, and their emphasis on competition through cooperation involving business alliances and joint ventures.

In summary, regulation theory holds that communities, regions and nations are all part of the global economic system and must accommodate themselves to the requirements of that system's currently dominant regime of accumulation. The present period is one of transition from the Fordist to a flexible regime. This time of transition provides a particular developing people with an opportunity to establish their place in the new global economy through the creation of a mode of development that reflects their values, cultures, institutions and histories and can meet their needs and objectives. The potential for success in a particular instance is enhanced through the control resources valued by key players in the global economic system. As a particular region or people strive for success they will be competing with others with similar objectives. Destructive competition between regions has the potential to result in arrangements highly skewed to the benefit of the transnational players in the economy at the expense of developing people. Therefore, a set supralocal regulatory mechanisms complementary to the modes of social regulation adopted by particular peoples must be established to mediate

competition among them and limit its destructiveness. Only if this can be done will the potential for development consistent with local/regional needs that is inherent in the emerging flexible global regime be realized.

According to a number of authors (Bertramsen 1991, Corbridge 1989, Jessop 1989, Thomsen 1991, Torfing 1991), regulation theory does not provide much insight into how a particular mode of social regulation, consistent with the nature and needs of a particular people, can be developed and successfully coupled with the dominant regime of accumulation to form a successful mode of development. However, alternative development strategies and the postimperial perspective, the subjects of the next subsections, do offer such insight.

4.2.2. The Postimperial Perspective

Becker and Sklar (1987, ix) describe postimperialism as "an idea about the political and social organization of international capitalism". It is a:

paradigmatic conception of late 20th-century international capitalism. . . . it seeks to explain what notions of capitalist imperialism cannot: the observation that in the world's fully industrialized capitalist countries, national interests are increasingly distinct from the interests of dominant classes; whereas in the countries of the third world, the two sets of interests are increasingly congruent (Stander and Becker, 1990).

A key characteristic of the postimperial perspective is its emphasis on class. Rather than treating developing and developed areas as monolithic wholes that interact one with another, the perspective contends that the relationship between such areas is shaped by the actions of, and interactions among, certain groups or classes.

According to Becker and Sklar (1987), within developing regions a managerial bourgeoisie, consisting the entrepreneurial and bureaucratic elite (the managers of firms, politicians, professionals and the like) has emerged as the dominant class. Members of this class make the decisions about economic development goals, strategies and structures, including the approach taken to participation in the global economy (mode of development). They also direct and control the activities intended to attain these development objectives. At the same time, with the emergence of transnational corporations (TNCs) as the dominant force in the capitalist economy, the authors suggest that an international corporate bourgeoisie has appeared that exercises significant control over the activities of the global economy. The mode of development that emerges in a particular place is in large part determined by the objectives established and strategies adopted by the managerial bourgeoisie and the corporate international bourgeoisie, the arrangements negotiated among them, and the actions taken by them. This view of the role played by key players is supported by others including Hirst and Zeitlin who say that “which of the possible [post-Fordist] outcomes or scenarios prevails will depend ultimately on the struggles of the key players: state decision makers, capitalist managers, and trade union leaders” (Hirst and Zeitlin 1992, 86).

The postimperial perspective offers insight into the likely behaviour of the corporate international bourgeoisie in developing regions. Proponents of the perspective contend that the managers of TNCs have no particular national allegiance but rather “are ideologically disposed to have each branch of the corporation behave like a 'good corporate citizen' of the country in which it is domiciled”. (Stander and Becker 1987,

197). According to Stander and Becker, this behavioural disposition of TNCs, called 'The Doctrine of Domicile' by R. L. Sklar (1987), arises because:

The TNC's interest in maximizing global profitability and avoiding suboptimization at a subsidiary level will be weighed against another, equally important interest: the corporation must legitimize its host-country presence in order to obtain the stability it needs to plan the maximization of capital accumulation under its control (Stander and Becker 1990, 198).

Tavis and Glade (1988) in their observations about the behaviour of TNCs in developing regions offer support for the Doctrine of Domicile. They suggest that there are three possible approaches to interaction with developing regions available to TNCs -- power-based, participative and combined strategies. The authors contend that while power-based strategies dominated in the past, participative strategies are now necessary if TNCs are to assure their long-term survival. The authors attribute this shift to a number of factors including:

1. Changing expectations about what constitutes ethical and responsible TNC behaviour.
2. Increased TNC experience in developing regions and especially the partial naturalization of multinational management in overseas subsidiaries.
3. The growth of a business infrastructure in developing regions.
4. More experienced, technically competent, and self-confident organizations for negotiation and economic administration in developing regions.

This TNC behaviour (the Doctrine of Domicile) is a manifestation of the approach to corporate social responsibility adopted by a firm's managers/owners. Various authors address the subject of the changing nature of corporate social responsibility as it is

perceived by people at large and by those within the corporation. James Brummer (1991) and Ahmed Belkaoui (1987) provide particularly useful and comprehensive reviews of the subject.

James Brummer (1991) in his analysis of corporate social responsibility suggests that there are four perspectives on the issue: classical, stakeholder, social demandingness and social activist. According to the classical perspective economic performance is greatest when corporate executives respond only to the economic interests of the company's shareholders. It is argued that society's best interests are served when its specialized institutions (for-profit businesses, non-profit organizations, governments, etc.) focus exclusively on their particular functions. The social obligations of businesses are confined to satisfying legal and economic criteria. Socially responsible behaviour not mandated by law will not be pursued because it imposes unnecessary costs on the business and therefore reduces profits. Proponents argue that if a segment of society desires some good or service they should build a market for it or urge government to either supply it or require business to do so.

The stakeholder approach suggests that a business's responsibilities extend beyond shareholders to include those who: (i) are, or are likely to be, directly affected by the decisions and activities of the business; (ii) have an explicit contractual relationship with it, and/or (iii) can directly affect the corporation. Corporate executives may respond to the interests of stakeholders out of corporate (shareholder) and/or individual self-interest, because such a response is demanded by law, in response to, or in anticipation of, public pressure, and/or from a genuine desire to benefit the lives of stakeholders.

According to the social demandingness theory, corporations are responsible to carry out those activities that are expected or demanded of them by society. Managers should solicit and consider the opinions, demands and/or expectations of members of the public (not just stakeholders) regarding corporate activities and respond to the interests and needs expressed. Most theorists adopting this perspective contend that society's social and moral demands on businesses have been increasing over the past decades. It is no longer enough for firms to provide goods and services to the public for profit; they are expected to meet social and moral responsibilities as well.

The social activist approach holds that there is a universal standard for determining responsible corporate conduct that is independent of the interests of stockholders and the claims of stakeholders. This standard demands concern for the ideal or rational interests of the public, rather than their expressed or present interests. Therefore, the standard of responsible corporate conduct is independent of current circumstances and even current interests of various groups and is absolute and universal -- it has an ethical, religious and/or metaphysical basis.

In a similar vein, Belkaoui (1987), in his book **Corporate Social Accounting**, suggests that society increasingly expects businesses to consider issues beyond profit maximization and that these expectations have resulted in three new and related paradigms: (i) the new economic paradigm, (ii) the rectification paradigm, and (iii) the ethical paradigm.

The new economic paradigm seeks to rationalize two differing views -- libertarianism and radical economics. These views represent the extremes on a continuum of opinion concerning the preeminence of either the market or the state. Each of these views has its own rigid set of solutions to complex economic and social problems. Social and institutional economists occupy a more moderate position on this continuum holding that:

The economic paradigm governing the relationships of the corporation and society need not be the role or importance of the market and/or the state as in libertarianism or radical economics but a clear statement of national and social goals based on a commitment to human and welfare and social justice and experimentation with institutional arrangements to solve economic and social problems (Belkaoui 1987, 13).

The basis of the rectification paradigm is the premise that the corporation is an active market and social agent whose actions will either worsen or improve the socioeconomic conditions. The continuum of rectification options available to the organization extends from complete indifference to an active role in rectifying social problems. Belkaoui suggests that:

Complete indifference would definitely be harmful to the long-term interests of the firm. Involvement in some forms of rectification is a way of ensuring mutual acceptance by society and a role in securing social order and affluence (Belkaoui 1987, 14).

The ethical paradigm is similar to the rectification paradigm in that it also recognizes that a corporation's actions have the potential to impact positively or negatively on society. Again, a continuum of possible responses exists. At one extreme are the constructionists who argue that a business serves society best when it concentrates on the objective of profit maximization. The company should undertake social activities only if

they aid in the pursuit of this objective or are imposed by law. At the other end of the continuum are those who argue that an ethical corporation has an obligation to behave in a socially responsible manner even if that behaviour interferes with profit maximization. Such a firm pursues a set of goals including social objectives and fair profits.

A synthesis of the three development paradigms described by Belkaoui and the approaches to corporate social responsibility described by Brummer, is possible. In that synthesis, corporate approaches to social responsibility and long-term survival range between two extremes (see Figure 4-3).

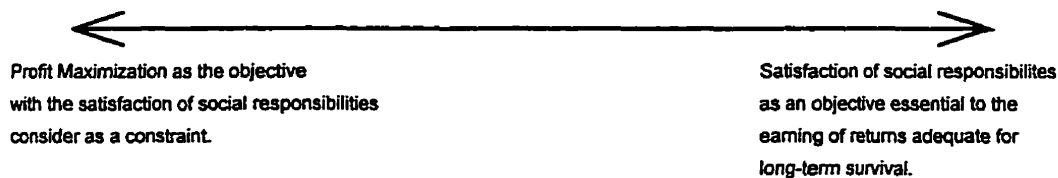


Figure 4-3: Corporate Social Responsibility and Long-Run Survival

Belkaoui, Brummer and others (Armstrong 1982, Davis 1991, Goldman 1995) suggest that society's expectations and the requirements of flexible or agile competition are combining to force businesses to shift their approach toward the right end of the continuum. Goldman says that:

Management must support a proactive posture toward operations-relevant social values. ... Agility [flexible competition] reflects a competitive environment that links producers and consumers far more closely than the mass production environment does. A hostile internal or external social environment precludes agility. A company cannot routinely reconfigure itself in response to changing market opportunities if it must continually fight battles ... over the environmental and community impact of its operations (Goldman 1995, 20).

Goldman goes on to say that it is “advantageous for companies to internalize social values, rather than having them constrain their operations from the outside” (Goldman 1995, 30). These arguments flowing from the Doctrine of Domicile suggest that at least some companies will be receptive to arrangements intended to satisfy the development objectives of the people of the First Nations so long as such arrangements do not impair the companies’ ability to survive in the global economy.

According to Sayre Shatz (1987b), the development strategies adopted and the actions taken by people in developing regions indicate that they believe that businesses’ approach to social responsibility is shifting in the manner described. He suggests that people in developing regions exhibit one of three approaches to interaction with TNCs - the acceptance, the rejection, or the pragmatic. He characterizes the approaches as follows:

The acceptance approach conceives of MNE [multinational enterprise] expansion as economically rational, with benefits considerably outweighing costs for the host as well as home country. The rejection approach sees MNE activities as essentially baleful, with harm to the host countries overshadowing benefits. Between these two is the pragmatic approach which views MNE operations as mixed in effect; which believes that feasible government pressures can produce a worthwhile improvement in the benefit-cost mix; and which therefore advocates intelligent bargaining by host governments (Shatz 1987b, 108-109).

It is Shatz’s contention supported by others that the pragmatic approach has become the strategy of choice for most developing people including the First Nations in Canada¹⁷.

¹⁷ For example, see Anderson and Bone 1995a & b, Anderson 1995, Friedman 1992, Decker and Kowal 1989, MLTC 1993, 4, 5 a&b, Notzke 1994, and Pitelis 1991.

The assertively pragmatic approach of the Tahltan people of British Columbia toward companies wishing to develop natural resources on their traditional lands is typical.

We wish to make it very clear that the Tahltan People and the Tahltan Tribal Council are not inherently opposed to any specific type of business or resource development within our country. However, we do feel strongly that any development within our tribal territory must adhere to some basic principles.

Before a resource development project can commence within Tahltan territory, it will be necessary for the developer and the Tahltan Tribal Council to enter into a project participation agreement that encompasses the following elements and basic principles:

- 1. assurance that the development will not pose a threat of irreparable environmental damage;*
- 2. assurance that the development will not jeopardize, prejudice or otherwise compromise the outstanding Tahltan Aboriginal rights claim;*
- 3. assurance that the project will provide more positive than negative social impacts on the Tahltan people;*
- 4. provision for the widest possible opportunity for education and direct employment-related training for Tahltan people in connection with the project;*
- 5. provision of the widest possible employment opportunities for the Tahltan people with respect to all phases of the development;*
- 6. provision for substantial equity participation by Tahltans in the total project;*
- 7. provision for the widest possible development of Tahltan business opportunities over which the developer may have control or influence;*
- 8. provision for the developer to assist the Tahltans to accomplish the objectives stated above by providing financial and managerial assistance and advice where deemed necessary (Notzke 1994, 215).*

Even allowing for TNC behaviour consistent with the doctrine of domicile, nothing in the postimperial perspective (or in regulation theory) suggests that the mode of development that emerges in a particular place will deliver benefits beyond its elites to

the general population. In fact the plight of the masses could be worsened, as has been the case for much of the 'development' that has occurred in the Third World to date. Alternative development approaches have emerged as a result of this failure and are discussed in the next subsection.

4.2.3. Alternative and Indigenous Development Approaches

According to Friedmann (1992) alternative or 'grassroots' approaches to development began to emerge in underdeveloped regions in the 1970s as a result of the failure of the growth maximization strategies pursued since the end of the Second World War. In describing this failure, he quotes from the Cocoyoc Declaration (issued at the conclusion of a United Nations-sponsored a conference in Cocoyoc in Mexico in 1974).

Thirty years have passed since the signing of the United Nations Charter launched the effort to establish a new international order. Today that order has reached a critical turning point. Its hopes for creating a better life for the whole human family have been largely frustrated. It has proved impossible to meet the "inner limits" of satisfying fundamental human needs. On the contrary, more people are hungry, sick, shelterless and illiterate today than when the United Nations was first set up. (Cocoyoc Declaration, 1974, pp. 170-1) (Friedmann 1992, 2).

Throughout the 1980s and into the 1990's, this failure continued and the circumstances of the world's poor deteriorated further. De Janvry and Sadoulet (1993, 663) say that during the 1980s there was:

1. A sharp rise in the incidence of poverty.
2. A deepening of dualism in the types of employment (precarious versus formal) and forms of economic activity (informal versus formal).
3. A sharp rise in inequality.

4. As part of austerity programs, a disproportionately large reduction in government social expenditures.

According to De Janvry and Sadoulet, the focus of the development strategies that failed to meet the needs of the poor of the world has shifted from an emphasis on the market to state and back over time. The market dominated during the liberal period from 1850 to 1930. The Great Depression during the 1930s and the emergence of newly independent nations following the Second World War resulted in a shift in emphasis to the state (Keynesian policies) which lasted until the late 1970's. During the late 1970s, the 1980s and the early 1990s, the market (and its principal players - the TNCs) regained ascendancy following the failure of Keynesian policies (deficits in developed countries, Third World debt crisis, recurring recessions and inflation, etc.). Although couched in different terms, this description of change over time in the capitalist economic system is similar to that offered by regulation theory. (See Figure 4-2)

Beginning in the 1970s and continuing to date, supporters of alternative or 'grassroots' development strategies have argued that in the face of the failure of development strategies centered on the market or the state to improve the circumstances of the world's poor, emphasis must shift to a third previously neglected sector -- the civil. For example, Nugent says:

Neither direct state intervention or indirect state influence through macro policies is a sufficient condition for success. Nor are the best efforts to utilize existing markets ... guaranteed to lead rural residents out of pervasive poverty. ... Failure can be attributed to the lack of vibrant, functional, and healthy local organizations and institutions [the civil sector] and can be overcome by their presence (Nugent 1993, 623).

In a similar vein, according to De Janvry, Sadoulet and Thorbecke

Many civil organizations have emerged as substitutes for the state and the market. When the state fails to deliver public goods, insurance, management of externalities, minimum basic needs and democratic rights, civil organizations may develop to fill the vacuum. The same holds for the market, where market failures may lead to the emergence of [civil] institutions (De Janvry, Sadoulet and Thorbecke 1993, 567).

While Peet and Watt say that the

Failings of neoliberal and authoritarian and bureaucratic development provided considerable momentum for a focus on institutions within civil society, especially agreements based on bargaining, cooperation, and persuasion (Peet and Watt 1993, 236).

Proponents of alternative development do not suggest that this third or civil sector can or should replace the market or state. Rather, according to Friedman, alternative development

accepts the existing system of global accumulation as a fact. It does not propose to turn away from it and shut the door. ... Broadly speaking, the objective of an alternative development is to humanize a system that has shut them [the poor] out. ... Its central objective is their inclusion in a restructured system that does not make them redundant (Friedmann 1992, 12-13).

Parallel to, in fact part of, the emergence of alternative approaches to development, there has been increasing attention paid to what are called 'Indigenous' approaches to development. Agrawal says that the failure of neo-liberal (market) and authoritarian and bureaucratic (state) approaches to development has led to a "focus on Indigenous knowledge and production systems" (Agrawal 1995, 414). He goes on to say that these efforts are an attempt "to reorient and reverse state policies and market forces to permit members of threatened populations to determine their own future" (Agrawal 1995, 432).

Bebbington suggests that “like it or not, Indigenous peoples are firmly integrated into a capricious and changing market. Their well-being and survival depends on how well they handle and negotiate this integration” (Bebbington 1993, 275). He goes on to say that the Indigenous approach is not to reject outright participation in the modern economy:

but rather to pursue local and grassroots control over modernization [and] ... over the economic and social relationships that traditionally have contributed to the transfer of income and value from the locality to other places and social groups (Bebbington 1993, 281).

Wiarda (1988) expresses a similar view saying that among Indigenous people there has been:

A rejection of the basic developmental models and paradigms originating in the West, both Marxian and non-Marxian varieties, and a corresponding assertion of non-Western, nonethnocentric and Indigenous ones (Wiarda 1988, 59).

He goes on to suggest that Indigenous people (and others) believe and behave as if there is “not just one or two (First and Second World) paths to development but many and diverse ones ... where a blending and fusion of these [traditional and modern] is both likely and more widespread” (Wiarda 1988, 60). This view is consistent with regulation theory’s view that successful participation in the global economy “is created and sustained through a highly localized process ... values, cultures, institutions and histories contribute profoundly” (Dicken 1992, 307).

Robinson and Ghostkeeper in two papers discuss economic development among Aboriginal people in Canada. The authors suggest that Aboriginal people are rejecting industrial development from the outside in favour of development strategies originating

in, and controlled by, the community “with the sanction of Indigenous culture” (Robinson and Ghostkeeper 1987, 139). In their second paper the authors argue that “a wide range of cultures may enable entrepreneurship and economic development to flourish” (Robinson and Ghostkeeper 1988, 173). They go on to suggest that the key to successful Indigenous development lies in recognizing in each culture those forces conducive to development and “designing development plans accordingly” (Robinson and Ghostkeeper 1988, 173).

A close parallel exists between alternative/Indigenous development's view of the role of the civil/Indigenous sector in determining the relationship between a particular region and the global economy and regulation theory's concept of local/regional modes of development in a post-Fordist world. For example, Friedmann (1992 vii) says the civil sector is structured by "class, caste, religion, language, regional identity, race, and gender", the same forces that, according to regulation theory, shape local and regional modes of social regulation and therefore modes of development. Combining the views of proponents of the regulation theory and of alternative/Indigenous development strategies, the participation of an active and effective civil sector is essential to the creation of a local/regional mode of development that improves the socioeconomic circumstances of the people of a developing region.

4.3. The Contingency Perspective

Regulation theory, the postimperial perspective and alternative development approaches have emerged from the impasse between the modernization and dependency perspectives. Common to all three perspectives is a focus on the relationship between a

developing region and the global economy. All take the view that economic activity in a particular region, while it is and must be integrated into the global economy, can exhibit characteristics unique to that region and serve the particular needs of its people. The three perspectives can be combined to form a contingency perspective on economic development (Figure 4-4).

From regulation theory, the proposed contingency perspective adopts five key concepts. First, at any particular time, the global capitalist economy is dominated by a regime of accumulation and the current period is one of transition from the Fordist to a flexible regime. Second, all communities, regions and nations are part of the global economy and must accommodate themselves to the requirements of its emerging dominant regime of accumulation. Third, the development of an appropriate mode of social regulation is the key to successful interaction with that regime; that is, the creation of an effective mode of development. Fourth, such a mode is "is created and sustained through a highly localized process" where "economic structures, values, cultures, institutions and histories contribute profoundly to that success [the creation of an effective mode]" (Dicken 1992, 307). Control of resources valued by the key players in the global economic system (TNCs) greatly increases the likelihood of success. Finally, while the local plays a key role in the development of a particular mode of development, supralocal mechanisms are necessary to coordinate and regulate the global economic system in order to minimize destructive competition between localities.

From the postimperial perspective, the contingency perspective holds that the relationship between a particular developing region and the global economy (the mode

of development) emerges as a result of interaction between the leaders of the developing region (the managerial bourgeoisie) and the capitalist economy (the corporate international bourgeoisie). Importantly, this interaction is not carried out in the abstract. Rather, it is played out in real time and in real places by real people with unique outcomes. Further, based on the doctrine of domicile (and the characteristics of flexible accumulation), the proposed perspective contends that there is the potential for the formation of mutually beneficial alliances of various types between developing regions and the main players in the global economy -- the TNCs -- as a part of the mode of development. Leadership and leaders play key role in the process. However, nothing in the postimperial perspective suggests the mode of development that emerges in a particular situation will necessarily deliver benefits beyond the elites to the general population of a particular developing region.

-
- Communities, regions and nations are all part of the global economy and must accommodate themselves to its dominant regime of accumulation
 - The nature of this accommodation with the global economy (mode of development) can reflect the needs and objectives of a particular developing people/region
 - The potential exists for negotiation of mutually beneficial arrangements (as part of the mode of development) between the leaders of a developing region and those who control the global economy
 - An active civil sector capable of articulating the needs of their people and a leadership capable of developing the strategies and negotiating the arrangements necessary to address those needs, are essential to the creation of a mode of development that will deliver benefits beyond the elites to the general population of a developing region
 - Supralocal regulatory mechanisms are necessary to coordinate the activities of developing regions and peoples and reduce destructive competition among them
-

Source: adapted from Anderson 1995

Figure 4-4: The Contingency Perspective

Alternative/Indigenous development approaches are concerned with how the relationship between a developing region and the global economy can be structured to increase the likelihood that the needs of the people of the region will be met and not just the requirements of the regime of accumulation and interests of the managerial and corporate international bourgeoisies. These approaches emphasize that there are “not just one or two paths to development but many and diverse ones” (Wiarda 1988, 60) shaped by a peoples culture, values, history and resources. From alternative/Indigenous development approaches, the contingency perspective holds that creation of a successful mode of development requires an active civil sector capable of articulating the needs of the people, a leadership capable of devising the strategies and negotiating the arrangements necessary to address those needs, and a mechanism for the people to modify these arrangements should the outcomes prove unacceptable.

According to the contingency perspective on economic development, participation in the capitalist economy can serve the interests of a developing region or people. Whether a particular situation actually results in the realization of the benefits sought will depend on the characteristics and actions of the parties involved. The outcome is not preordained by some fundamental 'law' of capitalism as it is assumed to be by both the orthodox and radical perspectives.

4.4. The Contingency Perspective and First Nations Development

According to the contingency perspective, the answers to the two questions raised at the beginning of this chapter are yes and yes. Yes, the emerging First Nations' approach to

economic development is well conceived and is consistent with development theory, and yes, First Nations' expectations are realistic and potentially realizable.

First Nations acknowledge the necessity of participation in the global economy and are attempting to create a distinct mode of development that will permit them to do so. Central to this mode is a strategy of business creation in various forms of partnership and alliance (supply contracts, subcontracting, joint ventures, etc.) with other First and non-First Nations businesses. In support of this approach, First Nations are actively pursuing capacity building activities to increase their human, financial and physical resources. As a result they are becoming more attractive to corporations as prospective partners. This strategy is clearly consistent with the characteristics of flexible accumulation. It also anticipates behaviour by at least some non-First Nations companies consistent with the doctrine of domicile. Arrangements intended to implement the mode of development have involved, and will continue to involve, negotiations between key First Nation and non-First Nation leaders. First Nations also acknowledge the need for and have developed mechanisms to coordinate their activities and reduce destructive competition among them and have formed organizations to that end (Tribal Councils, the FSIN, the AFN, etc.). First Nations' values, traditions and organizational structures demand input from, and control by, people at the "grassroots" (the civil sector). If the arrangements established through negotiation between First Nation and non-First Nation leaders produce outcomes unacceptable to a significant portion of the people of the First

Nations, their reaction should cause (and has caused) First Nation and non-First Nation leaders to modify these arrangements¹⁸.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 explore in more detail First Nations development strategies and activities to: (i) confirm that they are consistent with the proposed eight characteristics and (ii) address in more depth the four key questions (both from Chapter 2).

¹⁸ See Chapter 7 regarding the blockade by members of the First Nations of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council of the Tribal Council's forestry company's operations because of their dissatisfaction with certain of the company's decisions and practices.

5. First Nations Economic Development: Goals, Strategies and Structures - Saskatchewan

My research indicates that a new approach to economic development is emerging among the First Nations in Canada. No longer taking a passive approach, most are eagerly engaging in commercial activities. Their objective is to find a place in the new global economy that will allow them to satisfy their development objectives as described in Chapter Two. For this to happen, First Nations' businesses must be commercially successful. In pursuit of this success, First Nations are increasingly entering into business alliances with non-First Nations companies to compete in the global market place. They are also striving to build business capacity through education, institution-building and the acquisition of natural and financial resources.

My purpose in this chapter is to confirm or refute Premises Two through Five that flow from the above described circumstances. Then in Chapter 6, I examine in greater depth business partnerships between First Nations and corporations paying particular attention to the changing attitude of companies to First Nations. Finally, in Chapter 7, I present a case study of the economic development activities of the First Nations of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council. The center piece of their activities is a joint venture with Millar Western, a privately owned Alberta forest company.

This chapter is organized in seven sections. In the first section, the overall economic and business development strategies of the First Nations in Saskatchewan are described and discussed. In the second, the First Nations and Tribal Councils are ranked based on their level of economic development activity and the differences between the high and low ranked Nations investigated. The high and low ranked Nations are compared with respect to changes in income and employment levels between 1986 and 1991 in the third section. The fourth section presents a more detailed discussion of the nature of First Nations business developments. In it, I focus on forms of ownership, market and business size. The fifth section considers the issues of risk and performance by First Nations' businesses. The sixth addresses development capacity, particularly human, financial and physical resources. In the final section, Premises Two through Five that flow from the eight characteristics of First Nations economic development and my proposed contingency perspective, are evaluated in light of my research results.

5.1. Planning, Organization and Ownership

My research into the nature of economic development among First Nations in Saskatchewan and their resulting business economy began in January of 1994 and continued through the summer of 1996. My initial objective was to create a data-base about economic business development activities of the 70 First Nations located in Saskatchewan. To gather information, I prepared and distributed a questionnaire to each First Nation in Saskatchewan. I combined the results of this survey with data obtained from TransGas and the FSIN to create my data-base. The resulting data-base can be

found in Appendix B. Tables 5-1 to 5-3 in this section as well as Tables 5-12 to 5-19 in Section 5.4 are drawn from this data base.

5.1.1. Development Plans

Both community and economic development plans are common among the First Nations in Saskatchewan. In their community development plans, the First Nations established broad objectives in areas that include: (i) economic self sufficiency and an end to dependency on social assistance, (ii) self-government, (iii) respect for Elders and traditional practices, and (iv) social development including: health and addictions, justice and policing, housing and community infrastructure, and education.

Either as part of their community development plans or in a separate economic development plan, most First Nations discuss economic and business development. They make a clear connection between economic and business development and their broader community development objectives. Business development is expected to provide jobs and create wealth through profits and growth. Economic development is a broader concept. It includes capacity building activities such: education and training, institution-building, infra-structure development and the acquisition of physical and financial resources. A sense of the relationship between business and economic development is captured by William Hatton, a past director of economic development for the La Ronge First Nation, when he says:

Economic development is the process of creating institutions that do business development -- not business development itself.

If business development is a wrench -- economic development is the machine tool which creates it (Decter and Kowal 1989, 1).

Together, business and economic development are expected to create the economic self-reliance that, in turn, is to form the foundation for community development and self-government.

One of the purposes of my survey was to determine just how widespread economic development planning is among the 70 First Nations in Saskatchewan. According to my results (Table 5-1), by 1995 73% of the First Nations had prepared a community development plan. Ninety-three per cent of these plans contained specific economic development goals and strategies for attaining these goals. In addition, thirty-one First Nations reported having an economic development plan separate from their community development plan. In 1995, only 18 of the 70 First Nations reported having no formal plan that set economic development goals and strategies.

	Community Development Plan		Community Development Plan - Ec. Dev Goals		Economic Development Plan	
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
Total	52	11	48	15	31	32
Proportion	73%	15%	68%	21%	44%	45%
Total FN	70					

Source: Appendix B

Table 5-1: Saskatchewan First Nations Economic Development Planning, 1995

A follow-up investigation of these 18 First Nations revealed the following facts. Three did not respond to that portion of the questionnaire. Another three were newly established First Nations. At the time of my survey, their energies were directed to acquiring land to establish their communities and not economic development. All of the remaining 12 First Nations reported owning and operating at least one business. Seven of the 12 had also created development corporations. Based on this evidence, 12 of the 18

First Nations without formal development plans are clearly involved in economic and business development activities. Combining these 12 with those reporting economic development plans, 91% of the 70 First Nations in Saskatchewan have formal or informal economic development goals and business development strategies.

5.1.2. Economic Development Responsibilities and Structures

After addressing planning, my questionnaire sought out information about the organizational structures that First Nations have adopted for economic development. Table 5-2 summarizes these results. Eighty-two percent of the First Nations indicated that responsibility for economic development has been assigned to a particular elected Band Councilor or a committee of Councilors. Most of the remainder said that the economic development activities are the responsibility of the Council as a whole. This is an indication of a collective approach to development and its close ties to First Nations' governments. Thirty First Nations reported that they have assigned operational responsibility for economic development to a particular employee indicating the commitment of significant human and financial resources to the development process.

	Economic Development Portfolio		Economic Development Employee		First Nation Development Corporation		Tribal Council Development Corporation	
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
Total	58	5	30	33	42	21	50	20
Proportion	82%	7%	42%	46%	59%	30%	72%	28%
Total FN	70							

Source: Appendix B

Table 5-2: Saskatchewan First Nations Development Organization 1995

Fifty-nine of the First Nations have created development corporations to own and operate businesses on their behalf. In addition, 72% of the First Nations are members of one or another of the Tribal Councils that have established development corporations to conduct business on behalf of their member First Nations. Combining these two types of development corporations, 86% of the First Nations are involved in economic development activities carried out through a development corporation.

The stated purpose of these development corporations is to remove day-to-day business decision-making from the political arena. Subject to broad objectives and policy guidelines determined by the political leaders, a development corporation and its businesses are expected to concentrate on profitability, growth, long-term survival and employment creation. For example, Decter and Kowal suggest that the most important lesson that can be learned from the success of the Kitsaki Development Corporation of the La Ronge First Nation is:

The value of creating an arm's length corporation separate from the political governmental structure of the Band. By creating a separate organization focused on economic development, the Band can place a higher priority on such development. As well, the corporation can be run on sound business principles and freed to some extent from politics (Decter and Kowal 1989, 41).

Given their prevalence, it is apparent that this view of the utility of development corporations is widely held among the First Nations in Saskatchewan. It is interesting to note that the Province of Saskatchewan has created a similar structure for similar reasons. The Crown Investment Corporation is wholly-owned by the province. In turn, it holds the province's 100% interest in the five provincial Crown Corporations as well as

the province's equity interest in other projects including Saferco and Millar Western Pulp.

5.1.3. Forms of Business Ownership

Going beyond this general consideration of organization for business and economic development, Table 5-3 considers the business ownership strategies adopted by First Nations. It provides information about the relative significance of four types of business ownership. The first type are those businesses owned by an individual or individuals from a particular First Nation -- private ownership. The other three types all involve collective (government) ownership. They are those owned by: (i) an individual First Nation, (ii) a First Nation in joint venture with others but not through their Tribal Council, and (iii) Tribal Council joint ventures. If the First Nations in Saskatchewan are implementing a planned and purposeful economic development strategy consistent with the approach described in Chapter 2, the last three forms of ownership should play a prominent role in their business economy, and my results indicate that they do.

Seventy-one percent of the First Nations reported at least one business venture owned and operated by an individual (or individuals) from that Nation. Seventy-five percent of the First Nations reported being the sole owner of at least one business. Thirty-six percent indicated that they are involved in at least one joint venture with others (excluding their Tribal Council) while 72% of the First Nations are involved in joint ventures through their Tribal Councils. Combining these two types of joint ventures, 83% of the First Nations in Saskatchewan reported participating in at least one joint venture business.

Individual Owner of Businesses		Individual FN Owner of Businesses		FN JV with others (not TC)		FN JV with Tribal Council		FN JV with Tribal Council or others	
yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
49	20	52	18	25	44	50	19	57	12
71%	29%	75%	26%	36%	64%	72%	28%	83%	17%

Source: Appendix B

Table 5-3: Business Ownership as Reported by Each First Nation, 1995

5.1.4. Summary: Planning Organization and Ownership

The information from my survey presented in Tables 5-1, 5-2 and 5-3 provides strong evidence of the pervasive nature of economic development among the First Nations in Saskatchewan. All but a very few are actively involved in the creation of businesses for the purpose of improving the socioeconomic circumstances of their people. Further, collective ownership by individual First Nations and through joint ventures plays a prominent role in this business development strategy. A more thorough investigation of the First Nations approach to economic development can be found later in this chapter and in Chapter 7, the case study.

5.2. Comparative Business Development Performance

Before going on to investigate in more detail the nature of First Nations businesses, it is important to obtain a sense of the distribution of economic development activity among the First Nations. Are all equally active or does the level of activity vary with location, size, education level and/or other factors? Further, is a higher level of economic development activity by a First Nation associated a correspondingly greater improvement in its members' socioeconomic circumstances, particularly employment

and income levels? This section addresses the first question and Section 5.3 the second one.

5.2.1. First Nation and Tribal Council Rankings

To address the first question, the 70 First Nations have been ranked by level of economic development activity. For each First Nation, a score of one was assigned for each yes to the items in Tables 5-1 and 5-2. In addition, one point was added for each business owned under the four categories in Table 5-3. The First Nations were then ranked from the highest to the lowest based on total scores. The rankings for the 70 Nations extend from 1 to 25 because of numerous ties. The median ranking is 13. The scores of the 10 top and bottom ranked First Nations are provided in Table 5-4.

FN Name	Tribal Council Name	score	rank)	FN Name	Tribal Council Name	score	rank
Top Ten Overall				Bottom Ten Overall			
MUSKEG LAKE FN	SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	30	1	BIRCH NARROWS FN	MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	9	19
KINISTIN FN	SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	27	2	KAHKEWISTAHAW FN	YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	9	19
YELLOW QUILL FN	SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	27	2	SAKIMAY FN	YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	9	19
MISTAWASIS F N	SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	26	3	KEESEKOOSE FN	YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	8	20
MUSKOWEKWAN FN	TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	24	4	ENGLISH RIVER FN	MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	7	21
JAMES SMITH FN	PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	24	4	PETER BALLANTYNE FN	PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	7	21
SWEETGRASS FN	BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	24	4	AHTAHKAKOOP FN	INDEPENDENT	7	21
LAC LA RONGE FN	PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	23	5	COWESSESS FN	YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	6	22
PEEPEEKISIS FN	TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	23	5	RED PHEASANT FN	CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	6	22
FISHING LAKE FN	TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	23	5	JOSEPH BIGHEAD FN	INDEPENDENT	5	23

Source: Appendix C

Table 5-4: First Nation Rankings

The ranking process was extended to the 10 Tribal Councils and the independent Nations (Table 5-5). The total score for each Council is the sum of the scores of its member First Nations. These totals were then divided by the number of Nations in the Council and the Councils ranked based on the result. Not unexpectedly, the highest ranked First Nations

belonged to highest ranked Councils and the lowest to the lowest ranked or independent. In fact, all of the top ten First Nations are members of the top four Tribal Councils. Furthermore, 34 of the 37 Nations at or above the median score are from the top five Tribal Councils while only three of the Nations at or above the median level of activity are from the other five Councils or the independent Nations. The question is, why are the First Nations that are members of these five Tribal Councils so much more active in economic development than the other First Nations in the province?

Tribal Council Name	# of FN	TC Rank score	Overall activity rank	TC Rank/ score	# of FN rank
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	7	155	3	22	1
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	4	67	6	17	2
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	16	255	1	16	3
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	12	183	2	15	4
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	9	119	4	13	5
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	6	72	5	12	6
SOUTH EAST TREATY 4 TRIBAL COUNCIL	2	24	9	12	6
WILLOW CREE TRIBAL COUNCIL	1	12	11	12	6
AGENCY CHIEFS TRIBAL COUNCIL	3	29	8	10	7
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	6	55	7	9	8
INDEPENDENT	4	17	10	4	9

Source: Appendix C

Table 5-5: Tribal Council Rankings

5.2.2. Analysis of Relative Business Development Activity

My search for an explanation for the difference in business development activity among First Nations and Tribal Councils focuses on three broad areas: (i) leadership, planning and organization, and implementation, (ii) geographic location, and (iii) socioeconomic circumstances, particularly population, education level and land-base. In the sections immediately following, these three categories of causal factors are examined.

5.2.2.1. Leadership, Planning and Organization, and Implementation

Leadership, economic development planning and organization, and business development activities vary among the 70 First Nations. Some leaders and their Nations opted for a business-oriented development approach in the early 1980s while others have turned to this strategy more recently. In particular, among First Nations, Muskeg Lake and La Ronge were early adopters of this approach, as were the Saskatoon, Meadow Lake, Prince Albert and Touchwood File Hills Qu'Appelle Tribal Councils. The early adoption of a business-based development strategy is reflected in their current rankings (Tables 5-4 and 5-5).

The four highest ranked First Nations are members of the Saskatoon Tribal Council (STC) and the STC is the highest ranked Tribal Council. The remaining three First Nations of the STC rank 6th, 12th and 13th, meaning all seven members of the STC rank in the top half of all Saskatchewan First Nations in economic development activity.

Under the leadership of Lester Lafond, Chief Harry Lafond and others, the top ranked First Nation -- Muskeg Lake -- was an early and aggressive adopter of a business development approach to economic development (Saskatoon Sun 1996). Muskeg Lake's successes include the creation of an urban Reserve in 1988. This reserve has been developed into a commercial/light industrial park that has become a model for other First Nations. Chief Lafond (Lafond 1996), in an address to students of the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, says the urban reserve is the center-piece of Muskeg Lake's economic development strategy that involves both First Nation and private ownership.

Muskeg Lake was able to make this groundbreaking move because it received a portion of its Treaty Land Entitlement (TLE) compensation (the urban reserve land) in the early 1980s. The other 27 First Nations that are signatories to the 1992 TLE Framework Agreement had to wait until the mid 1990s before receiving their compensation with payment spread over twelve years. Several entitlement Nations are now following the lead of Muskeg Lake (e.g. Peter Ballantyne in Prince Albert and Star Blanket in Fort Qu'Appelle).

The commercial/industrial park provides employment and income directly and supports the development of privately-owned businesses. The First Nation earns income from the urban reserve in two principal ways: (i) land and commercial space is leased to tenants, and (ii) all tenants are charged the equivalent of a property tax. In turn, Muskeg Lake provides tenants with a variety of services -- sewer and water, roads, police and fire protection, etc. -- under a servicing agreement it has with the City of Saskatoon. Profits from the venture are either reinvested in expansion or accrue to the First Nation. According to Chief Lafond, some of these profits are being used by Muskeg Lake as an economic development fund to encourage and support individual entrepreneurship and private business development. The fund provides equity capital to Muskeg Lake citizens who wish to start businesses. With this equity in hand and a viable business plan¹⁹, these business proponents can then pursue the remaining capital they require from SIEF, the

¹⁹ Recognizing the importance of business planning to the successful creation and expansion of private and publicly owned business, Muskeg Lake and the other First Nations the STC offer business plan preparation seminars and ongoing support to their members.

banks, credit unions and other sources. According to Chief Lafond, some of the profits from the industrial park will also be used to support members who chose to follow a more traditional lifestyle 'on reserve'.

A balanced approach involving First Nation owned and private businesses is not limited to Muskeg Lake. The other three top ten ranked STC First Nations placed among the top five Saskatchewan First Nations when ranked on businesses owned by individuals. These three and Muskeg Lake also rank at or above the median level in businesses owned by the First Nation and in joint ventures. This balanced approach extends to the remaining STC Nations (all of them above the median level of activity but not in the top ten). These results are a reflection of the strategy adopted by the STC that includes the promotion and support of business development by individuals and at the First Nation level as well as joint ventures at the Tribal Council level. As a result of this strategy, the STC ranks first among Tribal Councils in businesses owned by First Nations, second in joint ventures and second in businesses owned by individuals.

The Touchwood File Hills Qu'appelle Tribal Council (TFHQ) ranks first among Tribal Council on raw score and third when that score is divided by the number of member Nations. Three First Nations from the TFHQ are among the top ten with eight more at or above the median score of 13. Five TFHQ First Nations fall below the median score. The TFHQ Nations have adopted a strategy that emphasizes joint venture business development at the Tribal Council level. The average number of joint venture arrangements per First Nation for TFHQ members is 6.4, the highest for all Tribal Councils. Muskowekwan, the highest ranked TFHQ Nation, ranks second among all

First Nations in both non-Tribal Council and total joint ventures but only average or lower in the two non-joint venture ownership categories. All of the other TFHQ Nations that ranked above the median in overall activity fall below the median in all ownership types except Tribal Council joint ventures. It is only TFHQ's strong joint venture foundation that places them in the top 50%. Again, this is a clear example of a discernible strategy being responsible for the above average performance of individual Nations and the Tribal Council as a whole.

There are two First Nations from the Prince Albert Grand Council (PAGC) among the ten top ranked Nations. Of the remaining 10 PAGC First Nations, seven are just at the median level of overall activity, and three are below. The two highest ranked PAGC Nations have adopted sharply contrasting strategies.

The La Ronge First Nation is the largest by population size in the province. Under the leadership of Chief Harry Cook and others, this First Nation has been a recognized leader in business development for many years (Decter and Kowell 1989). Through its Kitsaki Development Corporation, it owns all of, or a substantial interest in, a number of successful businesses including: Northern Resource Trucking, Six Seasons Catering, Athabaska Catering, Kitsaki Meats, Northern Lights Wild Rice, Keethanow Bingo North, the La Ronge Motor Hotel, First Nations Insurance, and NAPA Auto Parts. The formation of joint ventures with non-First Nation companies in larger businesses serving regional, national and international markets is the La Ronge First Nation's preferred strategy. As a result, it leads all First Nations in non-Tribal Council joint ventures with seven. The next highest in this category is Muskowekwan with only three. The La Ronge

First Nation also ranks first in total joint ventures with 10 closely followed by Muskowekwan with nine.

James Smith First Nation is the other top ten ranked First Nation from the PAGC. My research indicates that it leads all First Nations in businesses owned by First Nation individuals. It ranks well below the median level in business owned by the First Nation and has no non-Tribal Council joint ventures. Clearly, a very different approach to that of the La Ronge First Nation.

Overall, the ranking for PAGC reflects the approaches of its two most active members. Largely because of the number owned by James Smith, PAGC ranks third in businesses owned by individuals behind STC and TFHQ. It ranks fourth in Tribal Council and total joint ventures and fourth in First Nation-owned businesses behind TFHQ, STC, and MLTC. The PAGC ranks first by a wide margin in non-Tribal Council joint ventures with 19. The next closest in this category is TFHQ with six. Interestingly, even without the seven joint ventures of the La Ronge First Nation, PAGC's number of non-Tribal Council joint ventures would still be double that of TFHQ. There is a reason for this.

The La Ronge First Nation has actively recruited other northern First Nations into its joint ventures. For example, it has invited several to become partners in Northern Resource Trucking, the insurance brokerage and in its mine catering companies. The La Ronge First Nation has several reasons for doing this including: (i) acquisition of additional capital for the business from the new partner(s), (ii) reduction of the likelihood of other First Nations forming competing companies, and (iii) a genuine

desire to show leadership and assist other less experienced northern First Nations achieve their economic development objectives. By example, it has also encouraged other PAGC members to form joint ventures among themselves and with outside groups. As a result, non-Tribal Council rather than Tribal Council joint ventures dominate among the Nations of the PAGC.

This is not to say that the PAGC has not been active in development activities. It has. Through its development corporation, it is involved in several large projects including: the Prince Albert Inn, the Northern Lights Casino and PAGC Security Services, and is actively considering others. In fact, in several instances Tribal Council joint ventures (e.g. trucking and catering) have operated in direct competition with similar joint ventures involving one or more of the PAGC members. It is apparent that the PAGC's fourth place ranking among Tribal Councils can be attributed as much to the activities of the La Ronge First Nation as to any discernible Tribal Council strategy common to all its members.

There is one First Nation (of a total membership of three) from the Battleford Tribal Council (BTC) among the top ten. The Sweetgrass First Nation is tied with James Smith for the top ranking in businesses owned by individuals. Like James Smith, it ranks below the median in all other categories. The other two members of the Tribal Council are also above the median level in overall ranking. They also emphasize ownership by individuals and have lower results in the other categories. As a result, among Tribal Councils the BTC ranks first in the ownership by individual category. It ranks no higher than fourth in any other category. Overall, the BTC ranks second in level of economic

development activity among Tribal Councils on a per First Nation basis but only sixth in total activity.

There are no members of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council (ranked fourth on total score and fifth on score per First Nation) among the top ten First Nations. Four member Nations are ranked above the median level and the remaining five below. In spite of the relatively low ranking of its individual members, the MLTC is considered by many to have the most successful business development program of all the Tribal Councils. In fact, it was named the 'National Economic Developer of the Year' at the 1995 conference of the Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers. It is the nature of the MLTC's joint venture businesses and the planned relationship between these businesses and business owned by individual First Nations and First Nation individuals that has raised the profile of the MLTC and created its reputation for success. The MLTC ranks second in Tribal Council joint ventures behind TFHQ and third in First Nation owned businesses. The Council's development activities are considered in depth in Chapter 7.

It is interesting to note that there are signs that the lower ranked Tribal Councils and First Nations are beginning to adopt strategies similar to those of the higher ranked. For example, the Agency Chiefs Tribal Council (currently ranked seventh among Tribal Councils) is aggressively pursuing a development strategy which should improve its position in the rankings in the future. As part of this strategy, the ACTC has just purchased production equipment to establish a disposable diaper factory. After extensive negotiations with communities in the region, it was decided to locate the plant in North

Battleford rather than on any of the three member Nations' reserves. Access to transportation, an adequate source of electric power and the availability of a suitable vacant building were among the determining factors. Once operational, the plant will employ 27 people with planned expansion expected to increase this number to 60. The company will have a preferential hiring policy that favours the members of the ACTC First Nations. This project is the latest of several economic development initiatives undertaken by the ACTC in the past several years. According to the Saskatoon Star Phoenix.

Although it is the smallest tribal council in Canada, it has created 134 jobs over the last three years, mainly in forestry. It is a major contractor for Weyerhaeuser in Prince Albert (Star Phoenix 1996c, B5).

Similar signs are emerging in the Southeast Tribal Council (SETC) and among the independent First Nations (currently ranked sixth and ninth, respectively). From the SETC, the Whitebear First Nation has some exciting ventures including a golf course and resort hotel. Ochapowace owns and operates a successful ski resort, a retail mall containing several businesses and has recently purchased a large hotel in Regina (the Landmark Inn). In fact, these First Nations are rank second and first respectively for businesses owned by a First Nation. At the time of my survey, neither was involved in joint ventures through the SETC or otherwise. This will change. Both will be involved in a casino to be operated as an (FSIN/SETC) joint venture and both are considering other joint venture projects. Ocean Man, one of the new independent First Nations in the south of the province, has also embarked on a significant joint venture. The First Nation has invested one million dollars in a joint venture with the city of Weyburn and a corporate

partner to build and operate an ethanol plant in Weyburn. From these examples, the development approach adopted by the top-ranked Nations seems to be diffusing to other First Nations.

In summary, the top ranked Nations and Tribal Councils have two things in common that differentiate them from the lower ranked ones. The first is a discernible and effective development strategy. The second is leaders committed to economic development. This second factor becomes evident in discussions with members and others about the reasons why certain First Nations and Tribal Councils have been more active and successful than others in their development activities. In each case, key individuals are widely credited as being ‘the champions of development’²⁰ who through their leadership have been instrumental in the success of their First Nation or Tribal Council.

It is important to determine if there are other factors that contributed to the difference in performance between the high and low ranked groups. Four factors were chosen for evaluation -- location, population, land-base, and education level.

²⁰ Among others, the following receive prominent mention: Chief Richard Gladue, Vice Chief Oniel Gladue and Executive Director Ray Ahenakew of the MLTC; Chiefs Miles Venne, Tom McKenzie and Harry Cook of the La Ronge First Nation and Dave MacIlmoyl and Al Solhiem of its Kitsaki Development Corporation; Lester Lafond and Chief Harry Lafond of the Muskeg Lake First Nation and Director of Economic Development Darrell Balkwill of the STC; and Chief Denton George of the Ochapowace First Nation.

5.2.2.2. Location

On a province wide basis there is a difference in performance between First Nations in the north (forested area) of the province and those in the south (agricultural area). Only one of the top performing First Nations (La Ronge) is in the north whereas four of the bottom ranked ones are. Not unexpectedly, remoteness and isolation do seem to play a role in level of business activity.

It has long been accepted that remoteness and isolation impose constraints on business and therefore economic development. Particularly significant are restricted access to: (i) markets, (ii) suppliers, (iii) a cost-effective and reliable transportation system, (iv) an appropriate labour force, and (v) necessary government and non-government business support services. The La Ronge First Nation is the least disadvantaged of the northern Nations in these respects. The town of La Ronge is the administrative center for northern Saskatchewan. By northern standards, it is well-served with banks, accounting firms, education institutions, and a full range of government services. It has good road access to southern markets and suppliers. The community has scheduled air service. The opposite in every respect is true for the four low ranked First Nations in the North.

A similar pattern of north-south performance is evident among the nine First Nations of the MLTC. The four members ranked above the median level in economic development activity are all in the southern part of the Tribal Council region. All are in or near the agricultural zone and are well-served by roads with good access to Meadow Lake and larger centers. All are within the prime supply area for both the saw and pulp mills in Meadow Lake. In contrast, the five MLTC Nations ranked below the median are further

north. They are more poorly endowed in all aspects. In particular, they are at the edge of, or beyond, the current economic limit for forestry.

Location is not all bad for the First Nations of the North. With remoteness, a northern location brings increased opportunities to participate in resource-based development projects. Demand for forest and mineral resources, a change in corporate attitudes, land-claim results, and government requirements are all coming together to create a new environment favouring mutually beneficial alliances between First Nations and large resource companies²¹. The La Ronge First Nation was an early and successful participant in such alliances with multinational mining companies. Other members of the Prince Albert Grand Council are following suit. The foundation of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council's development activities is a network of forestry-based alliances with several partners. In addition, cultural and eco-tourism present opportunities for the more northerly and isolated Nations, and several projects are under consideration²².

Beyond the effect of northern isolation just discussed, location, including relative proximity to an urban center, seems to have had little impact First Nations' economic development activities. To the north and west of Saskatoon, good and poor performers are equally represented and in close geographic proximity. Two of the top performers in the area are from the STC and one from the BTC. One of the poor performers is from BTC, one is independent and one is from the Confederation of Tribal Nations (CTN). To

²¹ See Chapter Six for a more detailed discussion.

the south and east of Saskatoon, there is a string of six high performers (members of either the STC or TFHQ) and then a group of poor performers, members of the Yorkton and South East Tribal Councils or independent. Based on this geographic distribution, in the southern (agricultural) part of the province Tribal Council affiliation and all that that says about respective approaches to development seems to be much more important than location to a First Nation's level of economic and business development activity.

What about population, land-base and education level? Do they offer an explanation for the difference in ranking between the high and the low performing First Nations? I conducted an analysis of data from the 1986 and 1991 censuses in the search of an answer to this question. Usable figures were available for four low-ranked First Nations (Red Pheasant, Cowessess, Ahtahkakoop, and Sakimay) and five high-ranked (James Smith, Muskowekwan, Mistawasis, Kinistino, and Muskeg Lake)²³.

5.2.2.3. Population, Land Base and Education

Table 5-6 presents population data for the nine First Nations to be considered. Poor performers have, on average, a larger population than good performers -- 415 to 301 in 1991. However, there are clear exceptions negating any association between size and performance. Sakimay, the smallest of the First Nations, is a poor performer while James Smith and Mistawasis, both good performers, are larger than several of the poor

²² As part of its coordinating and facilitating activities, the FSIN has established a Tourism Taskforce to investigate opportunities in this sector. As well, the MLTC has identified tourism as one of the sectors of opportunity in its twenty year economic development plan.

²³ For the remaining five top and six low performing Nations, data for one or more of the categories for one or both years was not published.

performers. In short, population does not appear to offer insight into the difference between the high and low performers.

Low Ranked	Red Pheasant	Cowessess	Ahtahkakoop	Sakimay	Total	Average	
Population, 1981	460	342	927	105	1834	459	
Population, 1986	394	377	953	151	1875	469	
Population, 1991	308	379	824	147	1658	415	
High Ranked	James Smith	Muskowekwan	Mistawasis	Kinistino	Muskeg Lake	Total	Average
Population, 1981	349	265	413	235	260	1522	304
Population, 1986	370	250	465	169	223	1477	295
Population, 1991	395	296	448	186	180	1505	301

Source: the 1986 and 1991 Censuses of Canada (see Appendix D).

Table 5-6: Low Versus High Ranked First Nations - Population on Reserve

The data on land-base size are surprising and somewhat counter-intuitive (Table 5-7). The lower ranked Nations have a considerably larger land base on average than the higher ranked. The two highest ranked overall -- Muskeg Lake and Kinistin -- are by far the smallest in land area. Clearly a larger land base does not necessarily result in a higher level of economic activity. This calls into question the commonly held view among First Nations that they require an expanded land-base as a foundation on which to build their economies. Land for land's sake does not appear to be the answer. On the other hand, strategically selected parcels, often small like Muskeg Lake's urban Reserve, can have a huge impact on economic development.

Low Ranked	Red Pheasant	Cowessess	Ahtahkakoop	Sakimay	Total	Average	
Square Kilometers	97	116	181	90	485	121	
High Ranked	James Smith	Muskowekwan	Mistawasis	Kinistino	Muskeg Lake	Total	Average
Square Kilometers	60	62	126	33	50	331	66

Source: the 1986 and 1991 Censuses of Canada (see Appendix D).

Table 5-7: Low Versus High Ranked First Nations - Land-Base

The role of education in the relative performance of the First Nations is the final question to be addressed using census data (Table 5-8). As with location, population and land area, it appears that a relatively higher education level is not associated with a higher ranking in economic development activity. In 1986, 72% of the over 15 year old population of the lower ranked First Nations reported an education level of less than grade 12 and while the figure for the higher ranked First Nations was 84%. In 1991, the figure improved to 58% for the lower ranked and 59% for the higher.

	Low -1986	High -1986	Low - 1991	High - 1991	% Change Low	% Change High
Less than grade 9	44%	46%	29%	32%	-37%	-23%
Grades 9 - 13 without secondary school cert.	28%	38%	29%	27%	-2%	-22%
Grades 9 - 13 with secondary school cert.	2%	2%	4%	5%	125%	233%
Trades certificate or diploma	2%	1%	2%	3%	-20%	200%
Other non-university education without dipl.	7%	5%	4%	8%	-50%	88%
Other non-university education with diploma	10%	2%	11%	11%	9%	450%
University without degree	6%	4%	18%	11%	192%	247%
University with degree	2%	1%	2%	3%	0%	150%

Source: the 1986 and 1991 Censuses of Canada (see Appendix D).

Table 5-8: Low Versus High Ranked First Nations - Education Level (age > 15)

At the upper end of education programs, in 1986 14% of those over 15 years old in the lower ranked Nations had completed a post-secondary program of one type or other. Only 4% had done so among the higher ranked ones. By 1991, this had changed remarkably. While the proportion with a completed post-secondary program remained virtually unchanged (an increase from 14% to 15%) among the lower ranked First Nations, it had risen dramatically among the higher ranked -- from 4% to 17%. From this, it is clear that the superior economic development performance of the higher ranked Nations cannot be attributed even in part to a better educated population. Instead, could

it be that the superior improvement in education levels achieved by the people of the higher ranked Nations between 1986 and 1991 can be attributed to some of the same things that account for their superior economic development during the same period; that is, leadership, planning and organization? It is interesting to note that it was during this period that many of the better organized and managed First Nations took control over their education systems²⁴.

5.2.3. Summary

In conclusion, location, population, land base, and education do not explain the difference in economic development activity between the lower and higher ranked Nations. Instead, performance is contingent on leadership and the strategies adopted and actions taken at both the individual Nation and Tribal Council level. This is consistent with my proposed contingency perspective which, in turn, is an extension of what Corbridge calls a powerful trend “towards theories of capitalist development which emphasize contingency. ... a new emphasis on human agency and the provisional and highly skilled task of reproducing social relations” (Corbridge 1989, 633). These results are also consistent with the findings of Cornell and Kalt (1989) of the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development. Manley Begay (executive director of the project) referring to the work of these authors says that

some tribes were found to be constructing effective institutions and others were not as productive ... there is evidence that the tribes which have poor

²⁴ For example, see Chapter 7 for a description of the MLTC’s education-related activities.

economic performance, lack institutions capable of effectively regulating both individual and collective behaviour (Begay 1991, 4-5)

5.3. Comparative Economic Development Results

Using 1986 and 1991 census data²⁵, I have made an attempt to see if the activities of the higher ranked Nations have resulted in a change in their socioeconomic circumstances that is different from any change experienced by the lower ranked ones. Household income, employment, unemployment and participation rates are considered. A word of caution is necessary. Even among the most active Nations and Tribal Councils, organized and aggressive business development at any significant scale is a relatively new phenomena. Since most of the commercial ventures by First Nations began in the late 1980s, any impact they may have on individuals has only begun to be felt. Therefore, my comparison of the two sets of census data can only be expected to uncover possible emerging trends rather than major socioeconomic shifts. Any definitive assessment of the impact will have to await the publication of the 1996 Census data.

5.3.1. Household Income

Table 5-9 reports the average distribution of household income for the higher and lower ranked Nations for 1986 and 1991 and the percent change over the period. There is no remarkable difference in the distribution between the two groups in either year. However, the change over the period contains a hint of a difference. While the proportion reporting income below \$20,000 declined by 40% and 41% for the low and

²⁵ See Appendix D for 1986 and 1991 Census data.

high ranked groups, respectively, there is a difference in the change in the proportion reporting incomes of \$40,000 or higher. There was a 83% increase (from 6% to 11%) in the percentage of households in this income range among the high performers and only a 13% increase (from 8% to 9%) among the low. In actual numbers of households, the difference is even more pronounced. Among the lower ranked Nations, the number of households reporting income above \$40,000 remained the same at 30 while the number among the higher ranked doubled from 15 to 30 from 1986 to 1991. It will be interesting to see if this difference in performance at higher income levels between the higher and lower ranked Nations is confirmed by the 1996 data.

	Low -1986	High -1986	Low - 1991	High - 1991	% Change Low	% Change High
Under \$10,000	30%	34%	23%	26%	-22%	-24%
\$10,000 - \$14,999	20%	22%	22%	22%	8%	1%
\$15,000 - \$19,999	20%	18%	15%	15%	-26%	-18%
\$20,000 - \$29,999	16%	14%	21%	19%	28%	32%
\$30,000 - \$39,999	7%	6%	11%	7%	57%	23%
\$40,000 - \$49,999	5%	2%	3%	7%	-45%	270%
\$50,000 and over	3%	4%	6%	4%	100%	0%
Average income	\$19,455	\$18,200	\$19,792	\$18,840	2%	4%
Median income	\$15,234	\$14,455	\$16,119	\$15,629	6%	8%

Source: the 1986 and 1991 Censuses of Canada (see Appendix D).

Table 5-9: Low Versus High Ranked First Nations - Household Income

5.3.2. Labour Force and Participation, Employment and Unemployment Rates

In an attempt to assess employment-related performance, Table 5-10 presents potential and actual labour force, employment and unemployment figures for 1986 and 1991, as well as the change over the period. While it is too soon to confirm a real difference in performance between the high and low ranked Nations, interesting indications of such a difference are present.

	Low -1986	High -1986	Low - 1991	High - 1991	% Change Low	% Change High
Total 15 years and over	1130	845	970	890	-14%	5%
In the labour force	460	285	445	340	-3%	19%
Employed	330	200	285	255	-14%	28%
Unemployed	130	100	165	100	27%	0%
Participation rate	41%	34%	46%	38%	13%	13%
Unemployment rate	28%	35%	37%	29%	31%	-16%

Source: the 1986 and 1991 Censuses of Canada (see Appendix D).

Table 5-10: Low Versus High Ranked First Nations - Employment

In 1986, the unemployment rate for the lower ranked Nations was 28%, much lower than the 35% rate for the higher ranked ones. By 1991, this situation had reversed. The unemployment rate had increased to 37% for the lower ranked and decreased to 29% for the higher ranked. Underlying this shift in percentage was a net decline of 45 (14%) in the number of people employed in the lower ranked Nations and an increase of 55 (28%) in those employed in the higher ranked group. This suggests a trend toward increasing employment opportunities among the higher ranked First Nations.

The increase in participation rates was the same for both at 13%. However, there is an interesting difference in underlying this performance. Among the higher ranked Nations, the increase in participation was matched by an increase in employment meaning there was no change in the number unemployed (100 people). Job creation was able to keep up with the growth in the labour market and perhaps even encouraged that growth. In contrast, among the lower ranked the number of unemployed increased by 27% (from 130 to 165 people) even though the labour force declined by 15 people over the same period. Again, there is a clear difference in performance in favour of the higher-ranked

Nations. Will this difference in performance be confirmed by the 1996 Census data?

Time will tell.

5.3.3. Summary: Comparative Performance 1986 to 1991

While too soon to form a definite conclusion, the higher ranked First Nations appear to be outperforming the lower ranked at least in terms of income and employment creation. The higher ranked Nations are those with effective leadership, well-developed strategies and an organized approach to economic development. It seems that such an approach to development is paying dividends in terms of socioeconomic performance. It is also true that at least some First Nations that have been performing at a lower level are following the lead of these better performers. This is certainly the case for the Nations of the ACTC and the SETC, as well as several in the PAGC that are emulating the La Ronge First Nation.

5.4. *Forms of Ownership, Markets and Business Size*

This section presents a more detailed exploration of the results of my research into the business development activities of the First Nations in Saskatchewan begun in 1994 and concluded in 1996. In it, I investigate the issues of forms of ownership, market scale (local, regional and national/international) and business size.

My investigation of these issues builds on the material presented in Sections 5.1 and 5.2. From these earlier sections it is apparent that there are clear differences in business development strategies among the First Nations. Some favour individual private ownership while others emphasize ownership by the First Nation. Still others

concentrate on joint ventures, some through their Tribal Council and others outside their Tribal Council. Finally, some seem to pursue a balanced strategy with all ownership types evident. Similar difference are evident at the Tribal Council level. Are there reasons to assume that one strategy will be more than another likely to deliver the economic development benefits that all the First Nations seek? This is the question to be addressed in the remainder of this section.

5.4.1. Forms Of Ownership

Table 5-11 provides information about the forms of non-farm business ownership arrangements from the perspective of the individual First Nation. Arrangements differ from and exceed the number of businesses. This is so because a single joint venture business is the result of several First Nations deciding to participate in a particular business arrangement. In fact, the 59 joint venture businesses reported by the First Nations in Saskatchewan were the result of 269 separate decisions by individual First Nations to enter into a business arrangement. When assessing First Nations business development activities, the number of arrangements is at least as important as the actual number of businesses resulting from them. Arrangements are important because they are the outcome of decisions taken by First Nations leaders and members to participate in particular business ventures. As such they are the result of a particular First Nation implementing its business development strategy.

First Nations and their individual citizens are involved 558 business arrangements. Of this total, 31% involve businesses owned and operated by First Nation individuals (private ownership). The remaining 69% of the arrangements involve First Nations

government ownership in one form or other. Joint ventures account for 70% of these government ownership arrangements and 48% of all business arrangements.

<u>Type of Ownership</u>	<u>Number of Arrangements</u>	<u>Proportion of Total</u>
FN JV with others (not TC)	45	8%
FN JV with Tribal Council	<u>224</u>	<u>40%</u>
FN JV with Tribal Council or others	269	48%
FN Owner of Businesses	<u>116</u>	<u>21%</u>
Total FN owned	385	69%
Individual Owners of Businesses	<u>173</u>	<u>31%</u>
Total Business Arrangements	558	100%

Source: Appendix B

Table 5-11: Non-Farm Business Arrangements by Type of Ownership, 1995

Table 5-12 reports the numbers of business (as opposed to arrangements) by type of ownership. Of the total of 348 identified First Nation business, 59 or 17% are joint ventures and 33% are owned by individual First Nations. Taken together these numbers indicate that 50% of all businesses involve government (collective) ownership. The remaining 50% are owned by First Nation individuals. From the information about business ownership in Table 5-12 and 5.13 as well as the material in the previous section, it is clear that the First Nations in Saskatchewan have adopted a planned, purposeful and collective approach to business development in which First Nation government ownership and joint ventures play a prominent role.

<u>Type of Ownership</u>	<u>Number of Arrangements</u>	<u>Proportion of Total</u>
FN JV with others (not TC)	36	10%
FN JV with Tribal Council	<u>23</u>	<u>7%</u>
FN JV with Tribal Council or others	59	17%
FN Owner of Businesses	<u>116</u>	<u>33%</u>
Total FN owned	175	50%
Individual Owners of Businesses	<u>173</u>	<u>50%</u>
Total	348	100%

Source: Appendix B

Table 5-12: Non-Farm Businesses by Type of Ownership, 1995

5.4.2. Market Scale and Ownership

In Table 5-13 and 5.14, I delve more deeply into the nature of the First Nation businesses, in particular the relationship between the form of business ownership and the geographic scale of the market (local, regional, national/international) that that business serves. The point in question is -- Are some types of ownership arrangements more likely than others to allow the First Nations the access to national and international markets they seek as part of their approach described in Chapter 2?

Businesses categorized as local are those that serve the citizens of a particular First Nation. Included are such things as school-buses, medical transportation, water and septic services, firewood wood-hauling, and retail stores with annual sales under \$100,000. Regional businesses include those intended to serve the First Nation and surrounding areas but not the larger national/international market. Included are retail stores with annual sales in excess of \$100,000, golf courses, resorts, and road and home construction companies. The national/international category includes all businesses competing directly in the global economy. Most of the businesses in this category are in either the forestry, mining, petroleum, or agriculture sectors.

	<u>Joint Ventures</u>		<u>First</u>	<u>Individual Owned</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>
	<u>Other</u>	<u>Tribal Council</u>	<u>Nation Owned</u>			
National/International	21	63	6	9	99	18%
Regional	24	161	59	78	322	58%
Local	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>86</u>	<u>137</u>	24%
Total		269	116	173	558	

Source: Appendix B

Table 5-13: Non-Farm Business Arrangements by Type of Ownership and Market Scale, 1995

Results indicate that 18% of the First Nation business arrangements target national/international markets, 58% regional markets and 24% local markets (see Figure 5.13). This is evidence of the external focus of First Nations as they identify opportunities and create businesses. Eighty-five per cent of these national/international business are joint ventures. In addition, joint ventures account for 58% of all regional businesses. First Nation owned businesses account for 6% and 18% of the national/international and regional categories, respectively. Taken the two together (joint ventures and First Nation owned), arrangements involving First Nations' government ownership account for 91% of national/international and 76% of regional business arrangements. Businesses owned by First Nations individuals dominate the local category at 63%.

Table 5-14 shifts the focus from business arrangements by First Nations to the businesses that have emerged from these arrangements. Twelve percent of the First Nation businesses serve national/international markets, 49% the regional market, and 39% the local. Joint venture companies account for 63% of the non-farm national/international businesses and 20% of the regional ones while 15% of national/international (non-farm) and 34% of the regional businesses, are owned by individual First Nations. In combination, businesses owned in whole or in part by government (joint ventures and individual First Nation-owned) represent 78% and 54% of the non-farm national/international and regional businesses, respectively. Businesses owned by First Nations individuals dominate the local market.

	<u>Joint Ventures</u>		<u>First</u>	<u>Individual Owned</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>
	<u>Other</u>	<u>Tribal Council</u>	<u>Nation Owned</u>			
National/International	18	7	6	9	40	12%
Regional	18	16	59	78	171	49%
Local	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>86</u>	<u>137</u>	<u>39%</u>
Total		59	116	173	348	

Source: Appendix B

Table 5-14: Non-Farm Businesses by Type of Ownership and Market, 1995

It is apparent that the First Nations in Saskatchewan have adopted an approach to development with an emphasis on First Nation owned and joint venture businesses. Further, the majority of these collectively owned businesses compete in the regional, national and international markets, rather than the local market. This is the ownership/market pattern that one would expect as an outcome of the approach to economic development described in Chapter 2. Moving from the aggregate to specific First Nations and Tribal Councils, it follows that those that pursue a strategy of government ownership and/or joint ventures are more likely to be involved in business competing in the broader economy than those that do not.

A word of caution is necessary. In one sense, Tables 5-11 to 5-14 may under-report the number of businesses owned by First Nations individuals and therefore their relative importance in the First Nations economy. In my research, I relied on the knowledge of responders from the First Nation (Chief, Councilors and/or employees) about businesses owned by individuals from their First Nation. The secondary sources (the FSIN and TransGas databases) were each compiled by consultants who relied on a variety of sources. With three researchers independently pursuing the same information most, but

not likely all, of the businesses owned by First Nation individuals should have been identified. In another and offsetting sense, these results understate the significance of the role of First Nations' governments in the reported business arrangements and resulting businesses. Many of the businesses owned and operated by First Nations individuals were created with First Nations' government support to serve a community need. In fact, 71 of the privately-owned businesses (36%) provide either school bus, medical transportation, water delivery or septic tank pump-out services to a First Nations' citizens on behalf of, and largely paid for by, that First Nation government. With these two 'sources of error' about individually owned businesses working in opposite directions, the net effect of two should be minimal when considering the relative importance of collective and private ownership among First Nations.

The next aspect to be considered is business size. The question to be addressed is -- Is one form of ownership more likely than another to be associated with larger businesses?

5.4.3. Business Size and Ownership

One hundred sixty-eight of the businesses surveyed provided information about annual sales. Table 5-15 provides information about the distribution of each ownership type over the revenue categories. Table 5-16 reports the proportion of each ownership type in each revenue category.

Based on the data presented in Table 5-15, there is a relationship between form of ownership and business size as measured by annual revenue. The businesses owned by First Nation individuals are overwhelmingly small. Eighty-seven percent of these

businesses reported estimated annual revenues of less than \$100,000 in 1995. An additional 12% expected their revenues to be between \$100,000 and \$400,000. Only one of the 109 businesses in this category reported estimated revenue of more than \$400,000. First Nation-owned business exhibited a different pattern. They are larger than those owned by individuals with 67% reporting revenues greater than \$100,000 and 36% revenues above \$400,000. Finally, joint ventures are the largest. Eighty-five per cent expected revenues greater than \$100,000, 55% revenues greater than \$400,000 and 47% revenues greater than \$750,000. In contrast, only 24% of First Nation-owned business and 1% of individually-owned ones projected revenues over \$750,000.

Estimated Annual Revenue (1994)	Owned By Individuals		Owned By Individual FN		Joint Ventures	
less than \$100,000	95	87%	11	33%	4	15%
\$100,001 to 400,000	13	12%	10	30%	8	31%
\$400,001 to 750,000	0	0%	4	12%	2	8%
\$750,001 to 2,000,000	1	1%	5	15%	3	12%
over \$2,000,000	0	0%	3	9%	9	35%
Total	109		33		26	

Source: Appendix B

Table 5-15: Revenue Distribution by Ownership, 1995

Table 5-16 explores the relationship between size and type of ownership further. One hundred and ten businesses reported revenues of less than \$100,000. Of this total 86% were owned by First Nation individuals, 10% by individual First Nations and 4% were joint ventures. For those with revenues between \$100,000 and \$400,000, the distribution was 42%, 32% and 26% for individual-owned, First Nation-owned and joint venture businesses, respectively. A marked shift in the ownership distribution pattern become evident with the next category. Sixty-seven percent of the businesses in the category \$400,001 to \$750,000 were owned by individual First Nations and 33% were joint

ventures. None were owned by individuals. The pattern is similar for the next category with 56% being individual First Nation-owned and 33% joint ventures. One of the businesses in this categories was owned by an individual. Finally, joint ventures account for 75% of the businesses with revenue over \$2,000,000. The remaining 25% are owned by individual First Nations. None are owned by individuals.

From the results reported in Tables 5-15 and 5-16, it is apparent that the type of businesses favoured by the First Nations' approach to development -- First Nation owned and/or joint ventures -- are the largest in terms of revenue. This augurs well for the ability of these businesses to deliver the employment and other socioeconomic benefits sought by the First Nations. It also suggests that the First Nations and Tribal Councils that are highly ranked in these categories of ownership should outperform (income, job creation, etc.) those that are not.

<u>Estimated Annual Revenue (1994)</u>	<u>Owned By Individuals</u>		<u>Owned By Individual FN</u>		<u>Joint Ventures</u>		<u>Total</u>
less than \$100,000	95	86%	11	10%	4	4%	110
\$100,001 to 400,000	13	42%	10	32%	8	26%	31
\$400,001 to 750,000	0	0%	4	67%	2	33%	6
\$750,001 to 2,000,000	1	11%	5	56%	3	33%	9
over \$2,000,000	0	0%	3	25%	9	75%	12

Source: Appendix B

Table 5-16: Ownership Distribution by Revenue, 1995

5.4.4. Economic Impact and Ownership

Tables 5-17 and 5-18 summarize my efforts to assess the relative importance of each ownership type to the First Nations business economy. It is not the number of businesses in a category that determines that category's contribution to economic development. Rather it is the aggregate economic impact of all the businesses in the category that

matters. In the material that follows, a two step process is used to determine the economic contribution of the businesses in each ownership category.

First, the weighted average level of annual revenue is calculated for each ownership category (Table 5-17). These averages are: individually owned - \$86,000, First Nation owned - \$552,000, and joint ventures - \$983,000. Second, an estimated total annual revenue figure is determined for each category of ownership by multiplying the average revenue for each by the number of businesses in each category (Table 5-18).

Individual Owned Businesses

<u>Annual Revenue Range (1994)</u>	<u>Median Revenue</u>	<u>Owned By FN Individuals</u>	<u>Total Revenue</u>
less than \$100,000	\$50,000	95	\$4,750,000
\$100,001 to 400,000	\$250,000	13	3,250,000
\$400,001 to 750,000	\$575,000	0	\$0
\$750,001 to 2,000,000	\$1,375,000	1	\$1,375,000
over \$2,000,000	\$2,000,000	<u>0</u>	<u>\$0</u>
		109	9,375,000
Weighted Average Revenue			\$86,000

Individual First Nation Owned Businesses

<u>Annual Revenue Range (1994)</u>	<u>Median Revenue</u>	<u>Owned By Individual FN</u>	<u>Total Revenue</u>
less than \$100,000	\$50,000	11	\$550,000
\$100,001 to 400,000	\$250,000	10	\$2,500,000
\$400,001 to 750,000	\$575,000	4	\$2,300,000
\$750,001 to 2,000,000	\$1,375,000	5	\$6,875,000
over \$2,000,000	\$2,000,000	<u>3</u>	<u>\$6,000,000</u>
		33	\$18,225,000
Weighted Average Revenue			\$552,000

Joint Ventures

<u>Annual Revenue Range (1994)</u>	<u>Median Revenue</u>	<u>Joint Ventures</u>	<u>Total Revenue</u>
less than \$100,000	\$50,000	4	\$200,000
\$100,001 to 400,000	\$250,000	8	\$2,000,000
\$400,001 to 750,000	\$575,000	2	\$1,150,000
\$750,001 to 2,000,000	\$1,375,000	3	\$4,125,000
over \$2,000,000	\$2,000,000	<u>9</u>	<u>\$18,000,000</u>
		26	\$25,475,000
Weighted Average Revenue			\$980,000

Source: Appendix B

Table 5-17: Weighted Average Annual Revenue, 1995

Joint ventures, which constitute only 17% of First Nation businesses, account for 42% of the estimated annual revenue. Businesses owned by individual First Nations, 33% of the total businesses, contribute 47% of the estimated revenue. Businesses owned by First Nations individuals contribute only 11% of the estimated revenue in spite of the fact that they account for 50% of the businesses. Remembering the earlier caveat about the under reporting of individually owned businesses, it is nonetheless clear that collectively-owned businesses (by individual First Nations and in joint venture) dominate the First Nations business economy in Saskatchewan. These businesses are being created as a result of the planned and purposeful development efforts of the First Nations in Saskatchewan.

	<u>Owned By Individuals</u>	<u>Owned By Individual FN</u>	<u>Joint Ventures</u>	<u>Total</u>
Average Annual Revenue	\$86,000	\$552,000	\$980,000	--
Number of Businesses	173	116	59	348
Total Annual Revenue	\$14,878,000	\$64,032,000	\$57,820,000	\$137,942,000
Proportion of Annual Revenue	11%	47%	42%	--

Source: Appendix B

Table 5-18: Contribution to the First Nations Economy by Ownership Type, 1995

In summary, four points from this and the three preceding subsections need emphasis:

1. 69% of all First Nation businesses arrangements in Saskatchewan involve government ownership or are joint ventures (collective ownership).
2. 76% of all Saskatchewan First Nations' businesses compete in the region, national and international markets.
3. 96% of the Saskatchewan First Nations' businesses earning revenues greater than \$400,000 per year are government owned or joint ventures (collective ownership).

4. 89% of the estimated total annual revenue of Saskatchewan First Nations' business economy in Saskatchewan is earned by government owned businesses or joint ventures (collective ownership).

Clearly, in aggregate the First Nations and Tribal Councils in Saskatchewan have adopted a collective approach toward creating businesses to compete in the regional and national/international markets. In financial terms, these businesses overwhelmingly dominate the First Nations' business economy in Saskatchewan. This outcome is entirely consistent with the First Nations approach to development described in Chapter 2.

5.4.5. Ownership, Market Scale, Business Size and Economic Development Success

First Nations and Tribal Councils in Saskatchewan differ as to the extent that they are following a collective (government owned and joint venture) approach toward creating business to compete in the regional and national/international markets. Based on my research into ownership and business size, First Nations that pursue a balanced strategy with above median activity in all categories ownership and those that pursue a strategy that emphasizes First Nation owned and/or joint ventures should outperform those that emphasize individual ownership.

Consider my First Nation rankings (Table 5-4). The James Smith, Sweetgrass, Muskeg Lake, Mistawasis and La Ronge First Nations all rank in the top 10 in economic development activity. However, their ownership strategies differ. The first four each rank first or second in businesses owned by First Nations individuals. All four also rank at or above the median level for First Nation owned businesses. Muskeg Lake ranks well

above the median level for joint ventures while James Smith and Sweetgrass rank below and Mistawasis just at the median. In contrast to these four, the La Ronge First Nation ranks well below the median level in individually-owned business. It ranks first in joint ventures and at the median level for First Nation-owned businesses. It follows from my research that the strategies of Muskeg Lake and La Ronge First Nations should be the most successful (revenue, jobs, etc.) and James Smith's and Sweetgrass's the least. Mistawasis's results should fall in the middle.

The same differences in approach can be found at the aggregate level among the top five Tribal Councils. The STC's ranking reflects a balanced strategy that places it first in First Nation-owned businesses, second in joint ventures and second in individual-owned businesses. The BTC (second overall) emphasizes individual ownership ranking first in that category. It ranks well below the median level in joint ventures and at the median level in First Nation-owned business. TFHQ's strategy emphasizes joint ventures. It ranks first in that category and third and seventh in individual-owned and First Nation-owned businesses, respectively. The PAGC shows a balance between joint ventures and individual-owned, ranking fourth in both. It ranks sixth in First Nation-owned businesses. Finally, the MLTC ranks third in joint ventures and third in First Nation-owned businesses. It ranks seventh in individual-owned businesses. As with individual First Nations, Tribal Councils emphasizing a strategy of joint ventures and First Nation-owned businesses competing in broader markets should outperform those emphasizing individual-owned businesses. Based on this, the STC, MLTC and TFHQ should outperform the PAGC and the BTC in terms of revenue, job creation and the like.

A comparison of 1986 to 1991 census data is inconclusive with respect to the relative performance of the top ranked First Nations and Tribal Councils. This is not surprising because the ownership strategies and income projections described reflect the strategies and actions of the late 1980s and the early 1990s. A meaningful comparison of the resulting relative performance will therefore have to wait for the 1996 census data and even then it might be too soon to capture the differences in outcome flowing from the alternative approaches. It will also be interesting to see if a strategy of First Nation government ownership and joint ventures becomes more prevalent over time as one would expect if the results achieved are in fact superior. Some evidence of the superior financial performance of joint ventures and larger businesses and the spread of both types of ownership is provided in the next section of this chapter and in Chapters 6 and 7.

5.5. First Nations Business Performance to Date

Assuming that the First Nations approach to development is theoretically sound, its success in a particular place at a particular time depends on the creation and operation of profitable businesses. The purpose of this section is to evaluate the financial success and long-term survivability of First Nation businesses in order to assess the likelihood of the First Nation development process achieving its objectives. Such information is difficult to obtain for individual businesses. However, a useful and reasonably objective indication about the overall financial performance of First Nations businesses in Saskatchewan can be obtained from three sources.

The first two sources are the records of two First Nation-controlled financial institutions -- the Saskatchewan Indian Equity Foundation (SIEF) and Peace Hills Trust (PHT). The SIEF is an Aboriginal Capital Corporation (ACC). It is the oldest and largest of the thirty such institutions operating in Canada. Since 1986, the organization has made over 2,000 loans to First Nation businesses in Saskatchewan that have created an estimated 7,000 jobs. PHT is a full-service trust company owned by the Samson First Nation from Alberta. The third source is a report on the Aboriginal Economic Development Program prepared for the federal Department of Industry, Science and Technology.

5.5.1. Saskatchewan Indian Equity Foundation and Peace Hills Trust

Both the SIEF and PHT lend to First Nation-owned businesses. The SIEF operates exclusively in Saskatchewan while PHT operates in all the western provinces. According to Tony Shirt, PHT's Saskatchewan manager, loan performance in Saskatchewan mirrors that of the trust company as a whole. Both SIEF and PHT report loan loss figures in their audited annual reports. These loan loss figures provide an indication about the performance of Indian-owned businesses in two ways. First, in any given year the loan loss rate of these institutions can be compared with those of institutions lending to non-First Nation businesses providing insight into the relative performance of First Nation and non-First Nation businesses. Second, trends in the institutions' loss rates over time can be examined to determine if the financial performance of their First Nation business customers is improving or declining.

In recent annual reports, both institutions proudly declare that their loss rates compare favourably with the rates of non-Indian institutions. The SIEF says that it has “one of the lowest loan loss ratios in the ACC framework. This fact has made us competitive with Trust Companies, Banks and Credit Unions” (SIEF 1995, 6). With respect to the trend in loan loss over time, the same annual report (SIEF 1995, 17) shows that SIEF’s loss rate has declined steadily over time from a high of 6.7% in 1990 to 1.15% in 1995. This is evidence of a steady improvement in the financial performance of its First Nations business clients. Similarly, Peace Hills Trust in its 1992 annual report states that its loan portfolio “continues to operate very soundly with provisions for loss for the year amounting to \$216,922 or .20%, well under the industry average” (PHT 1992, 2). According to subsequent annual reports, the loss rate on PHT’s loan portfolio has remained at or below the industry average indicating continuing average or above average performance by its business customers. Based on the records of these two institutions, the financial performance of Indian-owned businesses in Saskatchewan compares favourably to that of non-Indian business.

5.5.2. Aboriginal Business Canada

In 1994, Aboriginal Business Canada (a division of the Federal Department of Industry and Science) commissioned a study to assess the financial performance and employment creation of the firms that had obtained financing under the Aboriginal Business Development Program. The study evaluated the performance of over 350 firms from across Canada that had been in existence for two years or more. Result of the study indicate that:

Aboriginal businesses are surviving at very high rates -- higher in fact than other Canadian businesses. These businesses are creating a significant amount of jobs as well (Aboriginal Business Canada 1995, 1).

The average number of employees per active firm was found to be seven, with half employed on and half off-reserve. The report also indicated that:

- *Construction and retail businesses did especially well.*
- *There was no measurable difference in the rate of survival between businesses located in the cities versus those in rural and remote locations.*
- *A profitable business in a remote location ... is more likely to be very profitable compared to a business located in the city (Aboriginal Business Canada 1995, 1).*

According to the study, the size of the business and the form of ownership played a critical role in financial success. Only 12% of the businesses with revenues greater than \$200,000 experienced significant losses while 55% of those with revenues less than \$200,000 experienced such losses. In addition, joint ventures between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal partners were found to be more successful than non-joint venture businesses. These two findings are particularly significant given the results of my research reported in Sections 5.3.3 and 5.3.4. Businesses with revenue over \$200,000 and joint ventures account for 89% of the estimated annual revenue of the First Nation businesses in Saskatchewan. This shows that the First Nations in Saskatchewan are focusing their efforts on the size of business and forms of ownership that are the most likely to succeed.

It is apparent from the information from SIEF, PHT and ABC that the strategy the First Nations are adopting across Canada is working. The businesses created as the strategy

has been implemented are competing successfully and profitably in local, and more importantly, regional, national and international markets. While individual business failures are inevitable, they are no more likely to occur among First Nation businesses than among those owned by others. Given this, there is no insurmountable reason why First Nations in Canada cannot attain employment and income levels comparable to those of found in the Canadian economy at large. On the other hand, there is no guarantee that they will. Capacity, the subject of the next section, will play a key role in the realization this potential.

5.6. Capacity: Financial, Physical and Human Resources

Financial, physical and human resources of the First Nations are growing due to the collective efforts of their governments. Already, this expanded capacity to undertake development projects has contributed to their economic success. Efforts to increase capacity have been particularly significant in three areas: post-secondary education focusing on economic/business development and business management, financial institution building, and the acquisition of financial and physical resources through the realization of treaty and Aboriginal rights.

5.6.1. Education

The First Nations in Saskatchewan are recognized leaders in education capacity building. The FSIN has created two post-secondary institutions -- the Saskatchewan Indian Institute of Technologies (SIIT) and the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (SIFC). Both offer certificate, diploma and, in the later case, degree programs in economic development and business administration. In addition, both institutions offer non-credit

programs that provide training and direct support (e.g. assistance in the preparation of business plans) to First Nations development activities and business ventures. The number of students entering these institutions' business programs has been growing steadily. There are now at least 175 Aboriginal students in the administration and commerce diploma and degree programs of the SIFC and 125 in the business diploma programs offered by the SIIT. As well, in the fall of 1996 the first intake of students was admitted to a First Nations Masters of Business Administration Program jointly offered by the SIFC and the University of Saskatchewan. Even before this program's launch, four First Nation students have moved from SIFC's undergraduate program to the general MBA program and two have completed it. The SIFC is currently developing two new undergraduate programs. One is in Aboriginal banking in partnership with the Canadian Bankers Association. The other is in tourism in conjunction with the Canadian Tourism Association.

Similar education-related capacity building efforts are underway elsewhere in Canada. For example, the Council for the Advancement of Native Development Officers (CANDO) is forming a country-wide consortium of post-secondary education institutions interested in offering a two-year 'Native Economic Development Diploma'. CANDO is also developing a professional certification process similar to that found in the accounting profession. Candidates with suitable education (i.e. the two year diploma or equivalent) and sufficient practical experience will have the opportunity to complete a 'professional module' and then be certified as a professional 'economic developer'. The continuing growth in the number of First Nations individuals with post-secondary

economic development and business management education can only increase the capacity for business development success in the future.

5.6.2. Financial Institutions

In addition to the two post-secondary institutions, the First Nations in Saskatchewan have created other institutions in support of economic development. The most important of these is the Saskatchewan Indian Equity Foundation. As noted earlier, between 1986 and the end of its 1994-95 fiscal year the SIEF has made more than 2,000 loans to Indian businesses and in doing so helped to create 7,000 jobs. According to Clive Diller, the SIEF's general manager, loan demand continues to grow with applications for the first six months of 1996-97 totaling an estimated \$34,000,000. To put this number in perspective, the SIEF's entire loan capital is \$7,000,000 with all but \$500,000 of that amount already loaned out as of March, 1996. This critical shortfall in financing capacity must be addressed if the First Nations' business development strategy is to succeed. In Saskatchewan, this capacity issue is being addressed on two fronts -- continued financial institution building and the realization of treaty and Aboriginal rights.

To build the capacity to meet the demand for business financing and to broaden the range of financial services available to Aboriginal customers, the FSIN (through SIEF) has entered into a joint venture with the Toronto Dominion Bank to create the First Nations Bank of Canada. Beginning in December of 1996, this chartered bank will operate nationally, independently of the SIEF. It will have three classes of shares. Ownership of the voting common shares will be restricted to Aboriginal people and institutions (Status, non-Status, Metis and Inuit). Non-voting Preferred "A" Shares will

be available to the general public. The Toronto Dominion Bank will own the voting Preferred "B" Shares. Initially, \$2,000,000 in equity capital will be raised from the sale of Common Shares to FSIN/SIEF and \$8,000,000 from the sale of Preferred B Shares to the Toronto Dominion Bank. In addition, the Toronto Dominion Bank will provide a \$150,000,000 guarantee in order to secure deposit insurance protection for the new bank's customers. Over time as additional Aboriginal investors come forward, the Class "B" Preferred Shares will be retired and Common Shares issued reducing the TD Bank's ownership position and increasing that of Aboriginal people. Under the terms of the joint venture agreement, after ten years control of the bank must be shifted entirely to Aboriginal investors through their ownership of the voting Common Shares. The Toronto Dominion Bank can remain a preferred shareholder and can continue to provide management, cheque-clearing, computer networking and other services on a 'fee-for-service' basis. The Toronto Dominion Bank is making this considerable investment in a partnership with Aboriginal people for business reasons. They believe this to be the best way they can profitably participate in the rapidly expanding Aboriginal economy.

The First Nations Bank of Canada will accept deposits from all sources but will target Aboriginal customers. Of particular interest are: (i) current First Nations institutions and governments and their existing and emerging activities and programs, (ii) First Nations businesses, (iii) the large and growing pool of capital from treaty land entitlement and other settlements, and (iv) non-First Nations companies doing significant business in

'Indian Country'²⁶. The third item is particularly significant. The recently concluded Treaty Land Entitlement process in Saskatchewan (described later in this section) will make \$522 million available to 27 First Nations over the next 12 years. The land claims process is not unique to the TLE First Nations in Saskatchewan. Other First Nations in Saskatchewan are pursuing specific claims. Else where in the country there are numerous land claims under negotiation, with those in British Columbia being particularly noteworthy. In fact, according to The Globe and Mail, on a country-wide scale:

By the year 2000, over one-third of the land in Canada will be returned to First Nation control. Resolution of recent claims has delivered to First Nations approximately \$35,000 per Aboriginal person and it has been estimated that the cost to resolve land claims in British Columbia alone will exceed \$10 billion (The Globe and Mail 1996, 5).

Deposits raised from such sources will provide the bank with capital necessary to make loans to existing and new Aboriginal businesses across Canada. The bank's marketing projections for deposits and resulting loans are confidential but conservative expectations suggest a many-fold increase in the dollars available for loans to Aboriginal customers in Saskatchewan and elsewhere in Canada. The FSIN/Toronto Dominion Bank initiative has not escaped the notice of the other chartered banks. They are not

²⁶ According to Barry Maneri, the newly appointed President of the First Nations Bank of Canada, they have already been approached by several non-First Nation businesses interested in setting up accounts. The most notable to date has been Ontario Hydro which plans to set up an account valued in the \$10s of millions of dollars in support of the business it does with Aboriginal customers.

prepared to yield the lucrative First Nation market to the First Nations Bank of Canada by default²⁷.

5.6.3. Land Claims and Settlements

The impact of the land claims process on First Nations development in Saskatchewan will extend beyond its impact through banking system noted in the previous section.

The recent Treaty Land Entitlement Settlement is a case in point. This settlement is complex but the gist of the Agreement is that 27 participating First Nations in Saskatchewan will receive \$522,422,000 over twelve years. This amount is made up of two components - “shortfall” and “equity”. Each First Nation must first use the money to purchase “shortfall” acres and convert this land to reserve status. The purpose of this part of the settlement is to bring a particular First Nation’s reserve land base up to the size it should have been had the Treaty terms been adhered to at the time the reserve was initially created. Any money left after the purchase of these “shortfall” acres (the “equity” portion) can be used to purchase additional land, develop community infrastructure, and/or for economic development. Each Nation’s entitlement settlement was calculated to include a substantial equity component (on average over 50% of the total settlement) as compensation for the “cost” of the loss of the “shortfall” acres over the last hundred or more years.

²⁷ For example, see a description of the programs of the Bank of Montreal in Chapter 6.

As of February 1996, none of the entitlement First Nations had completed the acquisition of their shortfall acres nor will most for some years to come. For this reason, the impact of the settlement on economic development to date has been minimal. This will change in the future, as the “equity” dollars (conservatively estimated at \$200,000,000) become available for investment in community and economic development. This emerging financial capacity will have a profound impact on the creation and growth of First Nation businesses in Saskatchewan and on job creation. If one accepts that SIEF’s loan portfolio of \$7,000,000 has created 7,000 jobs over ten years and that the same ratio will hold in the future then the \$200,000,000 “equity” dollars similarly invested could create up to 200,000 jobs over the next twelve years. There are other Treaty and specific claims in progress in the province. They can only add to the pool of capital available for development.

5.7. Summary and Conclusion

My research summarized in this chapter supports the conclusion that the development activities of the First Nations in Saskatchewan are consistent with the eight characteristics of the emerging First Nations approach economic development as described in Chapter Two. The results also answer the four questions raised about this approach and in doing so confirm Premises Two to Five as proposed in Chapter Three.

Premise Two states that “First Nations consider economic development to be critical to the attainment of their broader development goals and they have adopted a predominately collective approach to the attainment of these goals”. My research results confirm this. The majority of the First Nations in Saskatchewan have community and/or

economic development plans that established development goals and adopted strategies for the attainment of these goals. The pursuit of economic self-sufficiency in the support of self-government and the improvement of socioeconomic conditions occupy prominent places in these goals. The extent of ownership by First Nations government as opposed to individuals is evidence of a collective or national approach.

Further, my research confirms that the First Nations in Saskatchewan are focusing on the ownership of profitable business competing in local, and particularly regional and national/international markets. These businesses are being created as part of well-founded development plans at the First Nation, Tribal Council and FSIN levels. This confirms Premise Three which says “First Nations view the creation and ownership of businesses that can compete profitably in the global economy as critical to the attainment of their economic development goals”.

Premise Four hold that “First Nations business development strategies include: (i) support for First Nations individuals to create and operate business, (ii) individual First Nation ownership and operation of businesses, and (iii) the establishment of joint ventures and other alliances with other First Nation and non-First Nation partners”. My research indicates that First Nations in Saskatchewan do indeed support individual ownership, create and own business as First Nations and pursue a strategy of alliances with others. These alliances have been particularly common in larger undertakings (as measured by expected annual revenue) and in those competing in national/international market.

According to Premise Five “First Nations consider capacity building through education, institution building, and the acquisition of financial and physical resources through land claims and treaty negotiations to be critical to the effective implementation of their approach to development”. My results confirm the importance attached to capacity building by the Saskatchewan First Nations. They are leaders in the development of educational and financial institutions and are successfully pursuing financial and physical resources through land claims and treaty negotiations.

My research also indicates that the development activities and outcomes of the First Nations in Saskatchewan are consistent with my contingency perspective as proposed in Chapter 4. The First Nations acknowledge the necessity of participation in the global economy and are creating a mode of development for doing so that is consistent with their values, cultures, institutions and practices. First Nations are clearly taking advantage of the characteristics of the new flexible regime of accumulation as they form alliances and partnerships with other participants in the global economy. The prevalence of joint ventures indicates that they (the First Nations) are anticipating, and others are exhibiting, behaviour consistent with the Doctrine of Domicile. Because of the size of individual Nation (its local or community scale) and traditional practices, the people at the ‘grassroots’ level (the civil sector) remain actively involved in all facets of the development process and are able to, and do, intervene forcefully in the process if the

activities or results are deemed unsatisfactory²⁸. Finally, through Tribal Councils and the FSIN, First Nations have established supra-local mechanisms and institutions to encourage cooperation and reduce destructive competition, among themselves²⁹.

Results to date suggest that the approach to development adopted by the First Nations in Saskatchewan is working. Their business development activities have been modestly successful. While the scale of the activities has been too small and their implementation too recent to have had a significant impact on socioeconomic conditions of their members, a foundation has been created upon which future growth can occur. Increased loan capital from the new First Nations Bank of Canada, and from other financial institutions responding to this competitive challenge, will improve the access to capital of First Nations' businesses. Increased human capital in the form of an educated workforce will help ensure the continued effective performance of collectively and privately owned businesses. Physical and financial resources acquired through of land claims will also have a profound impact. As these capacity building efforts to take effect, it seems reasonable to expect strong growth in the number and size of successful First Nations businesses and a related large increase in jobs and other economic benefits.

²⁸ See Chapter 7 for a discussion of the role of the civil sector in the forestry activities of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council.

²⁹ A very recent example is the Saskatchewan Indian Gaming Authority established by the FSIN to manage all Indian gaming operations in the province. A stated objective of the FSIN in establishing the Authority is to avoid a proliferation of Indian-owned casinos and damaging competition among them. Instead, the Authority is charged with seeing that all 70 First Nations (regardless of location) share in the benefits four Indian-owned casinos.

It is likely that the same pattern of ownership will continue for three reasons. First, the pattern is the natural outcome of the First Nations approach to development described in Chapter 2. Second, the investment of “equity” dollars from the TLE settlement (and from other settlements) by First Nations in economic development activities will ensure a continuing significant role for First Nation-owned businesses in the future. Third, joint ventures should remain a preferred strategy for First Nations for a number of reasons including: (i) the continuing need to acquire expertise and technology in particular industries, (ii) the need to access national and international markets, (iii) the opportunity to diversify and reduce risk by spreading limited (although increased) investment capital over a number of businesses and industrial sectors, and (iv) the increasing attractiveness of First Nations as partners to non-First Nation companies because of increasing First Nation control over land and resources.

6. Corporate Aboriginal Alliances

The relationship between corporations and people of the First Nations in Canada has evolved and will continue to evolve in response to changes in the Aboriginal world and society at large. According to Sloan and Hill (1995), this evolution has resulted in the emergence of corporate Aboriginal relations programs “designed to build constructive partnerships with communities and expand employment and business opportunities for Aboriginal people” (Sloan and Hill 1995, ix). The number of corporations developing and implementing programs of this type has:

grown significantly in each of the past three decades, with the greatest growth in activity taking place in the last five years ... almost two-thirds of the programs in this book were introduced in the past five years (Sloan and Hill 1995, x).

My research indicates that these programs are emerging as individual corporations respond strategically to five mutually reinforcing factors that have greatly increased the importance of Aboriginal people to the company’s profitability and long-term survival (Figure 6-1).

The first factor is the change in the global competitive environment that all corporations face and to which all must adjust. As detailed in Chapter 4, this change is the shift from the Fordist to a flexible regime of accumulation. As a result, many companies are much

more likely to enter into alliances and partnerships now than they were in the past³⁰. Factors 2 through 5 relate to the circumstances that are making Aboriginal people likely potential partners for corporations. I distilled them from a variety of sources including Brooks 1994, CANDO 1995, Jamieson 1994, Newell 1994, Sloan and Hill 1995, Syncrude 1995, Thomas 1994, The Globe and Mail 1996, and the Bank of Montreal 1993. These factors are responsible for the fact that some, although certainly not all and perhaps not even most, corporations have adopted or will adopt a strategy of partnership with Aboriginal people in pursuit of competitive advantage and long-term profitability.

1. A change in the global competitive environment from a Fordist to a flexible regime of accumulation
 2. A broadening and deepening of society's expectations about what constitutes socially responsible corporate behaviour in general and toward Aboriginal people in particular
 3. The large and growing number of legal and regulatory mechanisms that impose requirements and restrictions on business ventures impacting Aboriginal lands and people
 4. The large and growing Aboriginal population, its increasing affluence and increasing level of education
 5. The already enormous and rapidly growing pool of natural and financial resources (in addition to human resources) that Aboriginal people control or will control in the near future
-

Figure 6-1: Factors Influencing Corporate Aboriginal Relations

This change in corporate approach to Aboriginal people coupled with the approach to development those people have adopted (Chapter 2) has resulted in the emergence of a variety of alliances between business corporations and First Nations. These alliances

³⁰ For example, see Goldman 1995, Amin 1994, Storper and Walker 1989.

take a variety of forms ranging from employment access programs at one extreme to true business joint ventures at the other. In between are: (i) education and training programs, (ii) public (i.e. First Nation) consultation processes, (iii) co-management committees and boards, (iv) preferential procurement policies toward First Nations companies, (iv) programs to assist First Nations (government and individuals) to create businesses to supply corporate needs, and (v) with the involvement of people from the First Nations, the development of products and services to meet their needs. Common to all, and hence the use of the term alliance, is an element of corporate/Aboriginal cooperation and partnership in the pursuit of goals important to each. My purpose in this chapter is to explore the reasons for the growing interest of corporations in programs for, and alliances with, Aboriginal people and the implications of this interest for First Nations' economic development.

In order to investigate in greater depth the influence of the five factors on corporate Aboriginal relations over time (1985-95), I sent a questionnaire to 33 corporate members of the Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business³¹. The results of this survey are presented in the Section 6.2. Prior to that, in Section 6.1 material received from these corporations about their Aboriginal partnership programs is reviewed. The objective is to provide greater insight into the nature of the five factors and corporate responses to them. In Section 6.3, the partnership programs are categorized by type and 'best case' examples of each type provided. Chapter 6 concludes with comments about the validity

³¹ See Chapter 3 for details and Appendix E for a copy of the letter to corporations and the questionnaire.

of Premises Six, Seven and Eight, the relevance of the contingency perspective and the likelihood for success of the First Nations approach to economic development.

Before continuing, a word about terminology. The terms Aboriginal and native are general and refer to persons descended, at least in part, from the original inhabitants of North America. The terms First Nation, Inuit and Metis have more specific meanings. All three groups are recognized as Aboriginal people in the Canada Constitution and all are acknowledged as having 'Aboriginal rights'. The people of the First Nations have a particular relationship with the Government of Canada and before that with the British Crown. The same is true with the Inuit. Both trace their existence as distinct people or nations to pre-colonial times. Both possess specific rights to land and other resources flowing from this original occupancy. These rights were often captured in historic treaties and are at the core of the modern treaty and land claims negotiations and agreements. Both the First Nations and the Inuit are aggressively pursuing these rights through negotiation and litigation and, as a result, are acquiring title to and control over vast tracts of land as well as receiving large financial settlements. The Metis are of mixed Aboriginal and European descent. While they have a rich and distinct history and culture, their existence as a people began in colonial not pre-colonial times. Their relationship with the Government of Canada and before that the British Crown did not involve 'nation to nation' treaties. They too are making claims to land and financial resources as Aboriginal people but with little success to date.

Most corporations use the terms Aboriginal or native. In some cases, particularly those relating the Factors 2 to 4, they are using these terms in the general sense as defined on

the previous page. In other circumstances, especially those relating to Factor 5, when the companies say Aboriginal or native they are usually speaking of the First Nations and/or the Inuit. For the most part, I will use the terminology adopted by the company being discussed. Where it is important to distinguish between the general category (Aboriginal or native) and the more specific (First Nation, Inuit or Metis), I will.

6.1. Corporate Aboriginal Programs

In this section, I explore the nature of Factors 2 through 5 and the corporate reaction to them in more detail. To do so, I draw on survey responses and other sources as noted.

6.1.1. Factor 2: Social Responsibility

Factor 2 is the general need for corporations to be seen as socially responsible. It has played a role in the emergence of Aboriginal relations programs. A sense of this factor can be found in the following statement by Ron Jamieson, Vice President of the Bank of Montreal:

Companies should partner with Aboriginal people because it is the right thing to do. After all, the Native people were here first. ... The Aboriginal people shared their wealth and taught the newcomers how to survive in a sometimes harsh environment. They were willing partners, but were not treated fairly. ...

We can't right all the wrongs, at least not immediately, but we can work to recover the sense of partnership that prevailed in the beginning. Partnering with Aboriginal communities has the strongest of arguments going for it -- justice (Jamieson 1994, 16).

Variants of this argument are found in the literature of almost all of the companies with Aboriginal relations programs. However, in no case is this factor put forward as the sole or even most important reason for partnering with native people (even by the Bank of

Montreal in spite of Mr. Jamieson's statement). Instead, this factor finds expression in one of two ways, and often in both -- special requirements in law and regulation (Factor 3) and socially responsible corporate behaviour as a source of competitive advantage (relating to Factors 4 and 5).

6.1.2. Factor 3: Legal Requirements

Factor 3 is the growing number of legal and regulatory mechanisms that impose requirements and restrictions on business ventures involving Aboriginal lands and/or impacting Aboriginal people. These laws and regulations are a codification of what society considers to be a minimum acceptable level of corporate social responsibility. They range from specific terms and conditions relating to Aboriginal participation in mineral leases, forest harvesting/management licenses, government contracts, etc., to laws of general application such as human rights and environmental protection legislation.

Beginning in the late 1970's, environmental legislation and the environmental impact assessment that flows from it required the involvement of local people in initial impact assessment and ongoing monitoring and control of resource projects. At the same time, provincial governments began requiring mining and forestry companies granted resources leases in remote areas to put in place preferential hiring and procurement policies for local people³². Many of the corporate Aboriginal programs in place today

³² In the remote areas of Canada where most resource projects are located, the local people are overwhelmingly Aboriginal.

began in response to such legally imposed requirements. For example, according to Eric Newell, President and CEO of Syncrude Canada Ltd.,

Our resources are on land that abuts traditional Native hunting grounds. From the beginning – in fact in order to get the permit to build the property – Syncrude was required to provide opportunities so local Native residents could share equally with others in the benefits of oil sands development (Newell 1994, 6).

Syncrude's Aboriginal programs and alliances emerged in response to this Alberta government requirement as did Cameco's³³ in response to similar requirements in Saskatchewan. The programs and alliances of both companies have evolved from an initial focus on equity in employment to include alliances in the areas of: education and training; business development; and communication, consultation and negotiation with communities and community leaders. As a result of these programs and alliances, these two companies have become the largest industrial employers of Aboriginal people in Canada and both pump tens of millions of dollars into the Aboriginal economy through purchases from Aboriginal-owned companies. For example, through such measures as "tendering contracts only in the north and encouraging joint ventures between northern firms and southern suppliers" (Cameco 1993, 3), by 1995 "of the \$92 million Cameco spent on goods and services in Saskatchewan, 52% was spent on purchases from

³³ In 1989, as required by license, Cameco made a commitment to building a mine site workforce that employed at least 50% northerners (the vast majority of whom are Aboriginal). At the time, the employment rate for northerners at the mine sites was 32%. By 1995, 50% of the mine site workforce was from the north and 40% was Aboriginal – a total 450 Aboriginal people (Cameco 1993, 1995a & 1995b). With these numbers, Cameco became Canada's largest industrial employer of Aboriginal people surpassing Syncrude with its approximately 340.

northern Saskatchewan-based enterprises” (Cameco 1995a, 25). Other resource companies are following suit³⁴.

Human rights legislation and the affirmative action programs flowing from it have been another legal/regulatory force behind the emergence of some corporate Aboriginal programs. This is particularly true for Crown corporations, government departments and agencies, and companies wishing to do business with governments. Because of their unique relationship with government, Crown corporations have been required to develop affirmative action programs (rather than simply being allowed or encouraged to do so as is the case with other business corporations). As with Aboriginal requirements in resource licenses, affirmative action programs have been the base upon which more elaborate corporate Aboriginal partnerships have been built. As examples, the programs of the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool and SaskEnergy are described in the next section.

Beyond resource companies and Crown corporations (and a few business corporations with affirmative action programs), specific legal and regulatory requirements have had little direct impact on corporate Aboriginal relations. The same cannot be said for the issues that underlie such laws and regulations -- the redress of past wrongs and the need for socially responsible corporate behaviour in the future. These issues have had a significant influence on the strategic planning of some corporations as they pursue the business opportunities presented by Aboriginal people (Factors 4 and 5). A growing number of companies are realizing that a strategy of alliances and partnerships with

³⁴ For example Cogema, Placer Dome, Imperial Resources, MacMillan Bloedel, Interfor and Timber West.

Aboriginal people that addresses past wrongs and offers them hope for the future is the key to doing business profitably with native people and on 'native land' now, and will be even more so in the future. As a result, where laws and regulations exist companies are going well beyond the minimum requirements and where none are in force companies are voluntarily including Aboriginal people in their business activities.

6.1.3. Factor 4: Aboriginal Labour Force and Market

Factor 4 is the large and rapidly growing Aboriginal population. This growth has created opportunities in two areas: market and labour force. Aboriginal people are becoming an increasingly significant target market for some companies, particularly given the fact that population growth is coupled with an increasing (albeit very slowly) affluence (The Globe and Mail 1996, and Armstrong 1996). Aboriginal people also form a significant and growing segment of the Canadian labour force. As the level of education and training increase, this growing labour force is becoming more competitive in the labour market (Brooks 1994, Thomas 1994). Companies see these two aspects as intertwined. Those wishing to take advantage of the growing Aboriginal market often see the hiring of Aboriginal people as the mechanism for reaching that market while at the same time addressing the issue of employment equity. The following comments by Ron Jamieson, a Bank of Montreal vice-president, capture the essence of this argument:

Native people, with almost 5 percent of Canada's current population, or more than one million customers, make up a large potential market.

The valuable pool of Native talent is another reason for corporate Canada to partner with Aboriginal people. Education levels are rising rapidly. ... No growth oriented company can afford to ignore this expanding group of well-educated potential employees.

Aboriginal workers provide a window on the expanding Native market. ... companies had better change or risk being left out of important markets. Implementing workplace equality is the right thing to do, but it is also a smart, profitable move (Jamieson 1994, 14).

As examples, the programs of the Bank of Montreal and SaskEnergy are described in the next section.

6.1.4. Factor 5: Natural and Financial Resources

The fifth and final factor, the already enormous and rapidly growing pool of natural and financial resources controlled by Aboriginal people, has a compelling influence on corporate Aboriginal relations. The magnitude of these lands and dollars accruing to the First Nations and Inuit³⁵ is revealed by the following statement that appears in material sent by The Globe and Mail to corporate managers inviting them to a conference on corporate Aboriginal partnerships:

By the year 2000, over one-third of the land in Canada will be returned to First Nation control. Resolution of recent claims has delivered to First Nations approximately \$35,000 per Aboriginal person and it has been estimated that the cost to resolve land claims in British Columbia alone will exceed \$10 billion (The Globe and Mail 1996, 5).

The Globe and Mail goes on to say:

It is clear that the First Nations community is becoming a substantial economic force in this country and that corporate Canada has moved ... to foster ties with Aboriginal groups and businesses (The Globe and Mail 1996, 5).

³⁵ To date, the Metis have been much less successful in securing a land-based and/or financial compensation for 'lost Aboriginal rights'.

The companies with Aboriginal relations programs and alliances that go beyond satisfying basic legal and regulatory conditions have most often done so for business reasons having to do with Factor 5 alone or in combination with Factor 4. Employment and business development programs along with joint ventures and other partnership arrangements are seen as essential to gaining corporate access to needed resources. The programs of Cameco, Interfor and BC Hydro described in the next section are typical.

6.1.5. Factor 3 Revisited

The Federal government has reacted to the emergence and evolution of corporate Aboriginal alliances in the private sector. On April 3, 1996, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development announced a new program called **A Procurement Strategy for Aboriginal Business**. In a letter describing the program, Ronald Irwin, the Minister, said:

Beginning April 1st, 1996, qualified Aboriginal businesses and joint ventures will be given the first opportunity to compete for government contracts servicing Aboriginal populations, where Aboriginal capacity exists and normal requirements for quality, best value and competition can be met. Departments will also be encouraged to target certain types of contracts voluntarily [other than those for services to Aboriginal people] where this action is appropriate and would assist the governments objectives for Aboriginal business development (DIAND 1996, 1).

Under this policy, an Aboriginal business is one that is 51% Aboriginal owned and controlled. An Aboriginal joint venture is one in which 51% of the participating companies are Aboriginal owned. In both cases, 33% of the full-time employees (if there are more than six) must be Aboriginal.

Other recent government actions have combined with this procurement policy to increase the incentive for corporations to form joint ventures with Aboriginal partners. For example, on July 10, 1996, at the Annual Assembly of the AFN, Mr. Irwin announced an 80% increase (some \$100 million) in the annual budget for sewer and water and related projects on reserves. An increase of \$140 million over the next five years in the funds allocated to on-reserve housing has also been announced recently (Star Phoenix 1996b, A1). Expenditures of this size create an opportunity not lost on non-First Nation construction companies. It is bound to encourage some of them to seek out First Nation partners with whom they can form joint ventures that will qualify as Aboriginal under the new procurement policy.

Evidence of the impact of the policy is already surfacing³⁶. On July 8, 1996, The Meadow Lake Tribal Council and Kilborn Western, a large general contractor, announced the formation of a joint venture contracting company -- Great Bear Construction. This company will bid on the construction projects of the nine First Nations of the Tribal Council. When announcing the partnership, Ray Ahenakew the Executive Director of the Tribal Council said that over \$50 million had been spent on construction by the Meadow Lake First Nations over the past 10 to 15 years. Beyond the buildings themselves, the people of the First Nations derived very little economic benefit from this activity. The joint venture is expected to change this by providing permanent employment for a core Aboriginal workforce in the building trades, technical support

³⁶ See also the purchase of Tron Power by the English River First Nation described in Chapter 7.

and management. In addition, a share of the profits of the business will flow back to the MLTC. From Kilborn's perspective, it will continue to have access to the Aboriginal market under the terms of the new procurement policy. Great Bear Construction has already secured its first contract -- a \$700,000 health station for the Buffalo River First Nation. (Indigenous Times 1996, 19)

With this program, events have traveled full circle. In a press release from the Minister's Office announcing the new policy, the following statement was made:

This new federal initiative borrows from the example set by a number of large businesses which use mentoring, joint venturing, and their own contracting needs in a purposeful way to build a healthy Aboriginal economy (DIAND 1996, 2).

Many of the corporate programs that so inspired the government (e.g. those of Syncrude and Cameco) began in response to earlier government requirements. For good business reasons, companies have voluntarily expanded their Aboriginal relations programs beyond the minimum legislated requirements. Most often this expansion has involved the encouragement of Aboriginal business development and the creation of joint ventures. The success of these expanded corporate programs inspired this new effort by the government. In turn, this new program will stimulate further action by companies wishing to do business with the government on Aboriginal projects. The emergence of this procurement policy confirms the wisdom of those businesses who have already adopted a partnership approach to relations with Aboriginal people. Their past efforts give them a current and future competitive advantage in competing for government contracts benefiting Aboriginal people.

6.2. Corporate Aboriginal Relations: Survey Results

The results of my corporate survey³⁷ are presented in this section. An analysis of the responses provides a sense of the importance that corporations attach to each of the five factors. In addition, the results provide an indication about how the corporations' views have changed over the past ten years and, by projection, how they may be expected to change in the future.

Question one explores a company's sense of corporate social responsibility as it translates into its approach to alliances with Aboriginal people – Factor 2. Corporations were asked to select from among three choices³⁸ the one that best reflected the motivating force behind their particular corporate Aboriginal relations strategy. The results of the responses are summarized in Table 6-1.

Reason	Proportion
Good corporate citizenship imposing a cost on the company	16%
Required by legislation, license requirements, etc. and a cost of doing business	0%
Part of corporate strategy intended to improve its long-term competitive performance	84%

Source: corporate survey

Table 6-1: Aboriginal Relations, Primary Motivating Force

Sixteen percent of the respondents said that their approach to corporate Aboriginal relations was primarily motivated by a sense of corporate social responsibility toward Aboriginal and all other 'disadvantaged people'. These companies indicated that they felt that such 'socially responsible behaviour' imposes a cost on their company. Interestingly, none of the respondents indicated the second alternative -- compliance

³⁷ See Appendix E for a copy of the survey and cover letter.

with a legislated, license or regulatory requirements -- as their primary motivating force. Eighty-four percent indicated that working with Aboriginal people is part of their corporate strategy to improve long-term profitability and therefore not a cost but an 'investment'.

	all respondents	respondents indicating #3
The same answer 5 years ago	83%	80%
The same answer 10 years ago	39%	27%

Source: corporate survey

Table 6-2: Primary Motivating Force, Change Over Time

The second question asked respondents if their answer to question 1 would have been the same five and ten years ago (Table 6-2). They were also asked to comment briefly on the reason for any change. Eighty-three percent of respondents said that their company's primary motivating force for working with Aboriginal people was the same five years ago as it is today. The figure drops to 39% who felt their company's motivating force was the same ten years ago. For companies reporting the third choice as their primary motivation, the proportion reporting the same factor five and ten years ago drops to 80% and 27%, respectively. Significantly, this means that 10 years ago only 22% (down from 84% today) of the companies would have reported that working with Aboriginal people was a part of their strategy to improve long-term corporate performance. From this, it is clear that corporate attitudes about programs for, and partnerships with, Aboriginal people has shifted over a decade in a manner consistent with theoretical expectations captured in Figure 4-2.

³⁸ The three alternatives are drawn from material on corporate social responsibility discussed in Chapter 4.

In their comments relating to questions one and two, several respondents indicated that their companies' current approach began as a response to legislative/regulatory requirements. Over time, some companies came to realize that expanding corporate Aboriginal alliances beyond the minimum legislated requirements was in their best long-term interests. Cameco's experience, as described in the comments section of the questionnaire, is typical (see Section 6.4.3 for more details about Cameco's program):

Ten years ago - legislated requirement

Five years ago - began to see the strategic advantages

Now -- very much a strategic investment (Cameco survey response, 1996).

These responses provide a partial explanation as to why no companies reported Factor 2 as their primary current/future motivating factor. The companies surveyed have progressed beyond mere compliance with regulations to develop more elaborate approaches to their relationship with Aboriginal people. This shows the long-term value to both corporations and Aboriginal people of legislated requirements. They can force companies to take a reluctant first step toward partnering with Aboriginal people. After that, if conditions warrant the partnerships may expand and deepen, to the benefit of both.

The next four questions on the survey explored the extent to which Factors 3, 4 and 5 are responsible for the fact that corporations increasingly see working with Aboriginal people as an opportunity for improving long-term corporate performance (an investment) as opposed to a constraint imposing current costs. Results are described in the following paragraphs and summarized in Table 6-3.

Question three asked if the company views Aboriginal people as a significant labour pool from which future employees will be recruited and if the company has an Aboriginal hiring policy or program. Companies were asked to expand on their answer by commenting about the success of such programs. Seventy-nine percent of respondents indicated that their company views Aboriginal people as a significant pool from which future employees will be recruited. Sixty-eight percent of the companies reported having an Aboriginal employment policy or program. Several were also involved in training and education partnerships with others in their industry and Aboriginal groups or institutions intended to prepare people for employment in their industry. Companies commenting on their success to date reported satisfactory outcomes.

Question four explored the importance of Aboriginal people as current or future customers of the companies. Of those responding, 26% stated that Aboriginal people and/or communities are currently significant customers. When asked about future prospects, the proportion viewing Aboriginal people and communities as an attractive market increased to 32% of the total. Two-thirds of this 32% stated that market potential was the major reason they have adopted or are considering adopting Aboriginal hiring policies and/or establishing business alliances with Aboriginal people. Overall, this means that only 21% of the companies responding indicated that market potential was a major factor in determining their approach to working with Aboriginal people.

The importance to a corporation of the current and potential resources held by Aboriginal people was the subject of question five. Of the companies surveyed, 53% felt

that Aboriginal people currently control resources important to their profitable operation. When the focus shifted to the future in the second part of the question, the proportion of companies that felt that Aboriginal people will acquire control of resources critical to their future profitability jumped to 79%. All the companies making up this 79% reported that current or potential Aboriginal control of resources was the major reason for the adoption of their policy toward Aboriginal people. From this finding, it is evident that the drive by the Aboriginal people (primarily the First Nations and Inuit) to build economic development capacity through land claims is working. The claims already settled and the prospects for many more being settled in the future have set the stage for the successful implementation of the First Nations' strategy of joint ventures with non-First Nation corporations.

Factor	Current	Future	Important to strategy
Aboriginal people as a significant labour force	79%	79%	68%
Aboriginal people as a significant market	26%	32%	21%
Aboriginal people in control of significant resources	53%	79%	79%

Source: corporate survey

Table 6-3: Aboriginal Relations, Primary Motivating Force

Combining the responses to questions 3, 4 and 5 (Table 6-3), 89% of the companies indicated that their Aboriginal alliance strategy and programs are motivated by Aboriginal people as a current and/or potential labour pool, market, and/or source of key resources. Only 11% are motivated solely by a sense of general social responsibility (Factor 1) or legislated requirements (Factor 2). These results differ from those reported in Table 6-1 where 16% of companies say that their current programs are motivated by a sense of general social responsibility. The difference (11% versus 16%) stems from the

fact that one of the companies that selected response one to question one (making it part of the 16%) feels Factors 4 and 5 will become very important to it in the future and is therefore developing its Aboriginal relations program accordingly.

From corporate responses, it is apparent that Factors 4 (Aboriginal people as a labour force and/or market) and 5 (Aboriginal people in control of key resources) are the overwhelming reasons why corporations have adopted a strategy of alliances with Aboriginal people. Factor 2 (the duty to be socially responsible) is often alluded to as a contributing factor, usually in the sense that a company must behave appropriately vis a vis Aboriginal people in order to tap into their potential as a market and/or a supplier of human, financial and/or natural resources. Factor 3 is not viewed as significant at present or in the future. The companies responding said that the forces motivating their behaviour and their objectives go far beyond simple compliance with legislated quotas and requirements. Several do, however, attribute the genesis of their current programs to such requirements imposed on them in the past.

Question six asked the companies if they have a policy and programs to encourage Aboriginal companies to meet some of their current and future input and other needs. Eighty-four percent of the companies responded that they do. The second part of the question asked if these programs go beyond encouraging existing Aboriginal companies to include assistance to Aboriginal individuals and communities to establish new companies. Seventy-nine per cent of the responding corporations indicated that they already have or are developing such a program. This proactive encouragement of First

Nations business development provides an indication of the strength of the willingness of some corporations to partner with Aboriginal people.

The final question was the most general of all. It explored the extent to which the companies are pursuing a strategy of alliances and joint ventures in response to Factor 1 -- the shift to a flexible global competitive regime in general and not just with respect to Aboriginal people. Fifty-eight percent indicated that they are more likely to pursue such strategies now and in the future than they were 5 years ago. The proportion jumped to 95% when asked to compare current and future strategies and arrangements with those of 10 years ago. It is clear from their responses that the companies are adopting a more 'flexible' mode of operation in response to Factor 1 -- global competitive pressures. This general response combined with the significance corporations attach to Factors 4 and 5 has obvious implications for corporate/Aboriginal relations. For sound business reasons some corporations are more likely to pursue alliances with Aboriginal people now and in the future, than they were in the past.

In the next section, corporate Aboriginal programs are categorized and one or more examples of each type provided.

6.3. Corporate Aboriginal Programs: 'Best Cases'

A review of the material received from respondents indicates that their corporate Aboriginal relations programs can be grouped into four categories (Figure 6-2). The first category includes those that have been developed in response to Factors 2 and/or 3. They are generally employment equity programs intended to increase the number of Aboriginal people (as well as the disabled, women, visible minorities, etc.) employed by

the company to an equitable level. While certainly of value to the individuals who might otherwise not have been employed, such programs play a very minor role in First Nations economic development.

The other three categories of corporate Aboriginal relations programs are market-based, resource-based and balanced (a combination of market and resource-based). While they may acknowledge Factors 2 and 3 and may even have begun in response to them, they are largely the outcome of company strategies motivated by Factors 4 and/or 5. Factor 1 exerts an important influence. Because of it, a growing number of companies are willing to pursue a strategy of alliances with Aboriginal people as they respond to Factors 4 and 5. Companies view alliances and programs as an investment that will contribute to profitability, growth and long-term survival. Most category 2, 3 and 4 programs have four key features in common: (i) employment, (ii) education and training, (iii) business development programs including joint ventures and other partnering, and (iv) communication, consultation and negotiation between corporate leaders and Aboriginal leaders and communities. Category three and four programs are particularly significant because of the 'fit' they have with the First Nations' strategy of business development founded on regaining ownership and control of their traditional lands.

1.	Employment Equity Programs (legislation/licensing, social responsibility)
2.	Market-based Programs
3.	Resource-based Programs
4.	Balanced (market and resource) Programs

Figure 6-2: Categories of Corporate Aboriginal Relations Programs

6.3.1. Employment Equity Programs

The Aboriginal relations program of the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool falls in this category. According to its survey response, the company does not consider Aboriginal people a significant market for its products or services. Nor does it feel that Aboriginal people control resources important to the Wheat Pool's profitable operation. To date, the company's program for Aboriginal people is simply a part of a larger employment equity program designed to satisfy human rights legislation. Interestingly, the Wheat Pool feels that this may change in the future. The company expects the recent Treaty Land Entitlement settlements in Saskatchewan to result in significant growth in Aboriginal agriculture. As a result, the people of the First Nations may become both significant customers and controllers of resources important to the Pool. Based on this expectation, the company has begun to explore possibilities for joint ventures with the Federation of the Saskatchewan Indian Nations. Perhaps this is another case where a limited program begun in response to legislated requirements will blossom into a relationship that includes business alliances to the benefit of both the company and Aboriginal people as Factors 4 and 5 come into play.

6.3.2. Market-Based Programs

Category 2 programs are those inspired by the fact that Aboriginal people represent a large and growing market for a company's products and services. The programs of the Bank of Montreal and SaskEnergy are good examples.

The Bank of Montreal makes no attempt to disguise the motivation for its Aboriginal relations strategy, nor should it. The company's primary objective is to increase the business it does with Aboriginal people. According to its Aboriginal Banking Review, to achieve this objective, the Bank of Montreal:

Will work hard to build and nurture a relationship that will endure, based on mutual respect and mutual advantage. We will listen, learn and work with Aboriginal communities to find new and creative solutions to satisfy financing and investment needs (Bank of Montreal 1993, 1).

The bank's key measures of success for its Aboriginal relations strategy include: (i) the number of Aboriginal employees in its workforce and the number promoted, and (ii) growth in the number and dollar amount of loans to, and deposits from, Aboriginal people and communities. (Jamieson 1994, Sloan and Hill 1995, Bank of Montreal 1993).

The bank has pursued its strategy on two tracks. One is directed toward improving the products and services it markets to Aboriginal people and communities, and the other to increasing the number of Aboriginal employees with the bank. The latter was expected to support the former because:

Building a workforce that better reflects the communities it serves gives the bank an enhanced understanding of the needs of those communities, builds mutual trust and respect and enables the bank to provide Aboriginal people with better customer service (Sloan and Hill 1995, 42).

This is clearly a case where the company views socially responsible corporate behaviour as a key factor in attaining its long-term business objectives and not simply an obligation imposing costs to be minimized.

The bank's efforts to increase the number of Aboriginal employees began in May of 1991. At that time the bank established a task force on Aboriginal employment. The task

force studied the issue for over a year and submitted a report in October of 1992. According to that report, fewer than one-half of 1% of the bank's employees were Aboriginal, whereas the Aboriginal component of the national workforce was 2% . The report identified barriers to the employment of Aboriginal people at the bank and made 31 recommendations for action. The objective of these recommendations was "to develop a national workforce that comprises at least 2% Aboriginal employees by 1995" (Bank of Montreal 1993, 8). To ensure that its Aboriginal employment goals received serious attention, the bank began including accountability for workplace equality in its business planning and performance evaluation processes. Executives and senior managers are expected to set and achieve realistic annual goals. Workplace equality results are assessed as part of a manager's annual performance review.

The bank has been pursuing its employment target with some success. At the end of 1991, there were 118 Aboriginal people employed by the company. By 1993, 122 additional Aboriginal people had been hired and, in 1994, another 130. This threefold increase brought the Aboriginal proportion of the bank's workforce to 1.7%. No final report is available for 1995 but it is expected that the 2% target will have been achieved. As well, during this same period considerable efforts were made to ensure Aboriginal people had the opportunity to advance within the bank. For example, in 1994 Aboriginal people received 0.9% of promotions even though they made up only 0.6% of the workforce at the start of that year.

The other major track of the bank's strategy to increase its Aboriginal business was to improve the quality and quantity of its products and services for Aboriginal people and

to improve access to these services. In pursuit of these ends, the bank established an Aboriginal Banking Unit in 1992. This unit was headed by a vice president, Ron Jamieson, a Mohawk from Six Nations in Ontario. Under Mr. Jamieson, eight Aboriginal banking managers (each Aboriginal) were appointed, one in each of the bank's eight regions. In describing the role of these managers, the bank says that the:

Managers of Aboriginal banking will provide the bank with counsel and training in matters of Aboriginal community protocol, tradition and culture. Aboriginal business is a significant and growing business opportunity, which a major Canadian financial institution would be foolish to neglect. We need to listen and to understand, if we are to earn the right to bank Aboriginal business (Bank of Montreal 1993, 6).

The creation of the Aboriginal Unit involves the allocation of considerable corporate resources and is evidence of the importance the bank attaches to its Aboriginal strategy. The bank is 'putting its money where its mouth is'.

With this structure in place, the bank began a number of initiatives intended to better serve and therefore attract the business of Aboriginal people and communities. These efforts included (and still include):

1. A circle of Aboriginal leaders to advise the bank on Aboriginal banking issues.
2. Branches on reserves.
3. An Aboriginal business support program including conferences and workshops.
4. An Aboriginal credit task force to share specialized knowledge throughout the bank to better serve Aboriginal customers.
5. A legal project to build an expertise in relevant laws and taxation impacts to enable the bank to offer sound and consistent service across the country.

6. A community interaction pilot project to “learn how our front-line customer service staff perceive the opportunity to serve Aboriginal business, and how Aboriginal customers, in turn, perceive banks, bank products, and banking relationships” (Bank of Montreal 1993, 6).

The bank is pleased with business results to date. According to Sloan and Hill, between 1993 and 1994, the bank increased the number of Aboriginal loans by 200% and increased the number of accounts held by Aboriginal people and organizations by 70%. More importantly, the bank has established itself in the Aboriginal market and is poised and prepared to participate in the economic growth that is likely to occur as a result of further land claims settlements and Aboriginal economic development activities.

SaskEnergy is a crown corporation of the province of Saskatchewan. It provides natural gas to households and businesses in the province. Its Aboriginal relations program, like that of the Bank of Montreal, is motivated in part by the fact that it sees the Aboriginal market as currently important and rapidly growing, and in part because it is a crown corporation. In its publication **Doing Business with Aboriginal Business**, SaskEnergy identifies the expanding Aboriginal housing market and reserve gasification as areas of particular potential (SaskEnergy 1995b). In fact, “Aboriginal people constitute the largest market of expanding customer demand for SaskEnergy and TransGas in the province” (Sloan and Hill 1995, 16). This business motivation is compounded by the fact that SaskEnergy is a Crown corporation. The Government of Saskatchewan’s stated objective is to have Aboriginal people become full partners in the processes and benefits of social and economic development in the province. As the owners of SaskEnergy, the

province has the power and the right to have the corporation incorporate this objective into its policies, programs and operations, and it has done so.

These two influences are apparent in SaskEnergy's Aboriginal policy that:

Recognizes the need for the Aboriginal community of Saskatchewan to be integral stakeholders in Canada's economic development; specifically, SaskEnergy will encourage and foster partnership development in three strategic areas: employment, education and training, and business development (SaskEnergy 1995a, 2).

The company goes on to say that its policies are intended to "help facilitate Indian and Metis self-determination ... promote Aboriginal community development and renewal" (SaskEnergy 1995a, 2). Further, in its literature the company states that its partnerships with Aboriginal people intended to accomplish these objectives "make good business sense" because they permit "programs and services to be customized for and by the community they seek to serve" (SaskEnergy 1995a, 2) that is, the current and rapidly growing future Aboriginal market. This approach is consistent with the company's vision of becoming "Canada's leading energy company by anticipating customers changing needs and providing innovative and responsive solutions" (SaskEnergy 1995b, 2).

SaskEnergy is implementing its program on three fronts. The first is employment. In 1994, the company adopted an employment plan involving the following actions:

1. Develop and demonstrate fair and accessible employment practices and planning to ensure that Aboriginal people are considered for employment opportunities.
2. Foster and promote a culturally sensitive and proactive workplace.
3. Employ Aboriginal role models at all business levels of the corporation.

4. Employ Aboriginal post-secondary students for the summer.

As a result of these policies, the company reports that 20% of all new hires in 1994 were of Aboriginal ancestry. By the end of that year, Aboriginal people made up 4.5% of the company's workforce. As well, 17% of the summer students hired in 1994 were Aboriginal.

The second front, education and training, has four elements. The first is the development of partnership programs with Aboriginal post-secondary institutions to promote co-op work/study programs to increase the recruitment and retention of Aboriginal students. The second is a community-based program to encourage students to stay in school. The third is to provide scholarships, bursaries and grants to Aboriginal students who will meet SaskEnergy's future workforce needs. The fourth component is training for current Aboriginal employees to prepare them for advancement opportunities.

The final front is business development. SaskEnergy's objective is to "foster and support Indian and Metis businesses and contractors to do business with and for SaskEnergy" (SaskEnergy 1995a, 3). To develop alliances with current and new Aboriginal businesses, SaskEnergy will:

- *Identify business opportunities.*
- *Advise the Aboriginal business community of opportunities and how to access them.*
- *Include Aboriginal businesses in the Saskatchewan Supplier Development Program (SaskEnergy 1995a, 3).*

In support of these activities, SaskEnergy prepared a list of Aboriginal companies and contractors in the province. The list is updated continuously as additional business are identified or new ones created.

SaskEnergy, like the Bank of Montreal, has integrated its Aboriginal objectives into its planning and performance evaluation processes. Managers are held accountable for the setting and achieving of goals consistent with these objectives. The second and third elements of SaskEnergy's program are so new that it is not possible to measure their impact, however, the company says it is pleased with progress to date.

In summary, both the Bank of Montreal and SaskEnergy view Aboriginal people and communities as an attractive growth market. Both have concluded that the inclusion of Aboriginal people through employment and business relationships is the key to tapping this potential. Both have invested considerable time and money in their Aboriginal programs with the expectation that the business return from this market will more than justify the investment. In fact, the word investment captures the essence of both companies' attitudes. Aboriginal programs are not seen as a current cost but rather as an investment that is an important component for their strategy for future success.

The Bank of Montreal's program is not unique among financial institutions nor is SaskEnergy's among crown corporations. The other major chartered banks see the same market opportunity and are following similar strategies of partnership. One notable initiative involves the Toronto Dominion Bank in a joint venture with the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations to create a new national chartered bank -- The First

Nations Bank of Canada (see Chapter 5 for details). Another is a joint venture between the Canadian Bankers Association and the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College. The two have joined forces to develop and offer an undergraduate business degree with a major in 'Aboriginal Banking'. Companies in the financial services and accounting field are also developing similar programs. This is particularly true of the major accounting/business consulting firms such as KPMG Peat Marwick and Price Waterhouse that have a history of doing business with Aboriginal communities and organizations. Other Crown corporations in Saskatchewan and across the country have or are developing market-driven programs like SaskEnergy's (e.g. SaskTel, Manitoba Hydro, BC Hydro and BC Tel, Ontario Hydro, Hydro Quebec).

Some companies in the construction industry have developed similar market-driven programs. PCL Construction's excellent program is a case in point. Corporate Aboriginal partnership activity in this sector is certain to increase. With all federally-funded construction (houses, schools, water/sewer systems, etc.) on reserves (and elsewhere for the benefit of Aboriginal people) falling under the new procurement policy, there is bound to be a scramble by non-Aboriginal companies to find Aboriginal partners with whom they can establish 'Aboriginally-controlled' joint ventures to bid on such projects. This will be matched by Aboriginal companies searching for experienced and well-equipped partners so that they can bid on these large construction projects. The already described Great Bear Construction, a newly formed joint venture between the nine First Nations of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council and Kilborn Western is a case in point.

6.3.3. Resource-Based Programs

These programs are motivated Aboriginal peoples' control of resources (natural, financial and/or human) critical to companies' profitability and survival. Not surprisingly, the majority of the corporations with programs in this category are resource companies that require access to land and resources in remote areas. Increasingly, control of much of this land is passing, completely or partially into Aboriginal (particularly First Nations/Inuit) hands. The programs of Cameco and Interfor fall in this category and are described in the following pages.

Cameco Corporation is the world's largest publicly traded uranium company and an emerging gold producer. The company was created in 1988 through a merger of two crown corporations, Eldorado Nuclear (federal) and Saskatchewan Mining Development Corporation (provincial). Shares were sold to the public in 1991 with the governments maintaining a minority interest. Government ownership interest has declined since through the periodic sale of their shares. Cameco has uranium and gold mining operations in northern Saskatchewan, a uranium processing plant in Ontario and, as a joint venture partner, a gold mine under construction in Kyrgyzstan. The company is currently exploring for minerals in Canada, the United States, Mexico, South America, Australia, and Central Asia.

Cameco's explanation as to why it implemented its Aboriginal relations program and what motivated the growth of that program over time was provided in the previous section but is worth repeating here:

Ten years ago - a legislated requirement

Five years ago - began to see the strategic advantages

Now - very much a strategic investment (Cameco survey response, 1996).

This change over time has resulted in the company's current view that "partnerships with Aboriginal communities anchor support for its existing operations and facilitate the prospects of expansion and new mine development" (Sloan and Hill 1995, 35). Cameco has set out to earn this community support

by implementing policies which permit northerners to share in the benefits of development in the Athabaska Basin. Specifically, it is committed to staffing at least half the corporations northern operations with local residents, to give preferential consideration to northern businesses and to promote dialogue between Cameco and northern leaders (Cameco 1995a, 25).

Cameco's program to implement these policies has the four familiar components -- employment, education and training, business development, and communication, consultation and negotiation with communities and community leaders.

In 1989, in response to provincial government requirements, the company made a commitment to build a mine site workforce that employed at least 50% northerners (the vast majority of whom are Aboriginal). The mine site employment rate for northerners at that time was 32%. In order to achieve its objective, northerners were (and still are) given first priority to fill vacant positions at the mine sites. The company did not wait passively for northerners and in particular Aboriginal people to apply. Proactively, it developed

one of the largest employment data bases in the north and accepts referrals from northern outreach offices, band offices, tribal council offices and northern training institutions. This network of information allows us to determine the availability of qualified northern candidates for employment opportunities (Cameco 1993, 2).

Because northerners, particularly Aboriginal people, often lack the necessary qualifications “many technical positions are filled by northern trainees to give them the experience necessary to expand their qualifications” (Cameco 1993, 2).

By 1993, 43% of the minesite workforce was northern. More importantly to this discussion, 37% of the total minesite workforce was Aboriginal (Cameco 1993). By 1995, 50% of the minesite workforce was from the north and 40% was Aboriginal -- a total of 450 Aboriginal people (Cameco 1996a & 1995b). With these numbers, Cameco became Canada’s largest industrial employer of Aboriginal people edging out Syncrude with approximately 340 such employees. In addition to this direct hiring, Cameco requires that all its contractors to: (i) maximize their hiring of northerners, and (ii) source their materials and sub-contractors from the north, whenever possible. In 1993, Cameco estimated that of the average 300 contractor employees working on site at any particular time 50% were northerners, most these Aboriginal (Cameco 1993, 3).

In addition to on the job training including the use of trainee positions as described, Cameco supports education and training in other significant ways. The company hires students for the summer and encourages them to stay in school. Cameco offers awards and post-secondary scholarships to 40 northern students each year. As well, along with other uranium mining companies and governments, Cameco is participating in a five year, \$10.5 million program. The purpose of the program is to identify specific occupations needed at future mining operations in the north and then to train northerners so that they will be qualified to fill these positions when the new mines open.

Cameco's efforts to support northern and Aboriginal businesses have been as successful as their Aboriginal employment activities. Through such measures as "tendering contracts only in the north and encouraging joint ventures between northern firms and southern suppliers" (Cameco 1993, 3), by 1995 "of the \$92 million Cameco spent on goods and services in Saskatchewan, 52% was spent on purchases from northern Saskatchewan-based enterprises" (Cameco 1995a, 25). Several of these 'northern firms' are joint ventures between either the La Ronge First Nation or the Prince Albert Grand Council and non-northern companies formed to exploit the opportunity offered by Cameco's 'buy northern' policy.

Finally, Cameco works to strengthen its partnership with the Aboriginal and other northern people through communication. The company holds frequent community meetings, with translation into Cree and Dene, to discuss its future plans with the members of the communities impacted by its operations. In a further effort to enhance communication and consultation, Cameco has established a Northern Community Liaison Committee that "provides an opportunity for the 14 northern chiefs and mayors to meet with Cameco's executives three times a year to exchange information and ideas" (Cameco 1993, 3). Also, a prominent First Nation leader, Chief Harry Cook of the La Ronge First Nation, is a director of the company and contributes a First Nations' perspective at the highest corporate level.

Cameco has been successful in achieving its northern and Aboriginal employment and business development objectives. Directly and through its contractors, it employs 700 northerners, over 600 of whom are Aboriginal. In addition, it injects more than \$46

million into the northern economy through its purchases from 'northern' businesses. These activities have had a tremendous impact in a region where unemployment is very high, high paying jobs scarce and business opportunities limited. Clearly, the people in the north (including Aboriginal people) and Cameco are involved in a mutually beneficial partnership. Through jobs and business activity, Aboriginal people and other northern residents benefit from the long-term survival of the company³⁹. In return, Cameco has earned the support of northern residents⁴⁰ allowing it to meet its primary goal, that is to: "anchor support for its existing operations and facilitate the prospects of expansion and new mine development" (Sloan and Hill 1995, 35).

Forestry is another industrial sector where increasing First Nations' control over land and resources has become a critical issue. The following paragraphs describe one company's response -- International Forest Products Ltd. (Interfor). Although more advanced than some, its programs and alliances are typical of those emerging among forestry companies⁴¹.

³⁹ There is considerable debate about the impact of the employment of Aboriginal people in the northern mine on the socioeconomic conditions in northern communities. Not all the Aboriginal employees of the mines remain residents of their home communities. However, most, particularly those from First Nations, maintain strong connections to their communities through 'citizenship' and extended family relationships. This means that at least some benefits flow to that 'home community' even if the employed individual chooses to live elsewhere.

⁴⁰ This is not to say that uranium mining and economic development associated with it is without detractors. As elsewhere, in northern Saskatchewan there is considerable concern about the environmental impacts of uranium mining and the nuclear industry in general.

⁴¹ MacMillan Bloedel is a case in point. According to comments returned with its questionnaire response, MacMillan Bloedel and its partner Sask. Forest Products are actively seeking Aboriginal partners to participate in a proposed oriented strandboard project in north eastern Saskatchewan.

Incorporated in 1963, Interfor has grown to become one of Canada's major forest companies with operations throughout British Columbia. The company has 59 logging operations and operates eight saw mills. The company employs approximately 4,400 people including 900 through the logging contractors under its direction. Annual sales of lumber, wood chips and logs in 1995 generated revenues of \$930 million (Interfor 1995a).

Interfor has entered into a variety of arrangements with people of the First Nations in British Columbia. These arrangements were motivated by Interfor's desire to: preserve its annual allowable cut, maintain its logging profits, increase the supply of logs to its mills and ensure uninterrupted operation of its mills. In order to accomplish these objectives "Interfor is willing to undertake a range of cooperative arrangements, including joint ventures, with any Aboriginal community or organization that holds cutting rights" (Sloan and Hill 1995, 195). Interfor fully expects, indeed wants, these partnership arrangements to provide First Nations with: economic development (jobs and wealth), a sense of ownership and self-worth, control over Aboriginal land and rights, and the preservation of cultural sites and artifacts (Interfor 1995c). This approach has not always ruled at Interfor. In his questionnaire response, Fred Lowenbergen, Senior Vice President of Forestry and Land-use, said that it began to emerge between five and ten years ago in response to increasing Aboriginal control over forest resources crucial to Interfor's long-term survival.

Interfor's logging and forestry operations have the company interacting with 30 First Nations creating opportunities for cooperative arrangements ranging from simple

logging contracts to complex business partnerships involving large capital investments and long time horizons. According to Sloan and Hill and the company's own documents, its arrangements with First Nations already in place or under consideration include:

- at least nine brushing, planting and environmental contracts with Aboriginal companies.
- a cooperative venture with the Toqualt Band in the construction and operation of their sawmill and the marketing of their lumber.
- on occasion, supplying facilities and equipment to Aboriginal entrepreneurs.
- a joint working group with the Tla-o-qui-aht Band to review and pursue development proposals.
- preliminary discussions about a joint venture sawmill operation with the Anderson Lake Band.
- a contract with the Nisga Nation to do helilogging on their land secured by an agreement to contract part of the work to a 10-12 person Nisga crew.
- with the Sechelt Band:
 - a joint stewardship and economic alliance signed in 1994 involving logging roads, a lodge and other tourism facilities and the establishment of a joint planning process that reviews the company's 5-year plans,
 - technical advice to the band on the development of a value-added mill, and
 - assistance in training fisheries and forestry crews and then awarding them contracts.

The company's experience has convinced it that three factors are key to a successful partnership with Aboriginal people:

- *There must be clear potential for mutual benefit.*
- *The two parties must bring together a mix of capital, human resources, business skills and technology to ensure that the arrangement is profitable.*

- *The relationship must be characterized by mutual respect and trust* (Sloan and Hill 1995, 200).

With these factors present, the company expects to benefit from its cooperative ventures with Aboriginal people through improved access to timber, local workers and contractors. In turn, Interfor expects the benefits to Aboriginal people to include employment opportunities, skill development, the opportunity to develop businesses, and the development of management and business skills. The company's motive is clearly and unequivocally long-term corporate profitability secured through mutually beneficial partnerships with First Nations who control key forest resources.

6.3.4. Balanced Programs

The fourth and final category of programs are those that emerge when Aboriginal people represent both a significant market and a source of critical resources. B.C. Hydro is a case in point. The company is a crown corporation of the province of British Columbia. It generates, transmits and distributes electricity. With revenues of \$2.1 billion and a customer base of 1.3 million, it is the third largest utility company in Canada. The company has over 6,000 employees of whom fewer than 1% were Aboriginal in 1992. In August of 1992, the corporation launched its Aboriginal Relations Department with a mandate to "establish mutually beneficial business relationships with Aboriginal people that will be recognized as a model for others to follow" (Brooks 1994, 18). In June of 1993, reflecting the importance of Aboriginal relations to the corporation, the position of Vice-President of Corporate and Aboriginal Affairs was created.

According to Cheryl Brooks, the manager of the Aboriginal Relations Department, B. C. Hydro's strategy for forming mutually beneficial business arrangements with Aboriginal people was a pragmatic response to the fact that:

First Nations people are gaining greater control and jurisdiction over land and resources, re-establishing their own governments, and acquiring the skills and education to become a part of B.C. Hydro's future workforce. They also make up an increasingly significant portion of B.C. Hydro's customer base (Brooks 1994, 18).

The company's program has the familiar elements of employment, training and education, business development and communication. In addition, B.C. Hydro's program has a grievance resolution component. This aspect flows from the fact that in the past First Nations received inadequate or no compensation for powerline rights of way crossing their land and for the flooding of their traditional land by hydroelectric projects.

During the first year and one-half of its existence, the Aboriginal Relations Department concentrated its efforts on grievance resolution and communication. It was felt these efforts were essential to the creation of a foundation on which future business partnerships could be built. The department also developed and delivered negotiations and cross-cultural training programs during this period and began to implement its strategy for generating an increasing number of business opportunities for Aboriginal suppliers. This later strategy has three elements: (i) expand the opportunities for Aboriginal suppliers in capital projects, operating purchases and contract services; (ii) enhance the capability of Aboriginal businesses to meet B.C. Hydro's needs, and (iii) "encourage other Crown agencies and businesses in British Columbia to develop policies

and actions that drive Aboriginal business development” (Brooks 1994, 20). In 1995, speaking about business development, Ms. Brooks reported that “modest results have been achieved to date, and tangible goals have been set with the objective of achieving rapid progress in the next two years” (Brooks 1994, 20).

B.C. Hydro is also developing an Aboriginal employment strategy. Employment equity is an element, but the company is looking beyond to its future labour needs. It sees the Aboriginal population as an important source of employees, particularly in remote areas. To tap this resource, the company has recently introduced “an integrated recruitment, training, mentorship and placement program” (Brooks 1994, 21) for Aboriginal people.

6.3.5. Summary: ‘Best Case Programs’

The preceding are examples of good Aboriginal relations programs in each category. They are by no means unique. Cogema’s program, although smaller than Cameco’s, is equally impressive. Placer Dome is adopting similar strategies at its new mine in Labrador. Syncrude’s Aboriginal relations program and partnerships have long been touted as one of the best in the country. Imperial Oil and other petroleum exploration and extraction companies are beginning to develop programs similar to those of Syncrude. MacMillan Bloedel and TimberWest, two other B.C. forest companies, have programs similar to Interfor’s. In fact, the entire B.C. forest industry has come together to develop and publish **A Proposed Aboriginal Forestry Strategy for the BC Forest Industry** (B. C. Council of Forest Industries 1994) recommending similar practices. The other major banks as well as the accounting and business consulting firms all have or are

developing programs similar to the Bank of Montreal's. The provincial utilities across the country have programs similar to those of SaskEnergy and B.C. Hydro.

6.4. *Summary and Conclusions*

It is clear from my research results that at least some corporations behave in a manner consistent with Premises Six, Seven and Eight. Given the unfolding treaty negotiations and land claims and the resulting First Nations control over key resources, it is safe to say that the number doing so will increase over time. It follows that First Nations taking an 'assertively pragmatic approach' (Shatz 1987b) should be able to find corporate partners willing enter into mutually beneficial alliances for sound business reasons. This augers well for the success of the First Nations approach to economic development described in Chapter 2.

Premise Six suggests that in response to a broadening and deepening of what the public and governments believe to be socially responsible corporate behaviour, companies are more likely to enter into alliances and other participative processes with First Nations than they were in the past. Results of my research certainly confirm this fact. The corporations studied have clearly developed their corporate Aboriginal programs (which involve a strong component of partnership) in response to changing public expectations. In some cases this has occurred as a direct response to Factors 2 and 3. In other cases it has come about because companies believe that such behaviour will improve their access to key resources held by Aboriginal people (Factors 4 and 5). Over time and in the manner described by Brummer (1991) Belkaoui (1987) Goldman (1995) and others, companies by their words and deeds are indicating that they view the satisfaction of

social responsibilities (by partnering with Aboriginal people) as essential to earning the returns necessary for long-term survival and not simply an obligation imposing current costs to be minimized in the interest of short-term profits⁴².

Premise Seven relates to corporate reactions to changes in the global competitive environment. It has two aspects. The first relates to the notion that companies are adopting the strategies of flexible competition in response to changes in the global economy. Specifically, it is expected that companies will narrow their focus to concentrate on key competencies and core activities and, as a result, increasingly rely on 'external' arrangements such as joint ventures and other partnerships, sub-contracting, negotiated supplier contracts to meet needs once met 'in-house'. The results of my survey of businesses indicate this to be the case. Ninety-four percent of the respondents indicated that they are more likely to behave in this fashion now and in the future than they were 10 years ago.

The second aspect of Premise Seven is the suggestion that this general tendency on the part of companies will result in the formation of alliances between particular companies and those who possess or control skills, resources, markets, public goodwill and/or the support of particular interest groups necessary for the long-term survival of these companies. My research results clearly bear this out. All the companies who have gone beyond simple employment equity programs to establish partnerships of one type or another with Aboriginal people say that they have done so for such reasons.

⁴² See Figure 4-2, Chapter 4.

Premise Eight addresses the reasons why corporations find Aboriginal people in particular to be attractive partners. The assumption was that the key factors are increasing Aboriginal control of land and resources, increasing financial capacity through treaties and land claim settlements and a population growing in numbers and affluence. My research results strongly support this conclusion.

In confirming these premises, my research also supports the proposed contingency perspective on First Nations economic development. In particular, it affirms those elements relating to corporate behaviour in the emerging flexible economy and the importance of leadership and the civil sector. Clearly, mutually beneficial alliances between the people of the First Nations and certain corporations that will allow the former to achieve their development objectives and the latter to compete profitably in the increasingly flexible global economy are being created in increasing numbers. It is apparent from their responses that many of the corporations believe that leadership (Aboriginal and corporate) is a critical aspect of the process leading to the formation of successful partnerships. All the companies with well developed programs stress the importance of senior management support and involvement and managerial accountability for results. All also stress the importance of communication, consultation and negotiation with Aboriginal leaders and have established mechanisms to assure that this happens. Most of the companies also acknowledge the need to consult directly with Aboriginal community members and groups (the civil sector) and not just leaders, to build support for their activities.

7. Economic Development Activities of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council

This chapter is a case study of the economic development activities of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council (MLTC) and its nine member First Nations. My purpose is to offer a richer and more detailed picture of the development activities of these Nations that will provide additional confirmation of Premises One through Eight.

The chapter begins with a description of the study area -- its geographic location, its communities, and its people and their demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. Using data from the 1986 Census⁴³, attention is drawn to the significant differences between the socioeconomic circumstances of the people of the MLTC First Nations and the other people of the study area and of the province as a whole. After this overview, attention shifts to the MLTC and its efforts to improve the socioeconomic circumstances of the people of its member First Nations.

The discussion of the MLTC's development efforts begins with a review of the Tribal Council's history and a description of its structure, mission, and development objectives and activities between 1986 and 1991. Socioeconomic data from the 1991 Census are compared with those from the 1986 Census to determine the impact of the MLTC's

⁴³ See Appendix F for the 1986 Census data used.

development efforts during that period⁴⁴. Next, considerable attention is devoted to the MLTC's economic development activities in the forestry sector (particularly following 1991) and the preparation and content of its 20 year economic development plan **From Vision to Reality**. These two subjects are interrelated. Forestry activities have been pursued as a key element of the Tribal Council's emerging and evolving development strategy. As the MLTC gained experience in forestry related and other economic development activities it became apparent to them that they needed to undertake a more formal consultative planning process to determine development goals and to develop strategies for attaining those goals -- hence the preparation of the 20 year plan. The forestry activities of the MLTC, centering as they do on a joint venture with a non-First Nation pulp and paper company, provide further confirmation of Premises Six through Eight. As well, taken together the MLTC's forestry activities and the development of its twenty year plan provide an excellent example of the First Nations' approach to economic development and provide further validation of Premises One through Five.

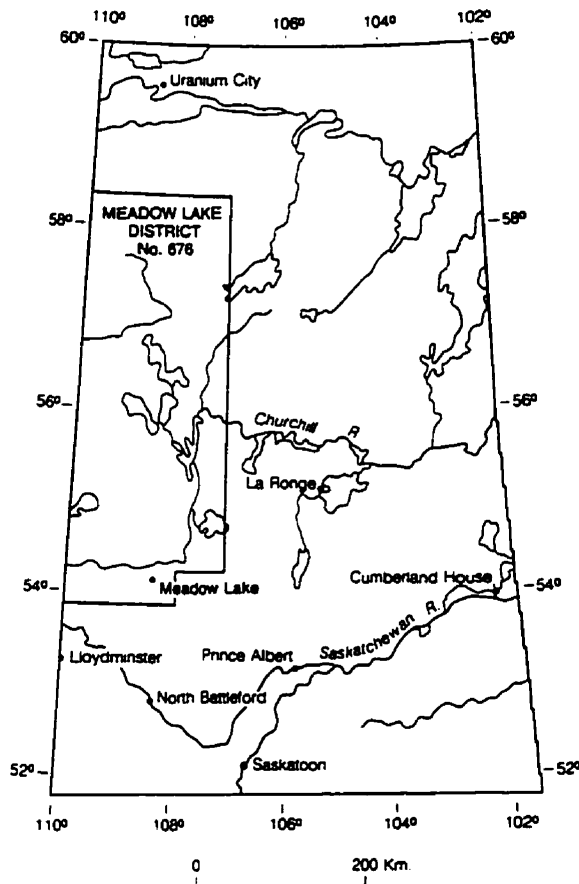
7.1. Study Area and Subjects

The study area is defined by the boundaries of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council (see Figure 7-1). The Nations of the MLTC are located in the Churchill River Basin⁴⁵. The southern part of the MLTC territory is drained by the Beaver River and its tributaries (in particular the Waterhen and Meadow Rivers), into Lac Ile-a-La-Crosse. The northern

⁴⁴ See Appendix F for the 1991 Census data used.

⁴⁵ The far north of the MLTC District is drained by the Clearwater River, part of the Athabaska system, however none of the reserves of the nine MLTC Nations are located that far north, nor are any currently economically viable timber blocks.

section is drained by a number of rivers into La Loche, Turnor, Peter Pond and Churchill Lakes which in turn drain into Lac Ile-a-La-Crosse and the Churchill River proper. There are nine First Nations in MLTC, four Dene and five Cree (see Table 7-1). At the end of 1993 according to the MLTC, the total population of these First Nations was about eight thousand “with 3,907 living on their own reserve, 466 living on another reserve, and 3275 living off reserve” (MLTC 1995b, iii). According to the 1986 census, the reported on-reserve population of the nine was 4,972, up from 4,334 in the 1981 census.



Source: Anderson and Bone 1995a, 126

Figure 7-1: The Meadow Lake Tribal Council District

Cree First Nations	Dene First Nations
Canoe Lake	Birch Narrows
Flying Dust	Buffalo River
Island Lake	Clearwater River
Makwa Sahgaiehcan	English River
Waterhen Lake	

Table 7-1: MLTC First Nations

Within the geographic boundaries of the MLTC there are a number of non-First Nation communities and three rural municipalities (see Table 7-2). According to the 1986 census, this non-First Nation population totaled 16,637 (9,923 in the South and 6,714 in the north). The demographic and socioeconomic conditions of the people living in the MLTC region are described in greater detail in the next section.

South	
Urban (Town, Villages and Hamlets)	Rural Municipalities
Meadow Lake	Meadow Lake #588
Gregg Lake	Loon Lake #561
Makwa	Beaver River # 622
Loon Lake	
Goodsoil	
Pierceland	
North - Villages and Hamlets	
Green Lake	Patuanak
Cole Bay	Buffalo Narrows
Jans Bay	St. Georges Hill
Beauval	Michel Village
Pinehouse	La Loche
Ile a La Crosse	Turnor Lake

Table 7-2: Non-First Nation Communities

7.2. The Demographic and Socioeconomic Conditions

Information about the socioeconomic conditions of the people living within the study area has been drawn from the 1986 Census. The 1986 information is superior to that

from 1991 this purpose because it deals with socioeconomic conditions as they were before the described development activities were undertaken.

The communities within census divisions of the study area have been divided into four categories. The first category is 'southern urban' and the second is 'southern rural municipalities', where southern is defined by census division codes in the 17,000s. The third category is 'northern villages and hamlets' (census district codes in the 18,000s). The fourth category is 'First Nations' (Indian Bands) consisting of two sub-categories: (i) 'southern First Nations' (CSD codes in the 17,800s) and (ii) 'northern First Nations' (CSD codes in the 18,800s). Values for various socioeconomic variables for each census division within each category were combined and, when necessary, a weighted average calculated (e.g. household income) to arrive at the value for each variable for each of the community categories. The values for each variable for each category were then converted to proportions to permit comparisons among the categories of communities.

As a first step, Chi-square analysis was used to compare the socioeconomic data for the categories of communities with one another in various combinations. In all the combinations compared, the results indicate that there is a significant difference between the categories of communities for all the socioeconomic measures considered. The degree of difference varied. The least differences were between the northern villages and hamlets and northern reserves, among three Aboriginal categories, and between the two non-Aboriginal categories. The greatest difference appeared when all five categories were compared together indicating a significant difference between the two more similar subcategories (Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal). In the subsequent description and

analysis, data for First Nations and northern villages and hamlets (the two Aboriginal categories) will be compared to each other and to the average of the data for the two non-Aboriginal categories and to data for the province as a whole.

Table 7-3 presents basic information about the population for the region in total and for the four categories. Two characteristics of the area's population are particularly worthy of note. First, and not surprisingly, the data indicate that the people of the rural municipalities and of the town, villages and hamlets in the southern part of the study area are predominately non-Aboriginal (93% and 78% respectively) while the people of the First Nations and the northern villages and hamlets are overwhelmingly Aboriginal (99% and 96% respectively). For the study area as a whole, almost 60% of the population is of Aboriginal ancestry.

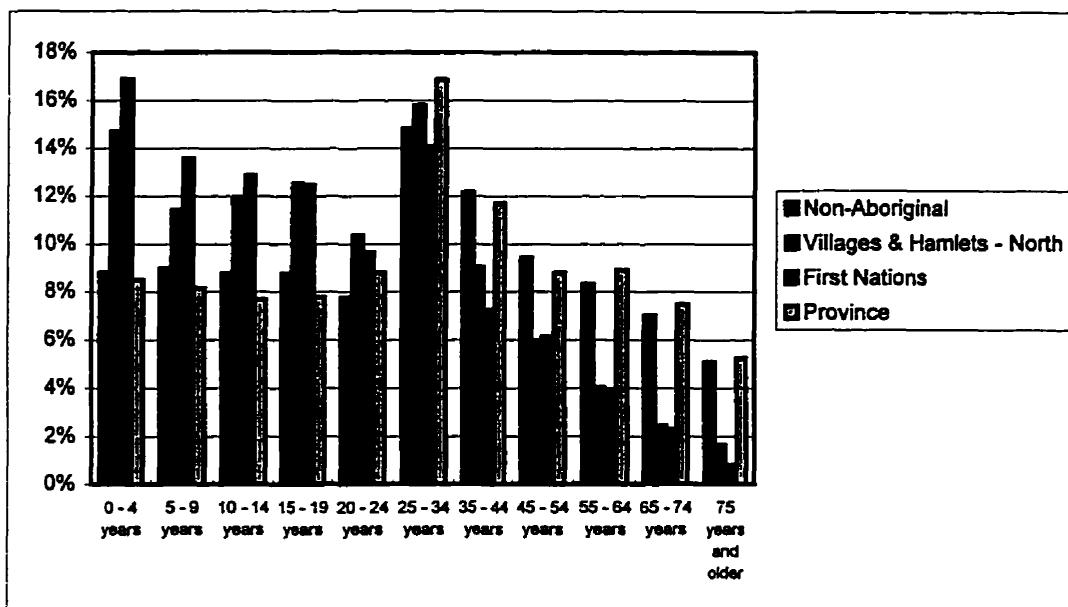
	Non-Aboriginal			Aboriginal			Study Area	Province
	Rural Municipalities	Town, Villages & Hamlets - South	Total Non-Aboriginal	Villages & Hamlets - North	First Nations	Total Aboriginal		
Population:								
Population - 1986	4,676	5,247	9,923	6,714	4,972	11,686	21,609	1,009,613
Population - 1981	4,694	5,029	9,723	5,522	4,334	9,856	19,579	968,313
Percent growth	-0.38%	4.33%	2.06%	21.59%	14.72%	18.57%	10.37%	4.27%
% Aboriginal Origin	7%	22%	15%	93%	99%	96%	59%	

Source: 1986 Census (see Appendix F)

Table 7-3: Population in 1981 and 1986

The second item of note from Table 7-3 is the rate of population growth from 1981 to 1986. The rate for the region as a whole is 10.4%, well above the provincial average of 4.3%. Significantly, there is a great difference between rates of population growth of the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities. From 1981 to 1986, the Aboriginal

population increased by 18.6% (more than four times the provincial rate), while the non-Aboriginal population grew by only 2.1% (half the provincial rate).



Source: 1986 Census (see Appendix F)

Figure 7-2: Age Distribution, 1986

The difference in the growth rates between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal groups is reflected in the age distributions of their populations (Figure 7-2). In 1986, 44% of the people of the region's First Nations and 38% of the people of the northern villages and hamlets were under 15 years old. In contrast, only 27% of the people of the non-Aboriginal groups were under 15. The figure for the province as a whole was 25%. A similar difference exists at the older end of the age distribution. For both the province and the non-Aboriginal people of the study area, 20% of the population was older than 54. In contrast, only 7% for the population of Aboriginal ancestry was over that age. The youthfulness of the First Nation population and the high growth rate have obvious and

significant implications. The most important of these is the looming growth in the potential labour force and resulting pressure on the already very high levels of unemployment.

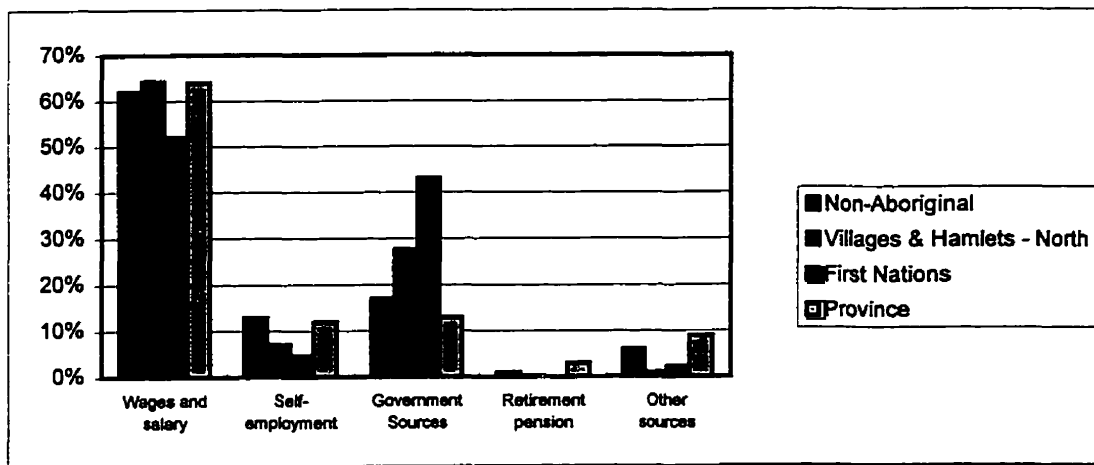
Table 7-4 provides information about employment patterns within the study area. A clear difference is evident between the pattern for people who are of Aboriginal ancestry and those who are not. The population 15 years and older for each group is similar (6,955 for the former and 7,230 for the later). However, only 38% of the people of the First Nations participated in the labour force whereas 66% of non-Aboriginal people and 52% of the residents of northern villages and hamlets did. The difference in employment pattern between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in the study area extends beyond participation rates to the unemployment rates. According to the 1986 census, 33% of the people in the First Nation workforce were unemployed (32% - northern villages and hamlets). This compares very unfavourably with the 9% unemployment rate for non-Aboriginal people.

	Rural Municipalities	Town, Villages & Hamlets - South	Non- Aboriginal	Villages & Hamlets - North	First Nations	Aboriginal	Study Area	Province
Population 15 years and older	3,405	3,825	7,230	4,145	2,810	6,955	14,185	751,090
In the labour force	2,495	2,270	4,765	2,140	1,070	3,210	7,975	501,750
Employed	2,300	2,055	4,355	1,440	720	2,160	6,515	461,515
Unemployed	195	220	415	695	350	1,045	1,460	40,225
Participation rate	73%	59%	66%	52%	38%	46%	56%	67%
Unemployment rate	8%	10%	9%	32%	33%	33%	18%	8%
Per cent of Population 15 years and older employed	68%	53%	60%	35%	26%	31%	46%	61%

Source: 1986 Census (see Appendix F)

Table 7-4: Labour Force Participation and Unemployment Rates, 1986

Taken together the participation rate and unemployment rate for each group tell a graphic tale. In 1986, 68% of all the potential non-Aboriginal labour force (age ≥ 15) of the study area were employed. The percentages for the two Aboriginal categories were drastically lower -- 35% for northern villages and hamlets and only 26% for First Nations. This already highly unsatisfactory situation has the potential to deteriorate sharply given the high rate of population growth and the related large and growing pool of Aboriginal young people who will be entering the labour force in next few years. The implications are obvious. There is a desperate need to create employment opportunities for Aboriginal people.

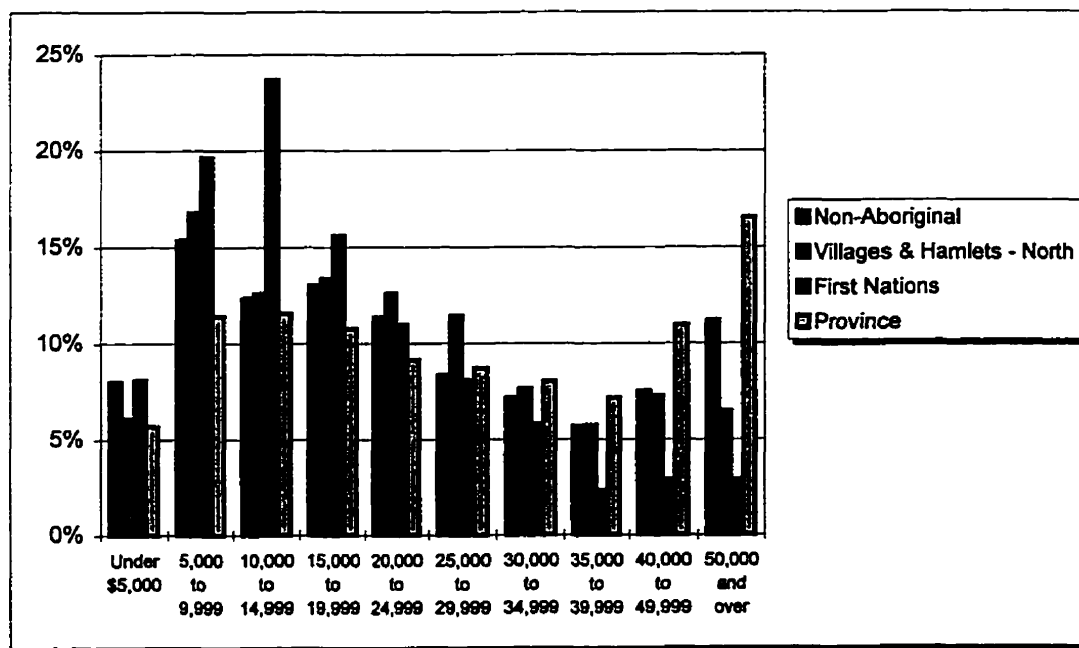


Source: 1986 Census (see Appendix F)

Figure 7-3: Source of Income, 1986

The sources of 1986 household income (Figure 7-3) are consistent with the low participation and high unemployment rates described and the resulting reliance by many Aboriginal people on various forms of government transfer payments (social assistance, unemployment insurance, training allowances and the like). Just over 50% of the people

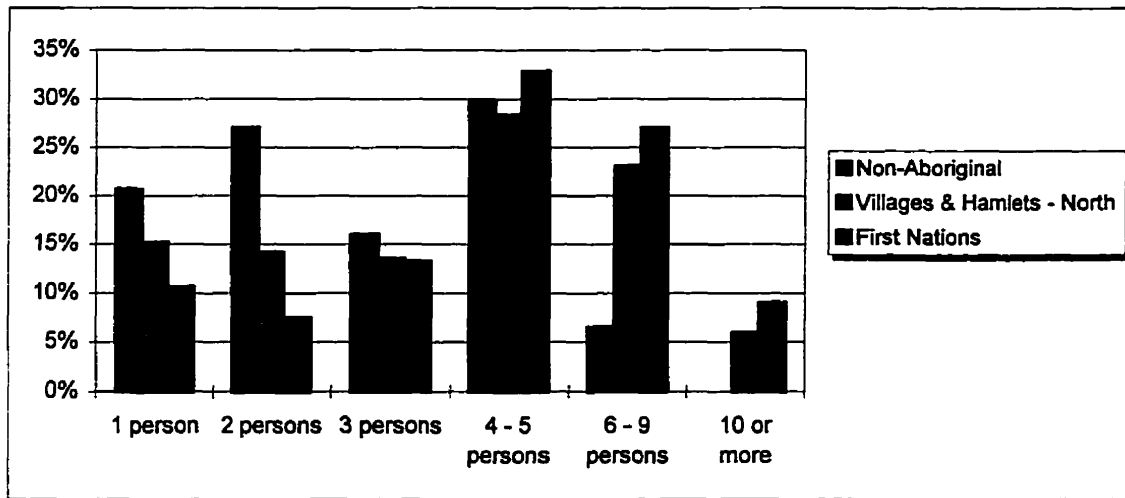
of the First Nations reported employment as their primary source of income. In contrast, the figures reported by non-Aboriginal people, the people of the northern villages and hamlets, and the province as a whole were 62%, 64% and 64%, respectively. As one would expect, this pattern reverses with respect to income from government sources as a primary source with First Nations reporting the highest level at 43%, non-Aboriginal people at 17%, northern villages and hamlets at 28%, and the province at 13%. There are also clear but smaller differences among the groups in the other income source categories. For example, self-employment income stands at 5% for First Nations in contrast to rates at more than twice that level for non-Aboriginal people and the province as a whole (13% and 12% respectively).



Source: 1986 Census (see Appendix F)

Figure 7-4: Household Income, 1986

Household income (Figure 7-4) and household size (Figure 7-5) offer additional insight into the relative economic circumstances of the groups in the study area. In 1986, fully 52% of the people of the First Nations lived in households with an annual income less than \$15,000. In contrast, only 36% of the residents of northern villages, 35% of non-Aboriginals in the study area, and 29% for the province as a whole reported household incomes below \$15,000. A similar pattern of inequality exists at the upper end of household income. Only 8% the people of the First Nations reported household income in excess of \$35,000 compared to 10% for northern villages and hamlets, 25% for non-Aboriginal communities and 35% for the province.



Source: 1986 Census (see Appendix F)

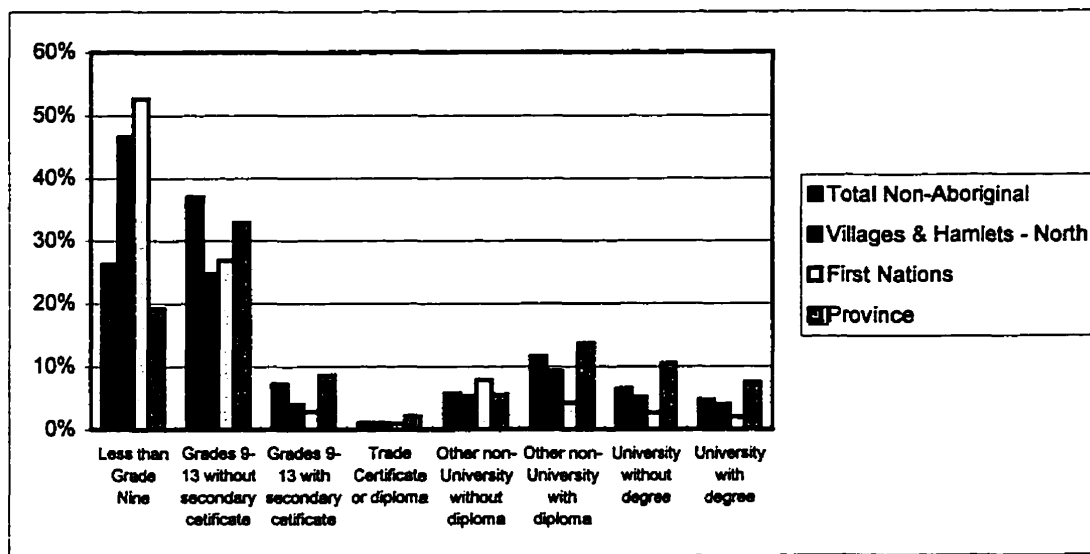
Figure 7-5: Household Size, 1986

As Figure 7-5 suggests, First Nations households are much larger than those of the other groups. Thirty-six percent of all First Nations households in the study area consisted of six or more people. The figure for households of this size is also high for northern villages and hamlets at 28%. On the other hand, households of six or more people

accounted for only 6% of the total among non-Aboriginal people in the study area. This means that the problem of significantly lower household income of First Nations is compounded by the fact that that income must support many more people. In fact, according to the MLTC in 1993:

The income per capita of the MLFN's is \$2,618 while the average income per capita for the province is \$12,147, The average combined earnings income and social assistance per capita for the MLFN is \$6,418 (MLTC 1995b, III-2).

Thus, the disparity between the economic circumstances of the people of the MLFNs is much greater than the simple comparison of household incomes (Figure 7-4) suggests.



Source: 1986 Census (see Appendix F)

Figure 7-6: Education Level, 1986

While the lack of employment opportunities in First Nation and northern communities is the major cause of the low participation and high unemployment rates of both Aboriginal groups, relative education levels were a contributing factor (see Figure 7-6). Fifty-three percent of First Nation members 15 and older had an education less than grade nine. The

figure for the residents of the northern villages and hamlets was 47%. These levels compare unfavourably with the levels of the non-Aboriginal people of the study area and the people of the province as a whole, which were 26% and 19% respectively. Equally significant is the disparity between the proportion of people with an education level of grade 12 or higher -- First Nations 21%, northern villages and hamlets 28%, non-Aboriginals in the study area 37% and the province 48%.

As is evident from the preceding figures, the socioeconomic circumstances of the people of the First Nations of the MLTC were far from satisfactory in 1986. Further, it is obvious given the age distribution and population growth rate, these circumstances were bound to worsen unless significant economic development occurred creating employment opportunities in large numbers. It is also evident that education levels would have to improve if the people of the First Nations (existing participants and new entrants to the labour force) were to have the capacity to take advantage of any employment and business opportunities created. The efforts of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council, described in the following sections, were directed to these ends.

7.3. The Meadow Lake Tribal Council

According to its 1992-93 annual report, "the Meadow Lake Tribal Council is the political, service and corporate organization of the nine Meadow Lake First Nations" (MLTC 1993, 4). The Tribal Council was formed in 1986 as the result of the reorganization and expansion of Meadow Lake District Chiefs Joint Venture that had been formed in 1981. The responsibilities of the Tribal Council and the authority

necessary to carry out those responsibilities are delegated to it by the people of its member First Nations.

The Tribal Council is governed by the nine First Nation Chiefs who are elected by the eligible membership of each First Nation. The Chiefs set policy and direction for the Tribal Council, bringing forward the issues and concerns from their First Nation members (MLTC 1995b, iii).

7.3.1. Economic Development Activities: 1986 to 1991

Since its inception in 1986, economic development for its member Nations has been one of the primary objectives of the Tribal Council. According to its 1990-91 Annual Report, the MLTC had been operating a business development program for the previous six years. The objective of the program was to “stimulate economic growth for First Nations and to encourage an entrepreneurial spirit among our people” (MLTC 1991, 26). According to that same annual report, 106 business projects were undertaken during the six years of the program ending in 1991. Of this total, 65% were reported to be still operating at the time of the preparation of the 1990-91 report. Norsask Forest Products Ltd. and MLTC Logging and Reforestation Ltd. were among the projects begun during this period.

A comparison of 1991 census values with the already described 1986 values for selected socioeconomic measures provides an indication of the impact of the MLTC’s development efforts during this five year period (Tables 7-5 and 7-6). This is not to say that the MLTC’s business development activities were the sole cause for any improvement in employment and income. However, it is reasonable to assume that the

66 or so businesses started by the MLTC between 1986 and 1991 created jobs and income that otherwise would not have been created.

	1986			1991			Change		
	First Nation	North Villages Hamlets	non Abor.	First Nation	North Villages Hamlets	non Abor.	First Nation	North Villages Hamlets	non Abor.
Population 15 years and older	2,810	4,145	7,230	3080	4,230	7,250	270	85	50
In the labour force	1,070	2,140	4,765	1205	2,015	5,185	135	-125	420
Employed	720	1,440	4,355	855	1,415	4,790	135	-25	435
Unemployed	350	695	415	350	575	400	0	-120	-15
Participation rate	38%	52%	66%	39.1%	48%	72%	1.1%	-3%	6%
Unemployment rate	33%	32%	9%	29%	29%	8%	-4%	-3%	-1%
Per cent of Population 15 years and older employed	26%	35%	60%	27.8%	33%	66%	1.8%	-2%	6%

Source: 1986 and 1991 Censuses (see Appendix F)

Table 7-5: Unemployment and Participation, 1986 to 1991

There was a modest improvement in the employment, participation and unemployment rates of the people of the MLFNs between 1986 and 1991 (Table 7-5). The potential labour force grew by 270 over the five years while the workforce grew by half that number (135). This is reflected in a 1.1 percentage point increase in the 1991 participation rate over that of 1986. Coincidentally, the number of people employed in 1991 also increased by 135 over 1986 levels. It seems likely that much of this increase was a result of the 66 or so new businesses created as a result of the MLTC business development program. As a result of this increase in employment, the unemployment rate fell by 4 percentage points and the proportion of the potential labour force employed increased by almost 2 percentage points over the period. It is noteworthy that in all aspects of employment reported in Figure 7-3, the improvement in performance of the First Nations over the period 1986 to 1991 exceeded that of the other Aboriginal group --

northern villages and hamlets. However, in spite of this improvement, in 1991 the performance of the First Nations fell far short of that for the non-Aboriginal category.

There was also a change in household income distribution over the same period (Table 7-6). The number of First Nations households reporting an income of less than \$30,000 in 1991 declined by 9% from the number in 1986, while the number with income above that level increased by a similar amount. During the same period, there was a 6% decline in the number of northern village and hamlet households reporting income less than \$30,000 and a decline of 20% in the number of non-Aboriginal households. As with the employment data, the performance of First Nations households is superior to that of households in the northern villages and hamlets category but falls short of that of non-Aboriginal households.

	1986			1991			Change		
	First Nation	North Villages Hamlets	non Abor.	First Nation	North Villages Hamlets	non Abor.	First Nation	North Villages Hamlets	non Abor.
less than \$10,000	28%	23	23%	24%	17	6%	-4%	-6%	-17%
10,000 - 14,999	24	13	12	20	18	13	-4	5	1
15,000 - 19,999	16	13	13	16	13	10	0	0	-3
20,000 - 29,999	19	24	19	18	19	20	-1	-5	1
30,000 - 39,999	8	14	13	11	13	16	3	-1	3
40,000 - 49,999	3	7	8	6	8	13	3	1	5
50,000 and over	3	6	11	6	13	21	3	7	10

Source: 1986 and 1991 Censuses (see Appendix F)

Table 7-6: Household Income, 1986 to 1991

According to Table 7-7, between 1986 and 1991 there was also an increase in average household income for First Nations and northern villages and hamlets. The average household income of both Aboriginal groups increased by almost 20% over the five years, a positive outcome. However this increase pales in comparison to the 46% increase experienced by the non-Aboriginal households in the study area.

	1986	1991	% Change
First Nation	\$18,051	\$21,276	18%
Northern Villages and Hamlets	23,289	27,725	19%
Non-Aboriginal	25,215	36,927	46%

Source: 1986 and 1991 Censuses (see Appendix F)

Table 7-7: Change in Average Household Income, 1986-1991

In an effort to gain further insight in the change in income amount and composition Table 7-8 compares average employment income and numbers between 1986 and 1991. The average full time employment income in 1991 differs by slightly less than \$3,000 between the First Nations and non-Aboriginal categories (up from a difference of \$1,200 in 1986). This difference is substantially lower than the \$10,000 difference in 1991 household income between the two categories. This can be attributed to at least two factors: (i) the lower participation rate and resulting greater reliance on non-employment (generally lower) income sources by First Nations' households, and (ii) the larger number of two income households among non-Aboriginal people.

The differences between the changes in employment numbers between 1986 and 1991 for the two Aboriginal categories are striking in two ways. First, the average full-time employment income among First Nations increased by 16%, almost double the 9% rate of increase among the people of the northern villages and hamlets. Second, full-time employment among the people of the First Nations increased by 23% while full-time employment among those from the northern villages and hamlets fell by 20% over the five years. This raises the question -- Why was the employment and income performance of the First Nations over the period 1986-1991 superior that of northern villages and hamlets?

	1986			1991			% Change		
	First Nation	Northern Villages Hamlets	Non Aboriginal	First Nation	Northern Villages Hamlets	Non-Aboriginal	First Nation	Northern Villages Hamlets	Non-Aboriginal
Males - full year, full time	160	560	1410	160	380	1570	0%	-32%	11%
Average employment income	\$20,185	\$ 24,624	\$21,111	\$23,296	\$27,441	\$27,932	15%	11%	32%
Males - part year or part time	475	1000	1355	480	680	1305	1%	-32%	-4%
Average employment income	\$6,320	\$ 8,628	\$11,043	\$7,436	\$9,275	\$17,847	18%	7%	62%
Females - full year, full time	100	295	525	160	305	900	60%	3%	71%
Average employment income	\$17,160	\$ 18,781	\$18,337	\$20,656	\$21,920	\$19,406	20%	17%	6%
Females - part year or part time	215	570	1200	245	425	1270	14%	-25%	6%
Average employment income	\$6,267	\$ 7,296	\$7,270	\$6,317	\$8,220	\$9,511	1%	13%	31%
All - full year, full time	260	855	1935	320	685	2470	23%	-20%	28%
Average employment income	\$19,022	\$ 22,608	\$20,358	\$21,976	\$24,983	\$24,826	16%	11%	22%
All - part year or part time	690	1570	2555	725	1105	2575	5%	-30%	1%
Average employment income	\$6,304	\$ 8,144	\$9,271	\$7,316	\$8,869	\$13,735	16%	9%	48%

Source: 1986 and 1991 Censuses (see Appendix F)

Table 7-8: Change in Average Employment Income and Numbers, 1986-1991

Over the period 1986 to 1991, the two Aboriginal groups differed in their approach to economic development. The MLFNs through the MLTC had (and still have) a much more collective and planned approach to the process and that approach seems to have borne fruit. The leaders among the people of the northern hamlets and villages appear to agree with this conclusion. In the early 1990s, through an association of northern municipalities, they began to develop a common economic development strategy. In March of 1990, the 14 members of the Northwest Saskatchewan Municipalities Association formed Keewatin Dahze Developers Inc. "as their formal body to address economic development initiatives" (K. D. Developers 1993, viii). One of the projects undertaken by K. D. Developers was the creation of Northwest Logging and Refor. The objective was (is) to create "a commercially viable woodland contracting operation" (K. D. Developers 1993, viii) providing the people of the member communities with an "opportunity to participate at an unprecedented level in the forest industry in Saskatchewan's northwest" (K. D. Developers 1993, x).

7.3.2. Capacity Building: Education

Recognizing that it takes well-educated, trained and effective people to develop the businesses central to their economic development plan and a trained and competent workforce to fill the jobs created by those businesses, the people of the MLTC have devoted (and continue to devote) considerable attention to education. Each First Nation controls its local school. In support of these local boards, the Tribal Council formed the MLTC Board of Education made up of representatives from each First Nation. This board provides a wide variety of professional and advisory services (e.g. speech pathologist, educational psychologist, education support unit) to local boards. Beyond advisory and support activities, the Tribal Council Board of Education manages the post-secondary funding program for all member Nations except English River, operates the Beauval Indian Education Center (a High School), and offers a three-year University Entrance/Business Administration Diploma Program and a one-year Integrated Resource Management Program. According to the MLTC 1993/94 Annual Report, there were approximately 1,300 students in the seven First Nation community schools, 147 in the Beauval Indian Education Center (40 in grade 12), and 95 MLTC students in post-secondary programs.

MLTC's efforts are reducing the disparity in education levels between the people of the MLTC First Nations and residents of the province as a whole. Figures from the MLTC annual reports provide an indication of this success. For example, according to the 1986 census only 80 members of the MLTC First Nations reported a complete grade 12 as their education level. According to the annual reports, the Beauval Indian Education

Centre graduated at least that many students in the four years from 1989 to 1992 -- a 100% increase. Similarly, by the spring of 1994, the MLTC forestry program had graduated 26 students with technical diplomas more than doubling the number reported in 1986. Both these figures are conservative because many First Nations students attended other high schools and other technical programs. Therefore, the actual number of graduates of both types is higher than reported in the annual reports.

	1986		1991		Change	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percentage points
Population 15 and over	2810		3105		295	
Less than Grade 9	1480	53%	1390	45%	-90	-8%
Partial Grade 12	755	27%	850	27%	95	0%
Complete Grade 12	80	3%	135	4%	55	1%
Trade Certificate/Diploma	25	1%	90	3%	65	2%
Non-University no Diploma	220	8%	120	4%	-100	-4%
Non-University - Diploma	120	4%	320	10%	200	6%
University - no Degree	75	3%	145	5%	70	2%
University - degree	55	2%	55	2%	0	0%

Source: 1986 and 1991 Censuses (see Appendix F)

Table 7-9: Education Levels, 1986 to 1991

Figures from the 1991 census confirm this improvement education level (Table 7-9). In 1986, 80% of the people of the MLFN reported their education as less than a complete grade 12. By 1991, this number had fallen to 72%. The number of students reporting a complete grade 12 as their highest level increased from 80 (3%) to 135 (4%). Those reporting a non-university diploma increased from 4% to 10% (an increase of 200 people), and those with a trade certificate from 1% to 3% (an increase of 65). The number reporting partial university increased from 75 (3%) to 145 (5%). Continuing improvements in education levels can be expected as the number of students increase, more First Nation role models emerge, and employment opportunities requiring grade 12 or higher education increase as a result of development activities.

In summary, the results achieved between 1986 and 1991 were encouraging for the people of the MLFNs. Education levels improved, the unemployment rate declined, the level of employment rose, the distribution of income shifted from lower to higher levels and the average household income increased. However, these outcomes fall far short of what was needed if the people of the MLFNs are to achieve levels of education, employment and income comparable to non-Aboriginal people.

7.3.3. Post 1991: Looking to the Future

Building on the modest success achieved between 1986 and 1991 and in response to the larger unmet challenge of parity with non-Aboriginal people, the economic development mission, objectives and strategies of the MLTC have evolved and matured. By the 1993, a clear vision for the future was in place and the role to be played by economic and business development in the realization of that vision identified. According to its 1993 - 94 annual report the:

MLTC's vision is to support its member individuals, families and communities in achieving health and a state of well-being. This state of well-being means achieving health and a balance in the spiritual, physical, mental and emotional aspects of life. The MLFNs wish to achieve increased self-reliance in all aspects of life as part of this approach and philosophy (MLTC 1994, 4).

In pursuit of this self-reliance:

the Chiefs of the MLTC have jointly mandated a twenty year plan of economic development strategy aimed at achieving parity with the province in terms of employment rate and income level. In short, we are striving to create and maintain 3,240 good-paying jobs in the next 20 years (MLTC 1994, 20).

The basic strategy adopted to achieve this objective was to "develop and establish 'anchor' businesses around which smaller enterprises can flourish bringing long lasting

economic activities and benefits” (MLTC 1994, 20). The MLTC had decided, as far back as 1988 with the purchase of 50% of the Meadow Lake Sawmill, that forestry offered a particularly good opportunity for the creation of such an anchor business. The Tribal Council is actively involved in or considering businesses in other sectors as well including: mining (possible equity participation in new mines in their area), petroleum (including a joint venture with SaskEnergy for natural gas storage), spent nuclear reactor fuel storage (preliminary study underway), tourism, and various commercial activities (including a newspaper and printing business).

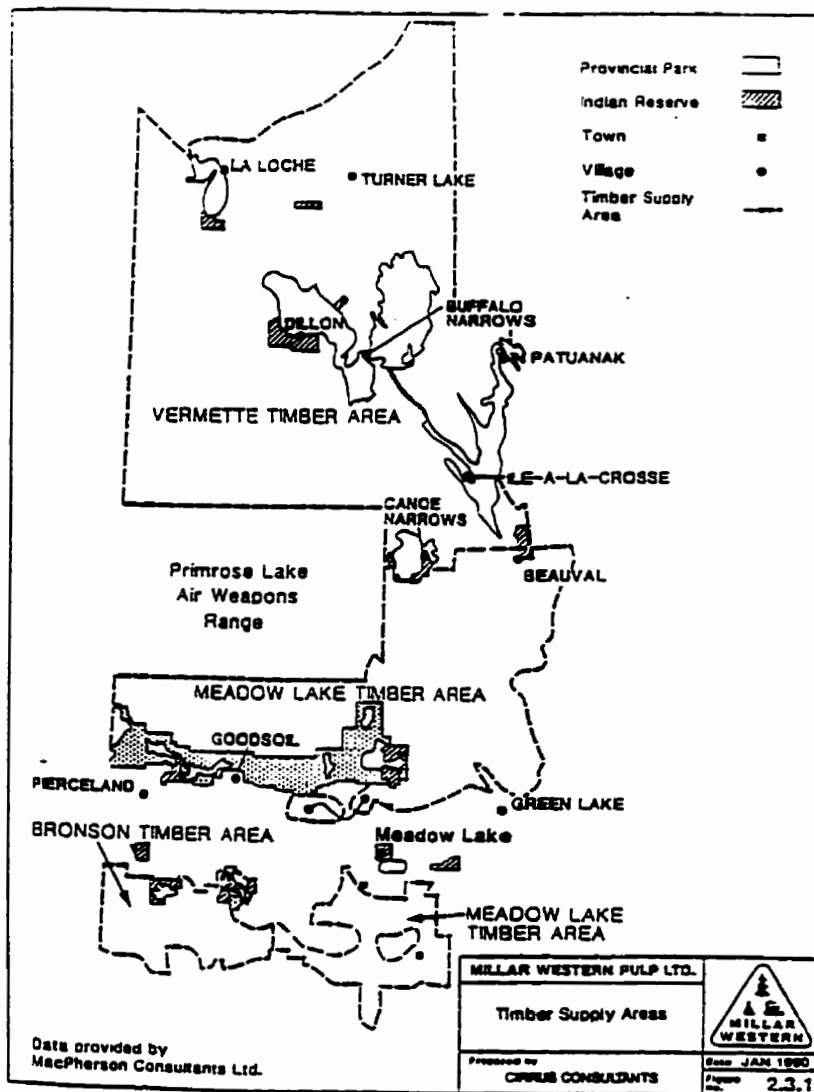
Since 1991, the MLFNs have greatly expanded their forestry activities. They have also prepared a comprehensive twenty year development plan indicating how they expect to achieve their objective of ‘socioeconomic parity’ with the non-Aboriginal people of the province. The forestry activities of the MLTC and the twenty year plan and the process used to develop it are interrelated. The experience in forestry development and in particular the crisis that occurred in the 1992/93 (described in the following section) pointed out the need and provided the impetus for the preparation of the twenty year plan. The MLTC’s forestry activities and the development of its twenty year plan are the subjects of the next two sections of this chapter.

7.4. MLTC Forestry Developments

The MLTC’s involvement in the forestry industry began in 1988 when the Chiefs of MLTC First Nations negotiated the purchase of 50% of the Meadow Lake Sawmill from the provincial government. At the time of this sale, the mill had been losing money for a number of years and was virtually shutdown (Price Waterhouse 1994b). The remaining

50% interest in the saw mill was purchased by Techfor Services Ltd., a company wholly owned by the mill employees. The company was renamed Norsask Forest Products Ltd. (Norsask). Norsask's most valuable asset was (and still is) the Forest Management License Agreement (FMLA) it holds from the Province of Saskatchewan. This FMLA gives Norsask the harvesting rights (for both softwood and hardwood) and reforestation responsibilities for 3.3 million hectares of Crown Land in the Meadow Lake District (see Figure 7-7). While its mill only used softwood, the FMLA required that Norsask develop the capacity to use the hardwood (poplar) in the license area within four years or the rights to it would be lost (Star Phoenix 1993, A2). In addition, the FMLA required that residents of the license area be given priority for employment and that a co-management process be established involving "complete consultation between the sawmill [Norsask] and northern communities over issues including harvesting, hauling, reforestation, road construction, as well as trapping and fishing" (Price Waterhouse 1994a, 5).

Norsask's rights and responsibilities under the FMLA were central to the MLTC's forestry-based development strategy. They set the stage for the formation of a network of business alliances and joint ventures among the First Nations of the MLTC, between them (through Norsask.) and a non-First Nation corporate partner -- Millar Western Ltd., and among the non-First Nation residents of the communities in the FMLA area. The key alliance in the network was the joint venture between Norsask Forest Products Ltd. and Millar Western Ltd. The formation this joint venture and the emergence of the other elements of the network are described in the material that follows.



Source: Anderson and Bone 1995b, 132

Figure 7-7: Norsask's FMLA

At the time that MLTC was searching for a way to exploit the business and employment opportunities presented by the FMLA, Millar-Western Ltd. a privately-owned Alberta corporation wanted to build a 'zero pollution' pulp mill that used poplar instead of softwood as a raw material. The company saw this mill as the cornerstone of its strategic plan for the future. Throughout its market area (particularly in the United States) increasingly rigorous environmental regulations were rendering older paper plants using

the chlorine-based bleaching process economically obsolete. For Millar Western, the cost of refitting an old plant to meet new standards compared to the cost of a new chlorine-free plant favoured the latter. However, forest resources suitable to supply a new plant were not available in Alberta. All had already been licensed to other pulp producers. Therefore the company's owners had to look elsewhere for an assured supply of poplar. They found such a supply just over the provincial border in Saskatchewan in the hands of the MLTC. The potential for a mutually beneficial alliance in these circumstances was obvious to the leaders of both parties.

Millar Western required access to an assured supply of poplar at a globally competitive price. They had the expertise and capital necessary to develop the pulp mill. Consistent with subcontracting/strategic alliances as elements of flexible production, the company was quite prepared to subcontract the harvesting and reforestation activities to outside organizations while it focused on its core activity, the production and sale of pulp. Millar Western was willing to accept conditions that served the needs and objectives of the MLTC, so long it received competitively priced feed stock. On their part, the MLTC controlled access to a suitable (to Millar Western) supply of poplar. They needed a use for this hardwood to satisfy the requirements of the FMLA and to realize its inherent employment and business development potential. However, they lacked the capital and expertise to develop this capacity. The leaders of the MLTC recognized that an arrangement with an outside company was the answer to their needs. The leaders of the two groups negotiated an agreement with terms and conditions intended to satisfy the

Forest Products (10 % from each of the two original owners Techfor and Norsask). This left the MLTC with a 40 % interest in Norsask.

Norsask Forest Products and Millar Western Pulp then established a joint venture company called Mistik Management Ltd. (Mistik means wood in Cree) with each parent holding a 50 % interest. Mistik was assigned the responsibility to manage all forest operations under the terms and conditions of the FMLA. Mistik was not expected to do the actual work but rather to contract to have it done through operating companies. It is through these operating companies that most benefits (employment, business creation and profits) were expected to reach the people of the MLFNs.

In June 1990, the MLTC created its own operating company MLTC Logging and Reforestation Ltd. to realize the benefits from forest operations for the citizens of its member First Nations. Under contract with Mistik, the company provides logs to both mills and undertakes other activities such as road building, log hauling and reforestation. Some individual First Nations, as well as some First Nations individuals, also created operating companies. As well, non-First Nations people (mostly Metis and non-status Indians) living in the 14 northern villages and hamlets of the area also saw participation in forestry as a key to employment and economic development. Though an association of their municipal governments, they created an operating company called Norwest Logging and Reforestation Ltd..

The company [Norwest Logging and Reforestation Ltd.] signed a contract with Mistik "for the provision of logging services starting in 1991/92 (year 1). The contract includes a schedule of annual wood volume allocations which increase from an initial volume of 50,000 m³ to a maximum of 250,000 m³ in year four and thereafter (K. D. Developers 1991, x).

Individuals from these communities also formed companies to participate in forestry activities.

To build the capacity of their people to participate in forestry industry as employees and business persons, the Tribal Council developed and offered two post secondary education programs. One was a diploma program in Integrated Resource Management developed offered in partnership with the Saskatchewan Indian Institute of Technology. The other was a three year university Diploma in Business Administration program in partnership with the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College.

By 1994, the Millar Western Pulp Ltd. mill was fully operational. The total harvest in the FMLA area that year was 1,000,000 m³, up from the 300,000 m³ harvested in 1990. Of the 48 contractors involved in meeting this demand in 1994, MLTC Logging and Reforestation was by far the largest. The company harvested 300,000 m³ in 1994, up from the 50,000 m³ harvested in 1992.

This increase in activity as a result of the joint venture between MLTC (through Norsask) and Millar Western had a significant impact on First Nation employment building on the modest gains achieved between 1986 and 1991. MLTC Logging and Reforestation's output in 1994 provided employment for 140 people and placed the company among the top 10% of logging companies in Canada. Norsask Forest Products by the same date was ranked in the top 6% of Canadian saw mills employing 103 people (Price Waterhouse, 1994a). In addition to these 243 direct jobs, according to same Price Waterhouse report these First Nation companies created an additional 730 indirect jobs

in the region (most of them since 1993). Employment is expected to remain stable at this level in the future.

Almost all of the 243 direct jobs created by Norsask Forest Products and MLTC Logging and Reforestation are held by members of the First Nations of the MLTC, as are at least 50% or 365 (a very conservative estimate) of the indirect jobs. The sawmill and supporting forest operations were virtually shutdown in 1986 so these are “new jobs” since the 1986 census. Given that only 730 members of the MLTC First Nations reported themselves employed in the 1986 census, the creation of these 600 or more good-paying, permanent jobs for people from the MLFN is a considerable accomplishment. At the same time, these results serve to bring home the scale of the challenge facing the people of the MLFNs as they struggle are to achieve their 20 year objective of employment parity with the province -- 600 jobs created, 2,640 permanent, good-paying jobs to go.

In addition to the jobs created and other spin-off benefits to the region, “during the last three years, the companies [Norsask and MLTC Logging and Reforestation], in aggregate, have paid \$10.7 million in corporate taxes and withheld income taxes on wages” (Price Waterhouse 1994b, 8). The MLTC is justifiably proud of these taxes paid arguing that they represent an excellent return to the Government of Canada on the \$1.3 million in grants that the MLTC received to purchase and modernize Norsask. According to the leaders of the MLTC, these results provide evidence of the benefits to all people in Canada -- First Nation and non-First Nation -- of a policy of support for First Nations business development by the Federal and Provincial governments. This is

an example of the outcome that is anticipated by **The Royal Commission on Aboriginal People**. The thrust of the commission's conclusions is that additional money -- up to \$2 billion more per year for the next 20 years -- invested now in capacity building and economic development by Aboriginal people will be returned manyfold in the future through (i) reduced government expenditures to deal with the otherwise exploding unemployment and other social costs, and (ii) increased tax revenues.

While many were satisfied with the increase in employment and business activity generated through forestry, a significant number of people of the MLFN were unhappy with certain operating decisions and actions taken by Mistik Management and MLTC Logging and Reforestation. Their immediate concerns centered on two issues. The first was the effect that clear cut logging with mechanical harvesters was having on the land and their ability to continue traditional practices. Second and beyond the specific issue of clear cutting, the people directly affected by logging felt that they lacked an effective method of influencing the operating decisions taken by Mistik Management and MLTC Logging and Reforestation and they were not receiving a fair share of the benefits from forestry activities in their area.

By May 13, 1992, dissatisfaction had become so intense that protesters, led by Elders from the Canoe Lake First Nation, established a blockade on Highway 903, 65 kilometres north of Meadow Lake that halted the operations of MLTC Logging and Reforestation in the area (Windspeaker 1992a, 12). The protesters formed an organization called 'The Protectors of Mother Earth'. Allan Morin, head of the organization, in describing its members' demands, said that:

The Elders object to clear cutting and the use of mechanical harvesters. They want control over their own resources, compensation for their people, [and] financial and technical compensation for local people who want to start their own forestry related businesses (Windspeaker 1993b, r2).

It is important to note that the protesters from Canoe Lake were not demanding an end to forestry activities in their area. Rather, they sought to change the terms of their participation in the activity in order to increase the benefits to, and decrease the negative impacts on their community and its people. This is a clear case of the ‘civil sector’ acting to protect its interests when arrangements arrived at by the other two sectors (the state and the market) were viewed as unacceptable.

Speaking about the blockade on behalf of the MLTC, Vice-Chief Oniell Gladdue “blamed the dispute on a lack of communication. He said many of the concerns will be resolved once the communities get more information” (Windspeaker 1992b, 12). He was speaking about the plans being put in place to incorporate community involvement in the decision-making process. A process had just begun (to be completed by the end of the winter of 1992/93) to establish co-management boards as required under the FMLA in each of the communities in the area covered by the license agreement. Barry Peel, president of Mistik Management, said that these co-management boards would give the people of the communities in the region “a say on issues such as where and how logging should take place, including the size and shape of cuts, location of roads, harvesting methods, reforestation and operating plans” (Star Phoenix 1992b, E1). Peel credited the Canoe Lake blockade with speeding up the introduction of the co-management process.

In late August 1992, while these co-management boards were being introduced, a meeting was held between the Protectors of Mother Earth, Norsask Forest Products, Mistik Management, and the MLTC. At this meeting, all agreed that the proposed co-management boards and process would adequately address the issues underlying the blockade. The Protectors of Mother Earth asked that Norsask and Mistik stop logging in the disputed area until the negotiations establishing their co-management board and processes were concluded. The companies refused citing their responsibilities to the mills and to their employees. The meeting ended without resolving the conflict (Star Phoenix 1992a, A4).

The blockade continued through the winter of 1992/93. Much of this period was marked by legal actions. On December 9, 1992, the provincial government asked the courts to evict the protesters claiming that they were illegally occupying crown land. The protesters countered by filing a complaint with the Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission. According to Cecilia Iron, a spokesperson for the protesters, the complaint alleged that:

The government [Saskatchewan] has repeatedly ignored our rights under the treaties, under the Natural Resources Transfer Agreement, and under the constitution. An agreement [the FMLA] between the government and a local forestry company [Norsask Forest Products] completely ignores Aboriginal rights and licenses to trap, hunt fish for food and harvest wild rice (Windspeaker 1992c, 2).

The Court of Queens Bench ruled on May 12, 1993 that the protesters must remove their blockade within fifteen days unless an appeal was launched. The Elders refused to leave the blockade site and negotiations with Norsask Forest Products resumed (Windspeaker

1993a, 3). On October 12, 1993, a tentative agreement was reached between the protesters and Norsask Forest Products. According to Ray Cariou, chairman of Norsask, the people of the Canoe Lake First Nation, through a co-management board, would have the right to participate in decisions about such things as logging methods, the location of roads, and the accommodation of traplines and other traditional land uses (Windspeaker 1993c, r2).

It is significant that Millar Western remained one step removed from the dispute throughout. The company was neither the target of the protesters nor the negotiator of the settlement. It was able to concentrate on its core activities and leave local and regional issues in the hands of its partners, an outcome entirely consistent with flexible competition and the company's expectations when it entered into its alliance with the MLTC. Instead, the dispute and its resolution involved the people of the region through their own bodies -- corporate (Norsask Forest Products), governmental (MLTC), and civil (the Protectors of the Mother Earth). The issues were identified and a solution found by the people directly affected -- a local/regional mode of social regulation in action.

It remains to be seen if the local/regional mode of social regulation emerging in Canoe Lake, and throughout the FMLA area, will be successful over the long-run. To be judged so, it must simultaneously satisfy the requirements of the mills as they compete in the global economy, the development objectives of the MLTC, the needs and objectives (traditional and modern) of the people of the First Nation and non-First Nation communities of the region, and the requirements of the FMLA. While there are bound to

be disagreements among the involved parties in the future and occasional economic difficulties, based on the successful resolution of the Canoe Lake conflict and recent financial and job creation results, prospects for continuing success seem good.

The unfolding of events in forestry, particularly the Canoe Lake protest and its resolution, had significant impacts beyond that sector. The experience resulted in a maturing and refining of the MLTC's economic development mission, objectives, strategies and processes -- particularly those relating to consultation, participation and traditional values. This impact is evident in the content of the MLTC's twenty-year development plan **From Vision to Reality** and the process used to prepare it between April 1993 and October 1995.

7.5. *MLTC Twenty Year Plan*

The MLTC twenty year development plan (both its content and the process by which it was developed) is an excellent example of the emerging First Nations approach to economic development. All eight characteristics described in Chapter 2 are clearly and strongly present. The MLTC's answers to the four key questions raised in Chapter 2 can be found in the plan.

The process that culminated in the completion of the MLTC's twenty year plan **From Vision to Realty** in October of 1995 began in early 1993. It involved extensive consultation with Elders and members of the MLFNs. Key aspects of this consultative process included: a meeting the representatives from the nine MLFN in April 1993, a meeting of Elders in January 1994, a survey of the members of the MLFN during 1994,

and, in April of 1995, a three day economic development symposium for members of the MLFN.

According to the twenty year plan:

The Meadow Lake First Nations' (MLFN) vision of the future is one of "healthy individuals, families and communities". This state of well being reflects balance and harmony in the spiritual, physical, emotional and mental aspects of life. Our vision includes self-sufficiency, self-reliance, and self-government. We will have control over our own lives and over decisions that impact our quality of life. We will have hope for the future and for the future of our children (MLTC 1995b, i).

This vision had its birth in April 1993, when members of the MLFN met for three days to discuss "all areas of community and family life and relationships with the environment and each other" (MLTC 1995b, I-6).

The next key step in the development of the twenty year plan occurred in January of 1994 when the Elders of the MLFN met to discuss traditional culture and values.

The Elders were specifically asked about the important values that contributed to healthy individuals, families, and communities in the past. The event was critical to developing the values regarding future economic development planning within the MLTC District (MLTC 1995b, I-7).

Self-sufficiency and self-reliance, sharing, community decision making, respect for the environment, and the preservation of traditional lifestyles and culture, emerged as key values. The Elders particularly stressed that the key to attaining the vision of "healthy individuals, families and communities" was the replacement of the current destructive dependency on welfare with self-reliance. Typical of the Elders' views, one said:

In the future, hunting, trapping, fishing and gathering will not provide the self-sufficiency that is required. Young people will not live the same as the Elders live. The people cannot go back to the old days. We cannot turn

back. We need to look ahead and know where to go next (MLTC 1995b, II-15).

In looking to the future, the Elders concluded that employment opportunities created through economic development were necessary to “allow people to regain self-reliance and self-sufficiency, and increase individual and community pride” (MLTC 1995b, II-3). The Elders stressed that the economic development process must incorporate traditional values, particularly those of sharing, community decision making, and respect for the environment, if the vision is to be realized.

As the next step in the process of preparing the plan, over 500 people from the nine First Nations were interviewed. Among other things, respondents were asked to rate the relative importance of maintaining a number of traditional values as part of the economic development process. Those surveyed overwhelmingly rated the maintenance of the following as very important: obtaining advice on economic development from Elders, getting the approval of MLFN peoples for economic development projects, protecting the environment, sharing the benefits of economic development, developing ‘on-reserve’ or community employment, and achieving First Nation self-sufficiency and self-reliance.

Those surveyed were also asked the question “Can traditional lifestyles co-exist with modern enterprises or businesses?” Seventy-five percent of the respondents answered yes to this question. Typical comments from those answering yes included:

- *The two types of lifestyle already do and its working*
- *We have to work with Native and non-Native lifestyles.*
- *Strong family relationships are needed.*
- *Mixing the two types of lifestyles requires honesty, cooperation and communication.*
- *It's up to us to make it work* (MLTC 1995b, 9).

The concerns expressed by those who felt the two couldn't and/or shouldn't be mixed included:

- *Modern lifestyles overpower traditional lifestyles.*
- *Our culture is being lost.*
- *People can't live both ways.*
- *The two lifestyles conflict (MLTC 1995b, 9).*

Respondents were also asked to identify the obstacles to achieving economic development goals, and the roles and responsibilities of individuals, families, First Nations, the Tribal Council, the federal and provincial government, and the private sector in overcoming these obstacles. Those surveyed identified the following as the primary barriers to development:

- *accessible education/job training*
- *alcohol-free and drug free society*
- *equality and fairness in job distribution*
- *availability of permanent jobs*
- *community members working together supportively*
- *self-sufficiency and self-reliance versus welfare*
- *funding and financial programs for small business (MLTC 1995b, 15).*

The key roles and responsibilities identified for individuals in overcoming these barriers include: having positive attitudes and motivation, striving for self-sufficiency, obtaining education and training, and starting small businesses. Those identified for the family include the ones for individuals as well as: providing healthy family lifestyles, providing support (moral, emotional, financial), and preserving language, culture and traditions.

The roles and responsibilities of each First Nation in overcoming these barriers were felt to include:

1. providing effective and responsible leadership with a particular focus on ensuring community based long-term economic development intended to provide members a good standard of living.
2. providing and encouraging education, training and wellness programs.
3. encouraging self-reliance through business planning and marketing assistance, offering workshops and training programs, providing information on funding and providing loans for small business.
4. direct involvement in economic development through business development initiatives as individual Nations and in partnerships with others.
5. protecting the environment.

Expectations relating to the role and responsibilities of the Tribal Council include those listed for individual First Nations. In addition, the Tribal Council is expected to undertake larger development initiatives often in joint venture with outside partners and to provide support to the First Nations and their members as they pursue their own initiatives.

The federal and provincial governments' roles and responsibilities were felt to include: funding for education, assistance to start large businesses, providing grants and loans to businesses, providing marketing and other advice and support, and developing long-term economic development strategies. The expectations of the private sector include: providing financing (banks and credit unions), serving as mentors, providing business planning assistance, providing employment, and participating in joint ventures.

The initial meeting with representatives of the First Nations, the consultation with Elders, and the survey of community members resulted in the formation of a widely held vision and a general consensus as to the objective of economic development -- "the

achievement of employment and income parity with the Province of Saskatchewan” (MLTC 1995b, ix). Further, it was clearly established that this was (is) to be done in a manner consistent with important traditional values, particularly those of self-reliance and self-sufficiency, protection of the environment, sharing of economic benefits, community decision-making and respect for the wisdom of the Elders.

In April of 1995, a three day economic development symposium was held to provide members of the MLFN with information about progress on the plan to date and to receive additional input. Approximately 150 members of the nine MLFNs participated in workshops that identified current economic development activities, opportunities for future economic development, and barriers to economic development for the MLTC in general and, most importantly, from the perspective of each member First Nation.

Consistent with survey respondents’ views as to responsibilities, those at the seminar endorsed the strategy that calls for the MLTC to establish the larger anchor business and individual First Nations and their members to create small and medium businesses associated with these anchors. Participants reconfirmed the importance of the key traditional values including: consultation with Elders, local decision-making, sharing of economic benefits and care of the environment. They also stressed the importance of continued human and financial capacity building to the creation of viable businesses and the development of a workforce capable of taking advantage of the employment opportunities such businesses will create.

Following the economic development symposium, the final 20-year development plan was drafted. Building on the strategy of anchor businesses, the plan identifies four key sectors as the main pillars of the economic development strategy. They are tourism, mining, forestry, and traditional activities including hunting, fishing, trapping, and agriculture/gathering. The plan goes on to evaluate each of these sectors in detail (at the Tribal Council and First Nation levels) focusing on opportunities and the barriers to realizing these opportunities. The plan establishes short, medium and long-term business and job creation objectives for the four key sectors as well as for those sectors identified as secondary (retail/service, construction/trades, oil and gas, environmental, management, professional/scientific, and public administration).

The plan **From Visions to Reality** forms the foundation for the operational plans of the Tribal Council and its member First Nations as they strive to realize their vision over the next twenty years. Will the people of the MLFN's succeed? Only time will tell, but theory and results to date (MLTC and elsewhere in Saskatchewan) suggest they can. One heartening example began unfolding in 1997.

In January 1997, the English River First Nation announced its purchase of Tron Power, a construction and janitorial company servicing northern mines and businesses. The company is also involved in Cameco's gold mine in Kyrgyzstan. In addition to its northern international operations, Tron has industrial maintenance contracts in Saskatoon. This added to the company's appeal in that the investment will also provide employment opportunities for English River citizens who chose to live in that city rather than 'on Reserve'.

According to English River's press release, the First Nation and Tron Power had been involved in successful joint ventures since 1995. Before that they were partners in an employment equity plan intended to increase Aboriginal employment at the mines in northern Saskatchewan⁴⁶. In summarizing these circumstances, Chief Archie Campbell said:

Many English River citizens already work for Tron Power, and our joint venture has given First Nations people the opportunity to become supervisors, journeymen welders, electricians, carpenters and pipe fitters. The purchase of the company will include First Nations employment in skilled areas, including management (English River First Nation 1997, 3).

According to Frank Lai, Economic Development Director for English River, financing the purchase was made possible by the First Nation's treaty land entitlement settlement⁴⁷. Frank also commented (as does the press release) on the fact that the recently announced federal government's **Procurement Strategy for Aboriginal Businesses** figured prominently in the decision to purchase the company. According to the press release:

Tron will be an instrument for targeting other construction and janitorial projects under the "Set Aside Program" of the Federal Procurement Strategy announced last year by Minister Irwin (English River First Nation 1997, 4).

In this one project, it is possible to see the convergence of all the forces described in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, all under the guiding and coordinating influence of the First

⁴⁶ Another example of the blossoming of a corporate Aboriginal alliance from modest beginnings as discussed at some length in Chapter 6.

⁴⁷ Evidence of the success of First Nation capacity-building efforts and in particular the treaty land entitlement process described in Chapter 5.

Nations' approach to economic development as exemplified by the MLFNs in their twenty-year plan.

7.6. Concluding Comments

The forestry development activities of the Meadow Lake Tribal Council provide an excellent example of the role that can be played by alliances in First Nations economic development. The forestry activities of the MLTC consist of a number of joint ventures and alliances. First, the MLTC itself is an alliance of nine First Nations. In fact, when formed in 1981 it was called the Meadow Lake District Chiefs Joint Venture. The foundation of the forestry activities and the holder of the critical asset (the FMLA) Norsask Forest Products was formed as a joint venture between the MLTC and Techfor. The impetus for growth in the forestry industry came from two interdependent alliances. One was between Millar Western and Crown Investments to build the pulp mill. The other was the joint venture between Norsask and Millar-Western to create Mistik Management to manage the forest resource under the terms of the FMLA. Finally, the benefits to the people of the region (particularly employment) have been delivered through arrangements (although not joint ventures) between Mistik Management and various operating companies including MLTC Logging and Reforestation (a joint venture of the MLFN) and Norwest Logging and Reforestation (a joint venture of the 14 northern villages and hamlets). Results to date indicate that this system of alliances has been successful from the perspective of Millar Western and the MLTC and its people.

The MLTC forestry activities and the process and content of the twenty year plan are consistent with the eight characteristics of First Nations economic development

identified in Chapter 2. The approach is national and collective with many of the businesses owned by the Tribal Council or by individual First Nations. The activities take place on traditional lands. The purpose is to attain economic self-sufficiency in support of self-government and improve socioeconomic conditions. The process adopted involves participation in the global economy through the creation of profitable businesses, often in partnership with outside companies. Business ownership has provided the Indian people greater control over the activities on their land. Culture and traditional values are incorporated in the structure (ownership by the First Nation(s) not private Indian citizens) and methods of operation (increasing sensitivity to traditional land-uses and growing use of consensus-based decision-making processes).

It also clear that the Tribal Council has learned from experience. In an evolutionary way, the MLTC's approach to economic development shows a strengthening of the eight characteristics associated with the First Nations approach to economic development. In particular, the process has become more consultative, more strongly centered on traditional practices, more nationally oriented (from the perspective of the First Nations), and more strongly focused on business development and successful competition in the global economy.

The MLTC's development activities have also been consistent with the contingency perspective developed in Chapter 4. The MLFNs acknowledged the necessity of participation in the global economy in order to realize their vision and have attempted to create a distinct mode of development that will permit them to do so. Central to this mode is the strategy of creating 'anchor' businesses through various forms of

partnerships and alliances (supply contracts, subcontracting, joint ventures, etc.) with other First and non-First Nations businesses. This strategy is clearly consistent with the characteristics of flexible accumulation. It also anticipates behaviour by at least some non-MLTC partners consistent with the doctrine of domicile. Arrangements intended to implement the mode of development involved negotiations between key First Nation and non-First Nation leaders. The MLFNs acknowledged the need for and developed mechanisms to coordinate their activities and reduce destructive competition among them. Finally, their values, traditions and organizational structures demanded input from, and control by, people at the “grassroots” (the civil sector). When the arrangements established through negotiation between First Nation and non-First Nation leaders produced outcomes unacceptable to a significant portion of the people of the First Nations, their reaction caused the MLTC leaders to modify these arrangements.

On its part, Millar Western behaved as one would expect based on the contingency perspective and the results reported in Chapter 6. The MLTC controlled resources critical to the company’s future profitability. Recognizing this, Millar Western willingly entered into a network partnerships intended to satisfy both its and the MLFNs’ needs.

8. Summary and Conclusions

When I began my research I had three objectives. They were to: (i) explore in more depth the characteristics of this emerging First Nations approach to economic development, (ii) develop a theoretical perspective on economic development capable of providing insight into the likelihood of the First Nations achieving their objectives if they follow this approach, and (iii) investigate the actual development activities of selected First Nations in Canada to determine if they confirm the supposed characteristics of First Nations development and the expectations of my proposed theoretical perspective.

8.1. Economic Development Goals, Strategies and Structures

The results of my research indicate that a new approach to economic development is emerging among First Nations in Canada. No longer taking a passive approach, most are eagerly engaging in a wide variety of commercial activities. In doing so, the First Nations have adopted and are implementing a predominantly collective approach that is closely tied to each First Nation's traditional lands, its identity as a Nation and its peoples' desire to be self-sufficient and self-governing. This development approach is intended to serve three purposes: (i) the attainment of economic self-sufficiency as a necessary condition for the realization of self-government at the First Nation level, (ii) the improvement of socioeconomic circumstances, and (iii) the preservation and strengthening of traditional culture, values and languages. More and more, First Nations

believe that they can achieve these purposes through participation in the global capitalist economy and as a result they are aggressively creating businesses to compete profitably in that economy. They expect these businesses to generate the wealth necessary to support self-government and improve socioeconomic conditions. Further, as demonstrated in the MLTC case, First Nations believe that their traditional values can be respected and supported by and used in their business activities, and they are acting on that belief.

It is clear from my research that First Nations expect to exercise control over the development process to ensure that benefits accrue to their people in two ways: (i) ownership resulting in control over the business activities and the right to share in the profits from businesses; and (ii) control over land and resources through land claims, treaty negotiations and First Nations government jurisdiction. As is readily apparent from the results reported in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, partnerships and other alliances are a very important in the First Nations approach to economic development. They allow for an adequate level of First Nations control over business activities without requiring 100% ownership. They also allow for a more diversified and therefore less risky 'portfolio' of businesses for the same capital investment. At the same time, partnerships create a synergy that combines the strengths of each of the partners and allays their weaknesses resulting in a more successful business than any individual partner could have developed on its own. As the results reported in Chapter 6 indicate, partnerships with non-First Nations businesses will become increasingly significant in the future as First Nations acquire additional human, financial and physical resources.

8.2. *Economic Development Theory*

Neither the modernization or dependency perspectives on development can be usefully applied to the emerging First Nations approach to development. The inadequacy of these perspectives is not limited to a First Nations context. As a result, many are struggling to create a perspective on economic development that is relevant in today's circumstances. I believe that my amalgam of regulation theory, the postimperial perspective and alternative/Indigenous approaches into a single 'contingency perspective' is an acceptable extension of this struggle. Its development allows me to satisfy my second objective.

According to my contingency perspective, the outcomes First Nations anticipate as a result of their development efforts are possible but not inevitable. Actual outcomes are contingent on the development process in all its complexities and will vary from place to place and over time. They can and will range from the bleak results anticipated by proponents of the dependency perspective, through those expected by First Nations, to the equally unacceptable (to First Nations) developed but homogenized outcomes anticipated by proponents of the modernization perspective. The critical question is whether the approach being adopted by First Nations has the potential to deliver the results they desire. As concluded in Chapter 4, at least theoretically, the answer to this question is yes. A strategy of competition in the global economy through a variety of joint ventures and alliances is well-founded.

8.3. Outcomes: On the Right Track

My final objective was to answer the question -- Are the actual outcomes experienced by the First Nations consistent with theoretical and/or First Nations expectations? With respect to theoretical expectations, at least those of the contingency perspective, the answer to this question will always, and in all circumstances, be yes. The essence of the perspective (and I believe the development process itself) is that there is a range of possible outcomes and, this being the case, whatever actually happens is consistent with theoretical expectations. Going further, the contingency perspective suggests that strategies like those adopted by the First Nations that are consistent with the requirements of flexible competition are more likely to be successful than strategies that are not. Finally, as described in Chapters 5, 6, and 7, the behaviour of the corporate and Aboriginal leaders and the people as a whole (the civil sector) and the resulting socioeconomic outcomes to the extent that they can be measured at this early stage of the process, are consistent with the perspective.

What is more important is whether the actual outcomes experienced by the First Nations are those they anticipated. Are they on the right track? I believe the answer 'yes, so far' is justified by my research results. The MLTC case indicates outcomes that are consistent with the Tribal Council's expectations and with theory -- capacity is being built, jobs are being created, income and employment levels are improving and traditional practices are being respected by, and used in, the development process. The MLTC results, and the more general results for all Saskatchewan First Nations reported in Chapter 5, indicate that First Nations can and are creating businesses that can compete

successfully in the global economy. The type of businesses favoured by the First Nations approach -- joint ventures/alliances and/or collectively owned competing in the global economy -- dominate at the MLTC and provincial levels. Research indicates that they are the largest and most successful businesses from the perspective of long-term profitability and the creation of permanent employment. This business and employment success coupled with increasing capacity at the First Nations level through land claims and treaty settlements and a growing corporate willingness to form partnerships will ensure the continuing dominance of this strategy and its diffusion to the First Nations who have not yet adopted it. Indeed, evidence of such diffusion is widespread.

In conclusion, my research has accomplished its purposes; namely to:

1. Provide an understanding of the development objectives of First Nations and the business-related strategies and structures intended to attain those objectives.
2. Contribute to the ongoing evolution of development theory by developing and validating a theoretical perspective on First Nations economic development.

8.4. Research Issues for the Future

Having said this, it is important to acknowledge certain issues not addressed by my research. The most obvious relate to the subjects studied (a limited set of First Nations and corporations) and the measurement of outcomes.

The general review in Chapter 2, some of the material on First Nations business success in Chapter 5 and the material on corporate aboriginal alliances drew on Canada-wide sources. However, my primary research into actual development activities was limited to the First Nations in Saskatchewan. Because of this, caution must be exercised in

applying my findings to Aboriginal people outside Saskatchewan. Similarly, I restricted my investigation of corporate Aboriginal alliances to companies that have already shown an interest in the issue through their membership the Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business. As a result, the conclusions reached in Chapter 6 do not apply to all corporations.

Equal care must be taken with respect to the interpretation of the actual outcomes of development activities to date. Both the emerging First Nations approach to economic development and corporate Aboriginal relations programs are relatively new phenomena. Almost all the activities flowing from these approaches began within the last ten years and much of it in the last five. These approaches are diffusing from the early successful adopters to other First Nations and corporations. It is simply too soon to judge outcomes except in a very general way as was done in the MLTC case and for First Nations in Saskatchewan. A more rigorous and statistically valid investigation of the impacts of economic development activities on the people of the First Nations will not be possible until the publication of the 1996 census data. Even then, the picture will still be unfolding. As a case in point, the MLTC expects that it will take until the year 2015 for its people to achieve income and employment level parity with the people of the province as a whole, and the MLTC is in the forefront of the economic development wave among First Nations in the province.

These weaknesses indicate obvious directions for future research. Research is required to confirm that First Nations elsewhere in Canada are implementing a similar approach to development. It would also be interesting to compare and contrast First Nation

approaches with those adopted by the Inuit and Metis in Canada and Indigenous people around the world. It is also necessary to investigate whether the described approaches to corporate Aboriginal relations are widespread and growing or whether they are restricted to a limited subset of companies (i.e. those who are members of the CCAB). Finally, a statistically valid comparison of the 1986 to 1996 socioeconomic circumstances of the First Nations in Saskatchewan is required in an attempt to measure the impact of economic development activities. In particular, it is important to determine if there is a correlation between amount and/or type of economic/business development undertaken and changes in socioeconomic conditions.

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Appendix A: First Nations Economic Development Questionnaire and Letter

March 4, 1994

«salute» «firstname» «lastname»
«FirstNation»
«street»
«city», «province»
«code»
Phone «Phone», Fax «Fax»

Dear «salute» «lastname»:

I am a professor of administration with the School of Business and Public Administration of the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College. I am conducting research into the economic and business development strategies and structures of the First Nations of Saskatchewan. This research will help SIFC's School of Business and Public Administration to better meet the needs of SIFC students and the First Nations that many such students will serve after graduation.

In January in support of this research, I faxed a letter to your attention asking if you would have a staff member fill out and return a brief (one page) questionnaire. I have not received a completed questionnaire from your First Nation and so am sending another copy of the questionnaire asking that it be completed and returned to:

Bob Anderson
School of Business and Public Administration
Saskatchewan Indian Federated College
127 College West
University of Regina
Regina, S4S 0A2

Or fax it to my attention at: 1-585-1289

If you require further information please call me at 931-1800 or 779-6300.

Thank-you very much for your assistance.

Yours truly,

First Nations Business Development Questionnaire

«FirstNation»

«salute» «firstname» «lastname»

Planning:

Does the «FirstNation» have a "Community Development Plan"? yes _____ no _____

If so, does this "Community Development Plan" establish economic development goals and strategies for attaining those goals? yes _____ no _____

Does the «FirstNation» have an "Economic Development Plan" separate from any "Community Development Plan"? yes _____ no _____

Structure:

Has the «FirstNation» assigned responsibility for economic development to a particular Counselor or committee of Counsel? yes _____ no _____

Has the «FirstNation» assigned responsibility for economic development activities to a particular employee? yes _____ no _____

Has the «FirstNation» created a development corporation for economic and business development purposes? yes _____ no _____

Has the «TribalCouncil» created a development corporation to pursue business activities on behalf of the «FirstNation» and other member First Nations? yes _____ no _____

Businesses:

Is the «FirstNation» the sole owner and operator of any businesses? yes _____ no _____

If yes, how many?

If the «FirstNation» has created a development corporation, is that corporation the sole owner and operator of any businesses? yes _____ no _____

If yes, how many?

Does the «FirstNation» own and/or operate any businesses in partnership or joint venture with any other First Nation(s) or non-First Nation individual(s) or organization(s)? yes _____ no _____

If yes, how many?

If the «FirstNation» has created a development corporation, does that corporation own and/or operate any businesses in partnership or joint venture with any other First Nation(s) or non-First Nation individual(s) or organization(s)? yes _____ no _____

If yes, how many?

April 23, 1997

«salute» «firstname» «lastname»
«title»
«council»
«street»
«city», «province»
«code»
Fax «fax»; Phone «tel»

Dear «salute» «lastname»:

I am a professor of administration with the School of Business and Public Administration of the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College. Among other things, the School offers classes in economic and business development. In support of this activity, I am conducting research into the economic development strategies and structures of the First Nations of Saskatchewan.

I would like your help with this research. In particular, I would like information about the businesses operated by the «council» and its member First Nations. It would be of great help to me if you could complete the brief attached questionnaire and fax it to my attention at: **585-1289**

Or mail it to:

Bob Anderson
School of Business and Public Administration
Saskatchewan Indian Federated College
Room 501, Champion Building
University of Regina
Regina, S4S 0A2

In addition, I would appreciate receiving copies of any publicly released material (including recent Tribal Council and development corporation annual reports) relating to the business development activities for your Tribal Council.

Yours truly,

Bob Anderson
931-1800 or 779-6300

Appendix B

First Nations Business Development Data Base and Summary of Economic Development Activity

B.1 Data Base

B.2 Data Base Summary

Appendix B.1: First Nations Business Database

Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person Position	Entity Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
AGENCY CHIEFS TRIBAL COUNCIL	TRIBAL COUNCIL	ACTC Development Corporation		DC_TC	NA	Tribal Council - ACTC Dev. Corp.	Development Corporation			SIFC
AGENCY CHIEFS TRIBAL COUNCIL	TRIBAL COUNCIL	AC Forestry		JV-TC	I	Tribal Council				SIFC
AGENCY CHIEFS TRIBAL COUNCIL	BIG RIVER FN	Bradley Morn Water Haul	Owner	FnI	L	Individual	Other Services	Water Hauling	under \$100,000	FSIN/MTG
AGENCY CHIEFS TRIBAL COUNCIL	BIG RIVER FN	Ivan Dreaner Logging	Owner	FnI	I	Individual	Forestry	Logging	under \$100,000	FSIN
AGENCY CHIEFS TRIBAL COUNCIL	BIG RIVER FN	Marin Lake Trucking		FnI	R			Truck - heavy conventional	750,000 to \$2,000,000	Trans/SIFC
AGENCY CHIEFS TRIBAL COUNCIL	BIG RIVER FN	Lakeside Grocery	Manager	IFn	R		Retail	Store		FSIN/SIFC
AGENCY CHIEFS TRIBAL COUNCIL	PELICAN LAKE FN	Chitek Lake Development C	Band Manager	DC-FN	NA	Band	Tourism and Cultural	Resort		FSIN/TRANS
AGENCY CHIEFS TRIBAL COUNCIL	PELICAN LAKE FN	Bill, Fred		FnI	I			Sawmill		Trans/SIFC
AGENCY CHIEFS TRIBAL COUNCIL	PELICAN LAKE FN	Thomas, Fred		FnI	L			Wood cutting		Trans/SIFC
AGENCY CHIEFS TRIBAL COUNCIL	PELICAN LAKE FN	Band Store Chitek	Band Manager	IFn	L	Band	Retail	Store		FSIN
AGENCY CHIEFS TRIBAL COUNCIL	PELICAN LAKE FN	Resort		JV	R	FN with partner	Tourism and Cultural	Resort		SIFC
AGENCY CHIEFS TRIBAL COUNCIL	PELICAN LAKE FN	Pelican Lake Trucking	Band Manager	JV	I	Band/AC Forestry	Forestry	Logging/Trucking		FSIN/TRANS IFC
AGENCY CHIEFS TRIBAL COUNCIL	WITCHECAN LAKE FN	Forestry	Chief	JV	I	Band/AC Forestry	Forestry	Logging/Skidder	under \$100,000	FSIN/TRANS IFC
AGENCY CHIEFS TRIBAL COUNCIL		Cowan Bros. Transport Ltd.						Logging & trucking		Transgas

Appendix B.1: First Nations Business Database

Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person Position	Entity Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	TRIBAL COUNCIL	BTC Crushing Ltd	Economic Development Offi	JV-TC	R	Individual	Other Services	Construction	100,001 to \$400,000	FSIN/SIFC
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	TRIBAL COUNCIL	F.N. Education & Training	Consultant	JV-TC	R	Tribal Council	Other Services	Training	100,001 to \$400,000	FSIN/SIFC
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	TRIBAL COUNCIL	General Plumbing, Heating	General Manager	JV-TC	R	Tribal Council	Other Services	Construction	400,001 to \$750,000	FSIN/SIFC
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	TRIBAL COUNCIL	BTC Development Corporation		DC-TC	NA	Tribal Council	Development Corporation			SIFC
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	LITTLE PINE FN	Cathy Pewap Medical Taxi	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	Taxi	under \$100,000	FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	LITTLE PINE FN	Ron Thunder Medical Taxi	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	Taxi	under \$100,000	FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	LITTLE PINE FN	School Bus Driver	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	School Bus	under \$100,000	FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	LITTLE PINE FN	School Bus Driver	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	School Bus	under \$100,000	FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	LITTLE PINE FN	School Bus Driver	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	School Bus	under \$100,000	FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	LITTLE PINE FN	School Bus Driver	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	School Bus	under \$100,000	FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	LITTLE PINE FN	School Bus Driver	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	School Bus	under \$100,000	FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	LITTLE PINE FN	Littlepine Indian Band		IFn	R	FN		Heavy equipment		Tranagas
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	LITTLE PINE FN	Little Pine Agri. Committ	Manager	IFn-ag	R	Band	Agriculture	Pasture rental	under \$100,000	FSIN/SIFC
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	LITTLE PINE FN	Oil/Gas		JV	I	FN	Oil/Gas			SIFC
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	MOSQUITO FN	Development Corporation		DC-FN	NA					
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	MOSQUITO FN	Beaudry Taxi	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	Taxi	under \$100,000	FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	MOSQUITO FN	Chie Cornerstone Trucksto	Owner	Fnl	R	Individual	Tourism and Cultural	Restaurant	under \$100,000	FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	MOSQUITO FN	J & W Water Haulers	owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	Septic/Water Service	under \$100,000	FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	MOSQUITO FN	Nonway Outfitters	Owners	Fnl	L	Individual	Tourism and Cultural	Sport Fishing/Hunting	under \$100,000	FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	MOSQUITO FN	School Bus Driver	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	School Bus	under \$100,000	FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	MOSQUITO FN	School Bus Driver	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	School Bus	under \$100,000	FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	MOSQUITO FN	School Bus Driver	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	School Bus	under \$100,000	FSIN

Appendix B.1: First Nations Business Database

Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person	Entry Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	MOSQUITO FN	School Bus Driver	Owner	Full	L	Individual	Other Services	School Bus	under \$100,000	FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	MOSQUITO FN	School Bus Driver	Owner	Full	L	Individual	Other Services	School Bus	under \$100,000	FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	MOSQUITO FN	Wahobn Medical Taxi	Owner	Full	L	Individual	Other Services	Taxi	under \$100,000	FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	MOSQUITO FN			Full	L					SIFC
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	MOSQUITO FN			Full	L					SIFC
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	MOSQUITO FN			Full	L					SIFC
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	SWEETGRASS FN	S.G. Developments Corp		DC-FN	NA	Band	Development Corporation			SIFC
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	SWEETGRASS FN	Denver's Taxi		Full	L		Other Services	Taxi		FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	SWEETGRASS FN	Elkora's Trucking		Full	R		Transportation Services	Trucking		FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	SWEETGRASS FN	Emer's Medical Taxi		Full	L		Other Services	Taxi		FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	SWEETGRASS FN	Fred's Greder Service		Full	R		Other Services	Construction		FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	SWEETGRASS FN	Jack's Water Hauling	Owner	Full	L	Individual	Other Services	Water Service	under \$100,000	FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	SWEETGRASS FN	L & C Backhoe Service		Full	R		Other Services	Construction		FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	SWEETGRASS FN	Musical Band		Full	R			Musical band		Trans/SIFC
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	SWEETGRASS FN	Peggy's Taxi Service		Full	L		Other Services	Taxi		FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	SWEETGRASS FN	Saskatchewan Indian Media Corp.		Full	R	FN		Communications		Trans/SIFC
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	SWEETGRASS FN	Sweetgrass Records		Full	R		Other Services	Record Company		FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	SWEETGRASS FN	Tipikaw Native Crafts	Owner	Full	R	Individual	Tourism and Cultural	Crafts	under \$100,000	FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	SWEETGRASS FN	Whitford's Backhoe Service		Full	R		Other Services	Construction		FSIN
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	SWEETGRASS FN	S.G. General Store		Full	L	Band - S.G. Dev. Corp	Retail	Grocery Store		FSIN/SIFC
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	SWEETGRASS FN	Sweetgrass Indian Band		Full	F	FN		Backhoes & front-end loaders		Transgas
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL								Transmission repair, towing		Transgas
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL								Furniture movers		Transgas

Appendix B.1: First Nations Business Database

Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person Position	Entity Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	MOOSEMIN FN			IFn	L					SIFC
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	MOOSEMIN FN			IFn	L					SIFC
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	MOOSEMIN FN			IFn	L					SIFC
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	MOOSEMIN FN	Murray Lake General Store	Chief of Band	IFn	R	Band	Retail	Store	100,001 to \$400,000	FSIN/SIFC
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	ONION LAKE F N	Nothbridge Industries		DC-FN	NA	Band	Development Corporation			SIFC
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	ONION LAKE F N	Car Repair	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Transportation Services	Mecchanical Repair		
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	ONION LAKE F N	Makoo Mall		ifn	R	Band _ Borth Bridge Dev. Corp.				SIFC
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	ONION LAKE F N	North Sask Cree Construction		ifn	R			Construction		Tran/SIFC
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	ONION LAKE F N	Onion Lake Enterprises		IFn	R	FN		Janitorial service - general		Transgas
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	ONION LAKE F N	Jackfish Lodge	Manager	JV	R	Tribal Council	Tourism and Cultural	Hotel/Convention	750,000 to \$2,000,000	FSIN/TRAN
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	POUND MAKER FN	Development Corporation		DC-FN	NA	Band	Development Corporation			SIFC
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	POUND MAKER FN	Tootoosis, Raymond		Fnl	L	FN		Water truck		Tran/SIFC
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	POUND MAKER FN	Lydon Tootoosis Stonecarv	Owner	Fnl	R	Individual	Retail	Stonecarver	under \$100,000	FSIN
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	POUND MAKER FN	store		IFn	L		store			SIFC
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	POUND MAKER FN	taxi		IFn	L		taxi			SIFC
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	POUND MAKER FN	septic pump-out		IFn	L		septic pump-out			SIFC
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	POUND MAKER FN	road maintenance		IFn	R		road maintenance			SIFC
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	RED PHEASANT FN	Wurtunee, Ronald		Fnl	R			Hauling truck		Trans/SIFC
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	RED PHEASANT FN	Dressyman, Mervin		Fnl	R			Heavy equipment		Tran/SIFC
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	RED PHEASANT FN	Red Pheasant Band		IFn	R			Water truck, heavy equipment		Transgas
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	SAULTEAUX FN	Development Corporation		DC-FN	NA	Band	Development Corporation			SIFC
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	SAULTEAUX FN			Fnl-ag	I			farm		SIFC
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	SAULTEAUX FN			Fnl-ag	I			farm		SIFC
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	SAULTEAUX FN	Cochin Convenience Store	Manager	IFn	R	Band	Retail	Store	100,001 to \$400,000	FSIN

Appendix B.1: First Nations Business Database

Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person Position	Entity Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	SAULTEAUX FN	Saulteaux Construction	Manager	IFn	R	Band	Other Services	Construction	100,001 to \$400,000	FSIN
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	SAULTEAUX FN	Saulteaux Forestry Operation		IFn	I	FN		Forestry		Transgas
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	SAULTEAUX FN	Jackfish Lodge	Manager	JV	R	Tribal Council	Tourism and Cultural	Hotel/Convention	750,000 to \$2,000,000	FSIN/TRAN
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	SAULTEAUX FN	Oil/Gas		JV	I		oil/gas			SIFC
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	THUNDERCHILD FN	Development Corporation		DC-FN	NA	Band	Development Corporation			SIFC
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	THUNDERCHILD FN	A.A. Weekusk School Bus	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Transportation Services	under \$100,000		FSIN
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	THUNDERCHILD FN	Albert Angus & Associates	Owner	Fnl	R	Individual	Professional Services	Lawyer	100,001 to \$400,000	FSIN
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	THUNDERCHILD FN	Charlie Paddy Water Deliv	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	Water Service	under \$100,000	FSIN
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	THUNDERCHILD FN	D.R. Wapass School Bus	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Transportation Services	School Bus	under \$100,000	FSIN
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	THUNDERCHILD FN	Douglas Star Logging	Owner	Fnl	I	Individual	Forestry	Logging	under \$100,000	FSIN
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	THUNDERCHILD FN	Ernest Horse Garbage Col.	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	Garbage Collection	under \$100,000	FSIN
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	THUNDERCHILD FN	Joe Jimmy School Bus	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Transportation Services	School Bus	under \$100,000	FSIN
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	THUNDERCHILD FN	Jackfish Lodge	Manager	JV	R	Tribal Council	Tourism and Cultural	Hotel/Convention	750,000 to \$2,000,000	FSIN/TRAN
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS		Little Rock Oilfield Services Ltd.						Heavy equipment, well site prep		Transgas
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS		Nolin Construction						General contractor		Transgas
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS		Cochin Construction Company						Construction		Transgas
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS		Nolin Well Drilling						Drilling water well		Transgas

Appendix B.1: First Nations Business Database

Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person	Position	Entry Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	MLDC Investment, Ltd.	Ec. Dev. Director	Ec. Dev. Director	DC-TC	NA	Tribal Council - MLDC				SIFC
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	MEADOW LAKE PRINTERS LTD.	Northwest Eagle	Asst Manager	JV-TC	R	Tribal Council - MLDC Invest.	Other Services	Newspaper	\$400,000 to 100,001 to	FSIN/SIFC
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	MLTC Logging and Reforest			JV-TC	I	Tribal Council - MLDC Invest.	Forestry	Logging, reforestation, trucking, road building	over \$2,000,000	FSIN/SIFC
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	NORASK FOREST PRODUCTS	Manager		JV-TC	I	Tribal Council - MLDC Invest. 40%; Miller Western 20%; Techfor Ltd. 40%	Forestry	Forest Products	over \$2,000,000	FSIN/TRANS/IFC
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	Polar Oils	Manager		JV-TC	I	Tribal Council - MLDC Invest.	Other Services	Fuel Delivery	over \$2,000,000	FSIN/SIFC
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	BIRCH NARROWS FN				IFN	L					SIFC
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	BUFFALO RIVER FN	Nezochie, Aarene			FNl	I			Sawmill		Trans/SIFC
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	CANOE LAKE FN	Canoe Lake Inv. Corp.			DC-FN	NA					SIFC
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	CANOE LAKE FN	Cortgal, Joseph			FNl	R			Electrical contracting		Trans/SIFC
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	CANOE LAKE FN	Iron, Frank			FNl	I			Heavy Equipment/Logging		Trans/SIFC
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	CANOE LAKE FN	Iron, Max			FNl	I			Heavy Equipment/Logging		Trans/SIFC
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	CANOE LAKE FN	Iron, Tom			FNl	I			Heavy Equipment/Logging		Trans/SIFC
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	CANOE LAKE FN	Canoe Lake Indian Band			IFN	I			Heavy Equipment/Logging	Transgas	Transgas
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	CANOE LAKE FN				IFN	L					SIFC
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	CLEARWATER DENE FN	Gordon Park			FNl	R			Grader		Trans/SIFC
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	CLEARWATER DENE FN				IFN	L					SIFC
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	ENGLISH RIVER FN										
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	FLYING DUST FIRST NATION										

Appendix B.1: First Nations Business Database

Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person Position	Entity Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL		Waibem Ent. Ltd.						Gravel, sand & dirt hauling		Transgas
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL		Wife's Cabinets & Novelties						Cabinet maker		Transgas

Appendix B.1: First Nations Business Database

Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person	Entity Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	TRIBAL COUNCIL	PRINCE ALBERT DEV. CORP.	Director of Finance	DC-TC	NA	Tribal Council	Professional Services	Consulting	750,000 to \$2,000,001	SIFC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	TRIBAL COUNCIL	PADC Security Services	Security Manager	JV-TC	I	Tribal Council	Other Services	Security	\$2,000,000 to 750,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	TRIBAL COUNCIL	PRINCE ALBERT INN	Director of Finance	JV-TC	I	Tribal Council	Tourism and Cultural	Hotel	over \$2,000,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	BLACK LAKE DENESULINE FN	BLACK LAKE DENESULINE FN	Sayze, Donald	FN	R			Gravel truck & backhoe		Trangas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	BLACK LAKE DENESULINE FN	BLACK LAKE DENESULINE FN	Eagle Air	JV	R	Band	Transportation Services	Airline	under \$100,000	SIFC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	BLACK LAKE DENESULINE FN	BLACK LAKE DENESULINE FN	Northern Resource Trucking, Ltd.	JV	I	Band - KDC, Trimac 49%	Transportation Services	Trucking	over \$2,000,000	FSIN/atic
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	CUMBERLAND HOUSE CREE FN	CONVENIENCE STORE	Owner	FN	L	Individual	Retail	Store	under \$100,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	CUMBERLAND HOUSE CREE FN	CUMBERLAND HOUSE FORESTRY CO.		IFN	I			Forestry		Trans/SIFC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	CREE FN	CHOC		JV	R	FN/SASK POWER				SIFC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	FOND DU LAC DENESULINE FN	FOND DU LAC DENESULINE FN	Denton, Emily	FN	R			Drilling water well		Trans/SIFC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	FOND DU LAC DENESULINE FN	FOND DU LAC DENESULINE FN	Eagle Air	JV	R	Band	Transportation Services	Airline	under \$100,000	SIFC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	FOND DU LAC DENESULINE FN	FOND DU LAC DENESULINE FN	Northern Resource Trucking, Ltd.	JV	I	Band - KDC, Trimac 49%	Transportation Services	Trucking	over \$2,000,000	FSIN/atic
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	FOND DU LAC DENESULINE FN	FOND DU LAC DENESULINE FN	Northern Resource Trucking, Ltd.	JV	I	Band - KDC, Trimac 49%	Transportation Services	Trucking	over \$2,000,000	FSIN/atic
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	HATCHET LAKE DENESULINE FN	HATCHET LAKE DENESULINE FN	Hector Kwalther Tax	FN	L	Individual	Services	Tax	under \$100,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	HATCHET LAKE DENESULINE FN	HATCHET LAKE DENESULINE FN	WELCOME BAY SALES	FN	L	Individual	Retail	Store	under \$100,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	HATCHET LAKE DENESULINE FN	HATCHET LAKE DENESULINE FN	OWNER/MANAGER	FN	L	Individual	Other Services	Tax	under \$100,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	HATCHET LAKE DENESULINE FN	HATCHET LAKE DENESULINE FN	OWNER	FN	L	Individual	Other Services	Pool Hall	under \$100,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	HATCHET LAKE DENESULINE FN	HATCHET LAKE DENESULINE FN	JOE'S CONVENIENCE STORE	FN	L	Individual	Retail	Store	under \$100,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	HATCHET LAKE DENESULINE FN	HATCHET LAKE DENESULINE FN	HATCHET LAKE DENESULINE FN	IFN	R			Hauling truck		Trangas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	HATCHET LAKE DENESULINE FN	HATCHET LAKE DENESULINE FN	VOILATION CO-OP	IFN	R	members	Retail	Store	\$400,000 to 100,001 to	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	HATCHET LAKE DENESULINE FN	HATCHET LAKE DENESULINE FN	EAGLE AIR	JV	R	Band	Transportation Services	Airline	under \$100,000	

Appendix B.1: First Nations Business Database

Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person Position	Entity Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	JAMES SMITH CREE NATION	Sanderson Crafts	Owner	Fnl	R	Individual	Retail	Crafts	under \$100,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	JAMES SMITH CREE NATION	B. Sanderson School Bus	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	School Bus	under \$100,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	JAMES SMITH CREE NATION	C. Braltein School Bus	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	School Bus	under \$100,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	JAMES SMITH CREE NATION	Clara Head Taxi	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	Taxi	under \$100,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	JAMES SMITH CREE NATION	Dennis Constant Water Ser	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	Water Service	under \$100,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	JAMES SMITH CREE NATION	E. Burns School Bus	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	School Bus	under \$100,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	JAMES SMITH CREE NATION	E. Sanderson Garbage Coll	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	Garbage Collection	under \$100,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	JAMES SMITH CREE NATION	Eddy Head Tobacco	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Retail	Store	under \$100,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	JAMES SMITH CREE NATION	G. Sanderson School Bus	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	School Bus	under \$100,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	JAMES SMITH CREE NATION	Harvey Sanderson Sewer Se	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	Septic Service	under \$100,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	JAMES SMITH CREE NATION	Heito Burns Water Service	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	Water Service	under \$100,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	JAMES SMITH CREE NATION	Wilfred Sanderson Water S	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	Water Service	under \$100,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	JAMES SMITH CREE NATION	James Smith Pasture	Manager	IFn	R	Band	Agriculture	Pasture Rental	under \$100,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	JAMES SMITH CREE NATION	Lucky Feather Bingo	Manager	IFn	R	Band	Other Services	Bingo	under \$100,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	LAC LA RONGE FN	Kitsaki Development Corporation	Director of Finance	DC-FN	NA	Band	Professional Services	Consulting		FSIN/SIFC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	LAC LA RONGE FN	Keethawow Bingo North, Inc.		IFn	R	Band - KDC 100%				SIFC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	LAC LA RONGE FN	Lac La Ronge Motor Hotel	Manager	IFn	R	Band - KDC 100%	Tourism and Cultural	Motel	750,000 to \$2,000,000	FSIN/SIFC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	LAC LA RONGE FN	Beatty, Edward		IFn	R			Gravel truck		Trans/SIFC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	LAC LA RONGE FN	Athabasca Catering Co	Band	JV	I	Band - KDC/Fond Du Lac FN	Tourism and Cultural	Catering		FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	LAC LA RONGE FN	First Nation s Insurance	Administration	JV	R	Band - KDC 20%, FSIN 80%	Professional Services	Insurance Sales	100,001 to \$400,000	FSIN/SIFC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	LAC LA RONGE FN	Kitsaki Meats	General Manager	JV	I	Band	Agriculture	Meat products	750,000 to \$2,000,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	LAC LA RONGE FN	La Ronge Industries Ltd	Manager	JV	I	Band - KDC 51% other 49%	Agriculture	Wild Rice	400,001 to \$750,000	FSIN/SIFC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	LAC LA RONGE FN	Northern Lights Wild Rice	Manager	JV	I	Band - KDC 51% other 49%	Agriculture	Wild Rice		FSIN/SIFC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	LAC LA RONGE FN	Northern Resource Trucking, Ltd.	Manager	JV	I	KDC and other FNs 51%, Trimac 49%	Transportation Services	Trucking	over \$2,000,000	FSIN/sifc

Appendix B.1: First Nations Business Database

Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person	Position	Entry Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	LAC LA RONGE FN	Six Seasons Catering, Ltd	Manager	JV	I	49% Band - KDC 51% other	Tourism and Cultural	Catering		100,001 to \$400,000	FSIN/SIFIC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	MONTREAL LAKE CREE NATION	Baethy, Edward		FN	L	FN		Water truck			Trans/SIFIC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	MONTREAL LAKE CREE NATION	Bird, Roderick		FN	R	FN		Heavy Equipment			Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	MONTREAL LAKE CREE NATION	Montreal Lake Band Enterprises		FN	R	FN		Heavy Equipment			Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	PETER BALTANTNE CREE NATION	Gerald Morkin	Owner	FN	R	Individual	Professional Services	Lawyer		100,001 to \$400,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	RED EARTH FIRST NATION	Lorel Head Mem. Store	Manager	FN	R	Band	Retail	Store		750,000 to \$2,000,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	RED EARTH FIRST NATION	Red Earth F.N. Septic	Portfolio Counselor	FN	L	Band	Other Services	Septic/Water Service		under \$100,000	FSIN
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	SHOAL LAKE FN	SHOAL LAKE FN		FN	L						SIFIC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	SHOAL LAKE FN	SHOAL LAKE FN		FN	L						SIFIC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	SHOAL LAKE FN	SHOAL LAKE FN		FN	L						SIFIC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	SHOAL LAKE FN	SHOAL LAKE FN		JV	R	with Shoal Lake FN					SIFIC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	STURGEON LAKE FN	Emmie, Leo & Irene		FN	L	FN		Wood cutting			Trans/SIFIC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	STURGEON LAKE FN	Roberts, Eleanor		FN	L			Water truck			Trans/SIFIC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	STURGEON LAKE FN	Sturgeon Lake Indian Band		FN	R	FN		Backhoes & frontload loaders			Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	WAHPETON DAKOTA NATION	WAHPETON DAKOTA NATION		FN							SIFIC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	WAHPETON DAKOTA NATION	WAHPETON DAKOTA NATION		JV							SIFIC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	WAHPETON DAKOTA NATION	WAHPETON DAKOTA NATION		JV							SIFIC
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	General printing									Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	Debt's Plumbing & Heating						Plumbing and heating			Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	Suboche Logging						Logging			Transgas

Appendix B.1: First Nations Business Database

Tribe Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person	Entry Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL		Hamble Trucking Ltd.					Haul livestock & lumber			Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL		Hightrock Contracting								Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL		Larivee Mobile Welding & Fabrication					Welding & fabrication			Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL		Leo McDougall Fencing Supplies					Truck - heavy conventional			Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL		Madsen Fence Ltd.					Chain link fences			Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL		McAuley Sawmill Lumber Company					Sawmill Operation			Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL		McKay's Environmental Services								Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL		Mitond Lake Forest Products					Sawmill			Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL		Missihspe Constructors					Construction			Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL		Missihspe Broadcasting Corp.					Aboriginal Radio programming			Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL		Nelson Logging Ltd.					Logging			Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL		Northeast Economic Development Assoc.					Consulting services			Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL		P.A. Overhead Door					Overhead door sales and services			Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL		Pilon Wood Preserves					Harvest & sell posts			Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL		Randy Hamilton Trucking					Truck - heavy conventional			Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL		Roby's Sealmess					Installation of			Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL		Evestroughing					Investroughing			Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL		The Computer Celler					Computers & equipment			Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL		The Northern Fence					Post treatment plant			Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL		Todd Dolton - Trucking					Truck - heavy conventional			Transgas
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL		Vital's Roofing					Roofing & shingling			Transgas

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Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person	Entry Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MISTAWASIS F N	Malvin Watson School Bus	Owner	FN	Individual	Individual	Other Services	School Bus	under \$100,000	FSIN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MISTAWASIS F N	Watson Trucking	Owner	FN	Individual	Individual	Transportation	Trucking		FSIN/TRAN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MISTAWASIS F N	Dooper's Contracting	Manager	IFN	Band - Dev Corp	Band - Dev Corp	Retail	Store		FSIN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MISTAWASIS F N	Mistawasis Forestry	Manager	IFN	Band - Dev Corp	Band - Dev Corp	Forestry	Logging		FSIN/TRAN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MISTAWASIS F N	Mistawasis Road Maintenance	Manager	IFN	Band - Dev Corp	Band - Dev Corp	Other Services	Construction		FSIN/SIFC
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MISTAWASIS F N	Mistawasis Sewage Disposal	Manager	IFN	Band - Dev Corp	Band - Dev Corp	Other Services	Contractor		FSIN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MISTAWASIS F N	Mistawasis Band Pasture	Manager	IFN-eg	Band - Dev Corp	Band - Dev Corp	Agriculture	Pasture rental		FSIN/SIFC
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKEG LAKE FN	Aspen Development Corp	Manager	DC-FN	NA	Band	Professional Services	Property Management	100,001 to \$400,000	FSIN/SIFC
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKEG LAKE FN	Accpler Business Centre	Owner	FN	Individual	Individual	Professional Services	Business centre		FSIN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKEG LAKE FN	B.W.B. Services		FN	Individual		Professional Services	Furniture cleaning		Trans/SIFC
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKEG LAKE FN	International Management	Owner/Manager	FN	Individual	Individual	Professional Services	Property Mgmt		FSIN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKEG LAKE FN	J.L. and Associates	Owner	FN	Individual	Individual	Other Services	Construction		FSIN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKEG LAKE FN	Laford Enterprises	Owner	FN	Individual	Individual	Professional Services	Consulting		FSIN/TRAN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKEG LAKE FN	Marco's Club Fitting & R	Owner	FN	Individual	Individual	Other Services	Manufacturing		FSIN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKEG LAKE FN	PGN Reproductions Ltd	Owner	FN	Individual	Individual	Other Services	Printing		FSIN/TRAN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKEG LAKE FN	Palm Holdings Ltd	Owner	FN	Individual	Individual	Professional Services	Holding co		FSIN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKEG LAKE FN	Sevigny, Douglas & Myrns		FN	Individual	Individual		Hauling truck		Trans/SIFC
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKEG LAKE FN	Tawpstin Medical Taxi	Owner	FN	Individual	Individual	Other Services	Taxi	under \$100,000	FSIN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKEG LAKE FN	Tawpstin, Clifford		FN	Individual	Individual		Lumber yard		Trans/SIFC
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKEG LAKE FN	Moon Ridge Lamas	Managers	FN-eg	Individual	Individual	Agriculture	Ranch		FSIN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKEG LAKE FN	Kiywid Hotel	Manager	IFN	Band	Band	Tourism and Cultural	Motel		FSIN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKEG LAKE FN	Creek Investments	Manager	IFN	Band	Band	Professional Services	Real Estate		FSIN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKEG LAKE FN	Muskeg Lake Road Maintain	Manager	IFN	Band	Band	Other Services	Construction		FSIN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKEG LAKE FN	Law-Sett Construction	Owner	JV	Individual with various non-FN partners	Individual with various non-FN partners	Other Services	Contractor	100,001 to \$400,000	FSIN/TRAN/SIFC
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKODAY FN	Muskoday Development Corp	Manager	DC-FN	NA	Band	Other Services	Construction		FSIN/TRAN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKODAY FN	Charles Grain Farm	Owner	FN-eg	Individual	Individual	Agriculture	Farm	under \$100,000	FSIN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKODAY FN	Dennis Bear Grain Farm	Owner	FN-eg	Individual	Individual	Agriculture	Farm	under \$100,000	FSIN

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Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person	Position	Entry Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKODAY FN	Eric Bear School Bus	Owner/Manager	FN	L	Individual	Other Services	School Bus		under \$100,000	F5IN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKODAY FN	Everette Bear School Bus	Owner Manager	FN	L	Individual	Other Services	School Bus		under \$100,000	F5IN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKODAY FN	Jm's Taxi	Owner/Manager	FN	L	Individual	Other Services	Taxi		under \$100,000	F5IN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKODAY FN	Joseph W. Bear School Bus	Owner Manager	FN	L	Individual	Other Services	School Bus		under \$100,000	F5IN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKODAY FN	Murroe Computer Consultin	Owner/Manager	FN	R	Individual	Professional	Consulting		\$400,000 to 100,001 to	F5IN/TRAN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKODAY FN	Silver Mountain Industries	Owner/Manager	FN	R	Individual	Other Services	Manufacturing		\$400,000 to 100,001 to	F5IN/TRAN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKODAY FN	Bear & Bear Catering	Owners	FN	R	Individual	Tourism and Cultural	Catering		under \$100,000 to 100,001 to	F5IN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKODAY FN	Evertt Bear Farm	Owner	FN-ag	I	Individual	Agriculture	Farm		\$400,000 to 100,001 to	F5IN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKODAY FN	John Bear Grain Farm	Owner	FN-ag	I	Individual	Agriculture	Farm		\$400,000 to 100,001 to	F5IN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKODAY FN	Laurie Heffernan Grain Fa	Owner	FN-ag	I	Individual	Agriculture	Farm		under \$100,000	F5IN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKODAY FN	Vernet Salem Grain Farm	Owner	FN-ag	I	Individual	Agriculture	Farm		under \$100,000	F5IN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKODAY FN	Wayne Bear Grain Farm	Owner	FN-ag	I	Individual	Agriculture	Farm		under \$100,000	F5IN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKODAY FN	John Smith Road Maintenance	Band Administrator	FN	R	Band	Other Services	Construction - roads		under \$100,000	F5IN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKODAY FN			FN	R	Band	Other Services	Construction - housing			SIFC
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKODAY FN			FN	L	retail		GAS BAR/STORE			SIFC
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	ONE ARROW FN	Norman Paul Taxi	Owner	FN	L	Individual	Other Services	Taxi		under \$100,000	F5IN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	ONE ARROW FN	Thomas, Joseph		FN	R			Carpentry			Trans/SIFC
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	ONE ARROW FN	One Arrow School Bus		FN	L	Band	Other Services	School Bus		under \$100,000	F5IN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	ONE ARROW FN	One Arrow Band Pasture	Manager	FN-ag	R	Band	Agriculture	Pasture Rental			F5IN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	DAKOTASIOUX F N	FLR Steel Ltd	Owner/Manager	FN	R	Individual	Other Services	Construction			F5IN/TRAN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	WHITCAP										
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	DAKOTASIOUX F N	Whitcap Store & Gas Bar	Manager	FN	L	Band	Retail	Store			F5IN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	YELLOW QUILL FN	Kashynew School Bus	Owner	FN	L	Individual	Other Services	School Bus		under \$100,000	F5IN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	YELLOW QUILL FN	A & H Taxi	Owner	FN	L	Individual	Other Services	Taxi			F5IN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	YELLOW QUILL FN	Benny Moose School Bus	Owner	FN	L	Individual	Other Services	School Bus		under \$100,000	F5IN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	YELLOW QUILL FN	D. Kawstip School Bus	Owner	FN	L	Individual	Other Services	School Bus		under \$100,000	F5IN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	YELLOW QUILL FN	Jean Whitehead Taxi	Owner	FN	L	Individual	Other Services	Taxi			F5IN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	YELLOW QUILL FN	M. Kashynew School Bus	Owner	FN	L	Individual	Other Services	School Bus		under \$100,000	F5IN

Appendix B.1: First Nations Business Database

Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person	Position	Entity Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	YELLOW QUILL FN	Try Tayasp School Bus	Owner	Owner	FnI	L	Individual	Other Services	School Bus	under \$100,000	FSIN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	YELLOW QUILL FN	Yellow Quill Service Stor	Owner	Owner	FnI	L	Individual	Retail	Store		FSIN/SIFC
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	YELLOW QUILL FN	Kelvington Auto Centre Lt			IFn	R	Band	Transportation Services	Mechanical Repair		FSIN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	YELLOW QUILL FN	Yellow Quill Logging	Manager	Manager	IFn	I	Band	Forestry	Logging		FSIN/TRANS/IFC
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	YELLOW QUILL FN	Yellow Quill Trucking	Manager	Manager	IFn	R	Band	Transportation Services	Trucking		FSIN/TRAN
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	YELLOW QUILL FN	store			IFn	L		Retail	store		SIFC
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	YELLOW QUILL FN	Bingo			IFn	L		other	Bingo		SIFC
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	YELLOW QUILL FN	appt build			IFn	L		other	appt build		SIFC
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	YELLOW QUILL FN	pasture rental			IFn-ag	R		agriculture	pasture rental		SIFC
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL		Busy Tree Shop							Tre sales		Trangas
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL		Diverse Business Concepts							Bookkeeping/accounting		Trangas
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL		G & D Janitorial Service							Janitorial service - general		Trangas
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL		Gemini Productions Inc.							Multi media production		Trangas
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL		Graham's Paint & Glass							Construction		Trangas
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL		Hand-Crafts							Handi-crafts		Trangas
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL		Janitorial Services							Janitorial service - general		Trangas
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL		Jim Johnson Plumbing & Heating							Plumbing & heating		Trangas
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL		John Falco							T-shirt sales		Trangas
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL		John Morrison							Courier services		Trangas
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL		Kritkekywvme, Raymond							Water truck		Trangas
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL		Lee's Typsetting							Desk Top Publishing		Trangas
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL		Loma Avra's Catering							Catering Business		Trangas
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL		Maximum Information Systems							Computer consulting		Trangas
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL		Nyman's Plumbing & Heating							Plumbing and heating		Trangas
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL		Roy Deschambeault							Courier Service		Trangas
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL		Thorpes Electric							Electrical services		Trangas
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL		Upholstery Store							Upholstery store		Trangas

Appendix B.1: First Nations Business Database

Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person Position	Entity Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
SOUTH EAST TREATY 4 TRIBAL COUNCIL	OCHAPOWACE FN	Lonesome Prairie Sand & Gr	Manager	IFn	R	Band	Other Services	Construction	over \$2,000,000	FSIN/SIFC
SOUTH EAST TREATY 4 TRIBAL COUNCIL	OCHAPOWACE FN	Ochapowace Contractors	Ec. Dev Advisor	IFn	R	Band	Other Services	Contractor	750,000 to \$2,000,000	FSIN/SIFC
SOUTH EAST TREATY 4 TRIBAL COUNCIL	OCHAPOWACE FN	Ochapowace Fashion		IFn	R	Band	retail/fashion			SIFC
SOUTH EAST TREATY 4 TRIBAL COUNCIL	OCHAPOWACE FN	Ochapowace Indian Time		IFn	R	Band	Other Services			SIFC
SOUTH EAST TREATY 4 TRIBAL COUNCIL	OCHAPOWACE FN	Ochapowace Plumbing & Heating	Accountant	IFn	R	Band	Other Services	Contractor	under \$100,000	FSIN/SIFC
SOUTH EAST TREATY 4 TRIBAL COUNCIL	OCHAPOWACE FN	Ochapowace Ski Resort	Manager	IFn	R	Band	Tourism and Cultural	Resort	400,001 to \$750,000	FSIN/SIFC
SOUTH EAST TREATY 4 TRIBAL COUNCIL	OCHAPOWACE FN	Ochapowace Training & Dev	Manager	IFn	L	Band	Professional Services	Training	under \$100,000	FSIN/SIFC
SOUTH EAST TREATY 4 TRIBAL COUNCIL	OCHAPOWACE FN	Ochapowace Community Pasture	Manager	IFn-ag	R	Band	Agriculture	Pasture rental	under \$100,000	FSIN/SIFC
SOUTH EAST TREATY 4 TRIBAL COUNCIL	WHITE BEAR FN	Golf Course		IFn	R	Band	Tourism and Cultural	Hotel		SIFC
SOUTH EAST TREATY 4 TRIBAL COUNCIL	WHITE BEAR FN	Hotel		IFn	R	Band	Tourism and Cultural	Golf Course		Transgas
SOUTH EAST TREATY 4 TRIBAL COUNCIL	WHITE BEAR FN			IFn	L					SIFC
SOUTH EAST TREATY 4 TRIBAL COUNCIL	WHITE BEAR FN			IFn	L					SIFC
SOUTH EAST TREATY 4 TRIBAL COUNCIL	WHITE BEAR FN			IFn	L					SIFC
SOUTH EAST TREATY 4 TRIBAL COUNCIL	WHITE BEAR FN			IFn	L					SIFC

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Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person Position	Entity Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	TRIBAL COUNCIL	Resdevco Inc	General Manager	DC-TC	NA	Tribal Council	Development Corp	Holding Company	over \$2,000,000	FSIN
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	TRIBAL COUNCIL	Valley Stationary & Offic	Manager	JV-TC	R	Tribal Council - Resdev Co.	Retail	Store	100,001 to \$400,000	FSIN/SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	TRIBAL COUNCIL	Inpro Management		JV-TC	R	Tribal Council - Resdev Co.	Professional Services	Consulting	under \$100,000	FSIN/SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	TRIBAL COUNCIL	New Dawn Valley center		JV-TC	R	Tribal Council - Resdev Co.				SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	TRIBAL COUNCIL	Silver Sage Housing		JV-TC	R	Tribal Council - Resdev Co.				SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	TRIBAL COUNCIL	Daco Construction		JV-TC	R	Tribal Council - Resdev Co.				SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	TRIBAL COUNCIL	Glenco Building Products	Manager	JV-TC	R	Tribal Council - Resdev Co.	Retail	Store	over \$2,000,000	FSIN/SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	CARRY THE KETTLE FN	CTK Development Corp. Ltd	Manager	DC-FN	NA	Band - CTK Dev. Corp.	Other Services	Manufacturing	over \$2,000,000	FSIN/SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	CARRY THE KETTLE FN	Eashapple, Gifford		Fnl	L	FN		Sanitation truck		Tran/SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	CARRY THE KETTLE FN	Maxie Craft & Gift Shop	Owner/Manager	Fnl		Individual	Retail	Store	under \$100,000	FSIN
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	CARRY THE KETTLE FN	CTK Plastics Ltd	President of Board	IFn	I	Band				
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	CARRY THE KETTLE FN	CTK Service Centre	President of Board	IFn	R	Band - CTK Dev. Corp.	Retail	Store	400,001 to \$750,000	FSIN/SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	DAY STAR FN			IFn	L					SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	FISHING LAKE FN	Duane's Pawn Shop	Owner	Fnl	R	Individual	Retail	Store	under \$100,000	FSIN
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	FISHING LAKE FN	L. Desjarlais Home Sewing	Owner/Operator	Fnl	R	Individual	Other Services	Manufacturing	under \$100,000	FSIN
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	FISHING LAKE FN	Ralph's Backhoe Service	Owner/Manager	Fnl	R	Individual	Other Services	Construction	under \$100,000	FSIN
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	FISHING LAKE FN	plumbing		Fnl	R			plumbing		SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	FISHING LAKE FN	arcade		Fnl	R			arcade		SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	FISHING LAKE FN	motel		Fnl	R			motel		SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	FISHING LAKE FN	pastrue rental		IFn	R			pastrue rental		SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	GORDON FN	Bitternose Construction		Fnl	R	FN		Construction		Tran/SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	GORDON FN	Cyr's Roofing	Owner/Manager	Fnl	R	Individual	Other Services	Construction	under \$100,000	FSIN
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	GORDON FN	Phoenix Towing & Salvage	Owner/Manager	Fnl	R	Individual	Transportation Services	Mechanical Repair	under \$100,000	FSIN

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Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person	Position	Entry Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS	GORDON FN	The Hart House-Tea Room &	Owner/Manager	Owner/Manager	FN	R	Individual	Tourism and Cultural	Arts and Crafts	under \$100,000	FSIN
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS	GORDON FN	Knooknoww Resort			JV	R	FN Gordon FN; Muskowekwan	Tourism	Golf Course/resort		SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS	GORDON FN	Pound Maker Feedlot			JV	I	FN Gordon FN; Muskowekwan	Agriculture	Feedlot		SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS	KAWACATOOSE FN	Highway Express	Owner Operator	Owner Operator	FN	R	Individual	Other Services	Country Music Band	under \$100,000	FSIN
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS	KAWACATOOSE FN	Wahyplace Enterprises	Owner/Manager	Owner/Manager	FN	R	Individual	Retail	Store	100,001 to \$400,000	FSIN
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS	KAWACATOOSE FN	Kawacatoose Enterprises	Managers	Managers	FN	R	Band	Tourism and Cultural	Restaurant/Gas Bar	\$2,000,000 to 750,000	FSIN/SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS	KAWACATOOSE FN				FN	L					SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS	KAWACATOOSE FN				FN	L					SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS	LITTLE BLACK BEAR FN	Fort Muffer & Brake	Manager	Manager	Incorporated	R	Band	Transportation	Mechanical Repair	100,001 to \$400,000	FSIN
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS	MUSCOWPEWUNG FN	Muscowpewung Store & Gas	Owner	Owner	FN	R	Individual	Retail	Store	100,001 to \$400,000	FSIN/SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS	MUSKOWEKWAN FN	A&A Service Garage	Owner/Manager	Owner/Manager	FN	R	Individual	Transportation	Mechanical Repair	under \$100,000	FSIN/SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS	MUSKOWEKWAN FN	bus			FN	L			bus		SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS	MUSKOWEKWAN FN	store			FN	L			store		SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS	MUSKOWEKWAN FN	septic pump-out			FN	L			septic pump-out		SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS	MUSKOWEKWAN FN	auto wreckers			FN	L			auto wreckers		SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS	MUSKOWEKWAN FN	farm			FN	I			farm		SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS	MUSKOWEKWAN FN	pasture rental			FN	R			pasture rental		SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS	MUSKOWEKWAN FN	bingo hall			FN	R			bingo hall		SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS	MUSKOWEKWAN FN	Knooknoww Resort			JV	R	FN Gordon FN; Muskowekwan	Tourism	Golf Course/resort		SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS	MUSKOWEKWAN FN	Pound Maker Feedlot			JV	I	FN Gordon FN; Muskowekwan	Agriculture	Feedlot		SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS	MUSKOWEKWAN FN	IMP Brokerage			JV	R			insurance		SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS	NEKANEET FN							Tourism and Cultural	Sport fishing/hunting	under \$100,000	FSIN/SIFC

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Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person	Position	Entity Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	NEKANET FN	LBC Canvassing	Owner/Manager	FN	R	Individual	Other Services	Manufacturing	under \$100,000	FSIN	
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	NEKANET FN	resort		IFN	R		Tourism and Cultural	resort		SIFC	
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	OJKANESE FN			IFN	I					SIFC	
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	PASQUA FN	Continental Hairdyes	Owner/Manager	FN	R	Individual	Other Services	Beauty Salon	under \$100,000	FSIN	
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	PASQUA FN	Five Mile Coolie Product	Owner Operator	FN	R	Individual	Other Services	Film & Video Productions	under \$100,000	FSIN	
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	PASQUA FN	Misena Forest Delivery	Owner/Manager	FN	R	Individual	Retail	Store	under \$100,000	FSIN	
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	PASQUA FN	Ray's Autowrecking	Owner/Manager	FN	R	Individual	Transportation	Mechanical Repair	under \$100,000	FSIN	
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	PEEPEEKISIS FN	McNabb's Medical Taxi	Owner/Manager	FN	L	Individual	Other Services	Taxi	100,001 to \$400,000	FSIN	
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	PEEPEEKISIS FN	Goroth Mobile Food Service/General Delivery	Owner/Manager	FN	R	Individual	Other Services	Mobile food service	under \$100,000	FSIN	
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	PEEPEEKISIS FN	Siebert's Plumbing and Heat	Owner/Manager	FN	R	Individual	Other Services	Construction	\$400,000 to \$100,001	FSIN	
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	PEEPEEKISIS FN	Wkashin Michwin	Partners	FN	R	Individual	Other Services	Mobile Food Service	under \$100,000	FSIN	
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	PEEPEEKISIS FN	Band Food Store & Gas Bar	Manager	IFN	L	Band	Retail	Store	\$750,000 to \$400,001	FSIN/SIFC	
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	PEEPEEKISIS FN	CHARTER BUS		JV	R		Transportation	CHARTER BUS		SIFC	
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	STAR BLANKET FN	Owner/Manager	FN	L	Individual	Retail	Store	under \$100,000	FSIN/SIFC	
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	PAPOUT FN	Owner/Manager	FN	R	Individual	Other Services	Manufacturing	under \$100,000	FSIN	
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	PAPOUT FN	Owner/Manager	FN	R	Individual	Other Services	Manufacturing	under \$100,000	FSIN	
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	PAPOUT FN	Owner/Manager	FN	R	Individual	Tourism and Cultural	Cultural Attractions	under \$100,000	FSIN	
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	PAPOUT FN	gasstore	IFN	R			gasstore		SIFC	
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	STANDING BUFFALO FN	Owner/Operator	FN	R	Individual	Other Services	Manufacturing/Design	under \$100,000	FSIN/TRAN	
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	STANDING BUFFALO FN	construction	IFN	R			construction		SIFC	
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	STAR BLANKET FN	Star Blanket Development	Manager	DC-FN	NA	Band	Professional Services	Real Estate	\$400,000 to \$100,001	FSIN
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPALLE	STAR BLANKET FN	QuAppelle Crafts Ltd	Owner/Manager	FN	R	Individual	Tourism and Cultural	Arts and Crafts	\$400,000 to \$100,001	FSIN

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Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person Position	Entity Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	STAR BLANKET FN	Lebret Eagles		IFn	R	Band	Entertainment/Sport	Hockey team		SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	STAR BLANKET FN			IFn	L					SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	STAR BLANKET FN			IFn	L					SIFC
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	WOOD MOUNTAIN FN	The Yard Man	Owner/Operator	Fnl	R	Individual	Other Services	Lawn and Yard Care	under \$100,000	FSIN
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE		Action Concrete						General contractor		Transgas
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE		Alme's Rebar Placing Limited						Construction		Transgas
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE		DDR Construction						General contractor		Transgas
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE		Emmy Distributors						Sportswear		Transgas
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE		Graham's Tire Servic						Mobile tire repair		Transgas
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE		Jardine Construction						General contractor		Transgas
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE		Ken Dillen Construction						General contractor		Transgas
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE		Mary Ann & Jack Cameron				FN		Native clothing sales		Transgas
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE		Pheasant Creek Construction						Construction		Transgas
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE		Tourond Construction						Steel building erector		Transgas
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE		Western Photographics Ltd.						Film development lab		Transgas
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE		Windance Distributors				FN		General Contractor		Transgas

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Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person Position	Entity Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
WILLOW CREE TRIBAL COUNCIL	BEARDIES and OKEMASIS FN			IFn	L					SIFC
WILLOW CREE TRIBAL COUNCIL	BEARDIES and OKEMASIS FN			JV	R					SIFC
WILLOW CREE TRIBAL COUNCIL	BEARDIES and OKEMASIS FN			JV	R					SIFC
WILLOW CREE TRIBAL COUNCIL	BEARDIES and OKEMASIS FN			JV	R					SIFC

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Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person	Position	Entity Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	COTE FN	Crowstair Investments		DC-FN	NA	Band	Dev. Corporation				SIFC
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	COTE FN	bingo hall		Fnl	L				bingo hall		SIFC
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	COTE FN	art/crafts		Fnl	R			manufacturing	art/crafts		SIFC
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	COTE FN	art/crafts		Fnl	R			manufacturing	art/crafts		SIFC
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	COTE FN	farm		Fnl-eg	I			Agriculture	farm		SIFC
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	COTE FN	farm		Fnl-eg	I			Agriculture	farm		SIFC
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	COTE FN	farm		Fnl-eg	I			Agriculture	farm		SIFC
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	COTE FN	farm		Fnl-eg	I			Agriculture	farm		SIFC
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	COTE FN	riding stable		Fnl-eg	R			Agriculture	riding stable		SIFC
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	COTE FN	pasture rental		Ifn	R			Agriculture	pasture rental		SIFC
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	COTE FN	Thunderhill Development Corp.		JV	I		Band - Crowstair 33% with Key FN 33%; SIAP 33%	Dev. Corporation			SIFC
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	COTE FN	Norquay Alafia Processors		JV	I		Band - Crowstair 33% of Thunderhill's 37% of Norquay Alafia Processor, 63% non FN	Agriculture	processing and export		SIFC
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	COMSESSSS FN	Cowessess Gas & Grocery	Manager	Ifn	R	Band		Retail	Store	100,001 to \$400,000	FSIN/SIFC
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	COMSESSSS FN	Cowessess Golf & Country	Manager	Ifn	R	Band		Tourism and Cultural	Golf Course	100,001 to \$400,000	FSIN/SIFC
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	COMSESSSS FN	Cowessess Mall		Ifn	R	Band		Retail	mall		SIFC
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	KAHKEMISTAHAW FN	Janice's Catering	Owner	Fnl	R	Individual		Tourism and Cultural	Catering	under \$100,000	FSIN
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	KAHKEMISTAHAW FN	Bernard McKay Farm	Owner	Fnl-eg	I	Individual		Agriculture	Farm	under \$100,000	FSIN
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	KAHKEMISTAHAW FN	Danny McKay Farm	Owner	Fnl-eg	I	Individual		Agriculture	Farm	under \$100,000	FSIN
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	KAHKEMISTAHAW FN	Louis Tapolat Farm	owner	Fnl-eg	I	Individual		Agriculture	Farm	under \$100,000	FSIN
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	KAHKEMISTAHAW FN	Ron McKay Farm	Owner	Fnl-eg	I	Individual		Agriculture	Farm	under \$100,000	FSIN

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Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person	Position	Entry Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	KAHKEMSTAHAW FN	Urish Louison	Owner	IFn-eg	I	Individual	Agriculture	Farm	under \$100,000	FSIN	
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	KAHKEMSTAHAW FN	Jubilee Enterprises	Chief	IFn	R	Band	Other Services	Manufacturing	\$400,000 to 100,001	FSIN	
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	KAHKEMSTAHAW FN	O K Store	Manager	IFn	R	Band	Retail	Store	under \$100,000	FSIN	
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	KAHKEMSTAHAW FN	Kakewistahew Comm. Pastu	Manager	IFn-eg	R	Band	Agriculture	Pasture Rental	under \$100,000	FSIN	
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	KESEKOOSE FN	Development Corporation		DC-FN	NA	Band	Dev. Corporation			SIFC	
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	KESEKOOSE FN	Band Store		IFn	L	Band - Dev. Corporation	Retail	Band Store		SIFC	
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	KEY FN	Beaver Lake, Inc.		DC-FN	NA	Band	Dev. Corporation			SIFC	
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	KEY FN	Crane Valley Excavations	Owner	Full	R	Individual	Other Services	Construction	\$400,000 to 100,001	FSIN	
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	KEY FN			IFn-eg	I		Agriculture	farm		SIFC	
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	KEY FN	Thunderhill Development Corp.		JV	I	Band - Beaver Lake, Inc. 33% with Yey FN 33%; SIAP 33%	Dev. Corporation			SIFC	
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	KEY FN	Norquay Altra Plant	Manager	JV	I	Band - Crowstnd 33% of Thunderhill's 37% of Norquay Altra Processor; 63% non FN	Agriculture	processing and export		FSIN	
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	SAKIMAY FN	Sakmay Land Aquisition	Co-ordinator	IFn	L	Band	Professional Services	Real Estate	over \$2,000,000	FSIN	
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	SAKIMAY FN	Community Pasture	Advisor	IFn-eg	R	Tribal Council	Agriculture	Pasture Rental	under \$100,000	FSIN	
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	SAKIMAY FN	Sakmay Water	General Manager	IFn	R	Band	Agriculture	Aquatic Weed Harvesting	under \$100,000	FSIN/SIFC	
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL		Lindsay Bear				FN		Photographer		Trangas	
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL		Reliable Lawn Care						Lawn care service		Trangas	
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL		William & Ann Pritchard						Yard Maintenance		Trangas	
		Bear Paw Photo & Framing Suite 200	Manager			Individual	Retail		under \$100,000	FSIN	
		Crafts	Owner			Individual	Tourism and Cultural		under \$100,000	FSIN	
		Sun Grl Crafts	Owner			Individual	Retail		under \$100,000	FSIN	
		Grey Owl Marketing Ltd	General Manager			Incorporated		Wild Rice	\$2,000,000 to 750,000	FSIN	

Appendix B.1: First Nations Business Database

Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Business Name	Contact Person Position	Entity Type	Market	Primary Owner Type	Sector of Business	Type of Business	Annual Sales Range	SOURCE
INDEPENDENT	AHTAHKAKOOP FN			IFn	L					SIFC
INDEPENDENT	JOSEPH BIGHEAD FN	Judith Kahpoonapit Taxi	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	Taxi	under \$100,000	FSIN
INDEPENDENT	JOSEPH BIGHEAD FN	Triple J Ranch Enterprise	Manager	IFn-ag	I	Band	Agriculture	Farm	under \$100,000	FSIN
INDEPENDENT	JOSEPH BIGHEAD FN	Oil/Gas		JV	I			gas/oil		SIFC
INDEPENDENT	OCEAN MAN FN	Big Eagle, Leret Bussing	Owner	Fnl	L	Individual	Other Services	Bussing	100,001 to \$400,000	FSIN
INDEPENDENT	PHEASANT RUMP NAKOTA FN	Bud McArthur Farm	Owner	Fnl-ag	I	Individual	Agriculture	Farm	under \$100,000	FSIN
INDEPENDENT	PHEASANT RUMP NAKOTA FN	Medicine Wheel Nakota Ran	Part Owner	Fnl-ag	I	Individual	Agriculture	Ranch	under \$100,000	FSIN
FSIN	FSIN	InPro West Investments Co	Executive Director	JV-FSIN	I	SIAP	Professional Services	Agribusiness		FSIN
FSIN	FSIN	National Indian Financial Corporation		JV-FSIN	R	FSIN	Professional Services			SIFC
FSIN	FSIN	Sask. Indian Agriculture Program	Executive Assistant	JV-FSIN	I	FSIN	Agriculture			FSIN
FSIN	FSIN	Sask. Indian Equity Foundation	General Manager	JV-FSIN	I	FSIN	Professional Services	Banking	over \$2,000,000	FSIN
FSIN	FSIN	Saskatchewan Indian Institute of Technologies	V.P. Administration	JV-FSIN	R	FSIN	Other Services	Training/Education	over \$2,000,000	FSIN
FSIN	FSIN	Saskatchewan Indian Loan	General Manager	JV-FSIN	R	FSIN	Professional Services	Banking		FSIN

Appendix B.2: First Nations Business Database -- Summary

Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Community Development plan		CD plans - ec. dev. goals		Ec. Dev Plan		Ec Dev Portfolio		Ec Dev Employee		FN Dev Corp.		Tribal Council Dev Corp.	FN Individual Owner of Businesses		# of FN Individual Owner of Businesses	Ind. FN Owner of Businesses		# of FN Sole Own Businesses	FN JV with others (not TC)		# of FN JV with others (not TC)	TC Dev Corp		JVs with TC Dev Corp.	FN JV with TC or others		Total Reported JVs
		yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no		yes	no		yes	no		yes	no		yes	no		yes	no	
ACTC	BIG RIVER	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes	1		3	1		1	1		1	1		1	1		2
ACTC	PELICAN LAKE	1		1		1	1	1		1		1		yes	1		2	1		1	1		2	1		1	1		3
ACTC	WITCHECAN LAKE	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1	0		1	0		1	1		1	1		2	
Total		3	3	0	3	0	2	1	3	0	3	0	2	1	2	1	5	2	1	2	3	0	4	3	0	3	3	0	7
Proportion		100%	0%	100%	0%	67%	33%	100%	0%	100%	0%	67%	33%		67%	33%		67%	33%		100%	0%		100%	0%		100%	0%	
BTC	LITTLE PINE	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes	1		7	1		1	1		1	1		3	1		4
BTC	LUCKY MAN														1		0		1	0		1	0		1	1		3	
BTC	MOSQUITO	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes	1		10	1		3	1	0	1		3	1		3	
BTC	SWEETGRASS	1		1		1	1	1		1		1		yes	1		12	1		2	1	0	1		3	1		3	
Total		4	3	0	1	2	1	2	1	2	0	3	2	1	3	1	29	3	1	6	1	3	1	4	0	12	4	0	13
Proportion		75%	0%	25%	50%	25%	50%	25%	50%	0%	75%	50%	25%		75%	25%		75%	25%		25%	75%		100%	0%		100%	0%	
CTN	MOOSEMIN	1		1		1		1		1		1		no	1		0	1		4	1	0		1	0		1	0	
CTN	ONION LAKE	1		1		1		1		1		1		no	1		1	1		3	1	1		1	0	1	1	1	
CTN	POUND MAKER	1		1		1		1		1		1		no	1		2	1		4	1	0		1	0		1	0	
CTN	RED PHEASANT		1		1		1	1		1		1		no	1		2	1		1	1	0		1	0		1	0	
CTN	SAULTEAUX	1		1		1		1		1		1		no		1	0	1		3	1	2		1	0	1	1	2	
CTN	THUNDERCHILD	1		1		1		1		1		1		no	1		7	1	0	1		1		1	0	1	1	1	
Total		6	5	1	5	1	6	0	4	2	3	3		5	1	12	5	1	15	3	3	4	0	6	0	3	3	4	
Proportion		83%	17%	83%	17%	83%	17%	100%	0%	67%	33%	50%	50%		83%	17%		83%	17%		50%	50%		0%	100%		50%	50%	

Appendix B.2: First Nations Business Database -- Summary

Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Community Development plan		CD plans - ec. dev. goals		Ec. Dev Plan		Ec. Dev Portfolio		Ec. Dev Employee		FN Dev Corp.		Tribal Council Dev Corp.		FN Individual Owner of Businesses		# of FN Individual Owner of Businesses		Ind. FN Owner of Businesses		# of FN Sole Own. Businesses		FN JV with others (not TC)		# of FN JV with others (not TC)		TC Dev Corp.		JVs with TC Dev Corp.		FN JV with TC or others		Total Reported JVs	
		yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no				
INDEPENDENT	AMTAHKA KOOP	1		1		1		1		1		1												1		1				1		0			
INDEPENDENT	JOSEPH BIGHEAD																1		1		1		0						1		1		1		
INDEPENDENT	OCEAN MAN															1		1		1		0							1		1		0		
INDEPENDENT	PHEASANT RUMP															1		1		1		0							1		1		0		
Total		4		1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	3	1	4	2	3	1	1	0	1	3	1	0	4	0	1	3	1		
Proportion		25%	0%	25%	0%	0%	0%	25%	0%	25%	0%	25%	0%			75%	25%			50%	75%		25%	75%				0%	100%		25%	75%			
MLTC	BIRCH NARROWS																																		
MLTC	BUFFALO RIVER	1		1		1		1		1		1				1		1		1		0							1		1		1	5	
MLTC	CANOE LAKE	1		1		1		1		1		1				1		4	1	1		2							1		1		1	5	
MLTC	CLEARWATER																																		
MLTC	DENE	1		1		1		1		1		1				1		1		1		1							1		1		1	5	
MLTC	ENGLISH RIVER	1		1		1		1		1		1				1		0		1		0							1		1		1	5	
MLTC	FLYING DUST	1		1		1		1		1		1				1		0		1		6							1		1		1	5	
MLTC	ISLAND LAKE	1		1		1		1		1		1				1		0		1		1							1		1		1	5	
MLTC	MAKWA																																		
MLTC	SANDHAIHAN	1		1		1		1		1		1				1		0		1		2							1		1		1	5	
MLTC	WATERHEN LAKE	1		1		1		1		1		1				1		1		1		3							1		1		1	5	
Total		5	4	5	4	4	5	7	2	5	4	5	4			4	5	7	7	2	18		0	9	0	9	0	9	0	9	0	9	0	45	
Proportion		56%	44%	56%	41%	44%	56%	78%	22%	56%	44%	56%	44%			44%	56%		78%	22%			0%	100%					100%	0%					

Appendix B.2: First Nations Business Database – Summary

Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Community Development plan		CD plans - ec. dev. goals		Ec. Dev Plan		Ec. Dev Portfolio		Ec. Dev Employee		FN Dev Corp.		Tribal Council Dev Corp.		FN Individual Owner of Businesses		# of FN Individual Owner of Businesses		Ind. FN Owner of Businesses		# of FN Sole Own Businesses		FN JV with others (not TC)		# of FN JV with others (not TC)		TC Dev Corp.		JVs with TC Dev Corp.		FN JV with TC or others		Total Reported JVs
		yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no			
PAGC	BLACK LAKE	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		1		1		0		1		2		1		3		1		5
PAGC	CUMBERLAND HOUSE	1												yes		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		3		1		4
PAGC	FOND DU LAC	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		1		1		0		1		2		1		3		1		5
PAGC	HATCHET LAKE	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		1		1		2		1		2		1		3		1		5
PAGC	JAMES SMITH	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		1		1		2		1		0		1		3		1		3
PAGC	LAC LA RONDE	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		1		1		3		1		7		1		3		1		10
PAGC	MONTREAL LAKE	1				1		1		1		1		yes		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		3		1		4
PAGC	PETER BALLANTYNE	1				1		1		1		1		yes		1		1		1		0		1		1		1		3		1		3
PAGC	RED EARTH	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		1		1		2		1		1		1		3		1		4
PAGC	STURGEON LAKE	1				1		1		1		1		yes		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		3		1		3
PAGC	SFOAL LAKE	1				1		1		1		1		yes		1		1		1		2		1		1		1		3		1		4
PAGC	WAMPETON	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		1		1		1		1		2		1		3		1		5
Total		12		7		5		7		11		0		4		8		4		25		9		15		9		3		38		12		55
Proportion		58%		42%		75%		42%		58%		0%		67%		33%		33%		75%		75%		25%		75%		25%		75%		25%		75%
STC	KINISTIN	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		1		7		1		2		1		1		5		1		7
STC	MISTAWABIS	1				1		1		1		1		yes		1		1		11		1		4		1		1		5		1		5
STC	MUSKOGEE LAKE	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		1		11		1		3		1		1		5		1		6
STC	MUSKODAY	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		1		7		1		3		1		1		5		1		5
STC	ONE ARROW	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		1		2		1		1		1		1		5		1		5
STC	WHITECAP	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		1		1		1		1		1		1		5		1		5
STC	YELLOW GULL	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		1		8		1		6		1		1		5		1		5
Total		7		5		2		2		5		6		1		7		0		47		7		20		2		5		35		7		38
Proportion		71%		28%		71%		28%		86%		14%		100%		0%		0%		71%		28%		71%		28%		71%		100%		0%		100%
SETC	OCHAPONAGE	1				1		1		1		1		no		1		1		0		1		7		1		1		0		1		0
SETC	WHITE BEAR	1		1		1		1		1		1		no		1		1		0		1		6		1		1		0		1		0
Total		2		0		0		2		0		0		0		2		0		0		2		13		0		2		0		2		0
Proportion		100%		0%		100%		0%		50%		100%		0%		100%		0%		100%		100%		0%		0%		0%		100%		0%		100%

Appendix B.2: First Nations Business Database -- Summary

Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Community Development plan		CD plans - ec. dev. goals		Ec. Dev Plan		Ec. Dev Portfolio		Ec. Dev Employee		FN Dev Corp.		Tribal Council Dev Corp.		FN Individual Owner of Businesses		# of FN Individual Owner of Businesses		Ind. FN Owner of Businesses		# of FN Sole Own Businesses		FN JV with others (not TC)		TC Dev Corp.		JVs with TC Dev Corp.		FN JV with TC or others		Total Reported JVs
		yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	
	CARRY THE KETTLE	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		2		1		1		0		1		6		1		6
TFHQ	DAY STAR	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		0		1		1		0		1		6		1		6
TFHQ	FISHING LAKE	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		6		1		1		0		1		6		1		6
TFHQ	GORDON	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		4		1		1		0		1		6		1		6
TFHQ	KAWACATOOSE	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		2		1		1		0		1		6		1		6
TFHQ	LITTLE BLACK BEAR	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		1		1		1		0		1		6		1		6
TFHQ	MUSCOMPETUNG	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		1		1		1		0		1		6		1		6
TFHQ	MUSKOWEYAN	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		5		1		1		3		1		6		1		9
TFHQ	NIKANEEET	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		2		1		1		1		1		6		1		6
TFHQ	OKANESE	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		0		1		1		1		1		6		1		6
TFHQ	PASQUA	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		4		1		1		0		1		6		1		6
TFHQ	PEEPERIGIBIS	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		4		1		1		2		1		6		1		7
TFHQ	PAPOTT FN	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		3		1		1		1		1		6		1		6
TFHQ	STANDING BUFFALO	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		1		1		1		1		1		6		1		6
TFHQ	STAR BLANKET	1		1		1		1		1		1		yes		1		1		1		1		3		1		6		1		6
TFHQ	WOOD MOUNTAIN	1		1		1		1		1		1				1		1		1		1		0		1		6		1		6
Total		14	6%	11	4%	7	8%	13	13%	2	13%	8	7%			14	2	37	37%	10	6%	10	6%	18	18%	3	13%	0	96%	16	0%	102
Proportion		68%	6%	68%	25%	44%	50%	81%	13%	13%	81%	50%	44%			88%	13%		63%	63%	38%	38%			19%	81%	100%	100%	100%	0%		
WCTC	BEARDY'S	1		1		1		1		1		1		no				0		1		1		1		1		0		1		3
Total		1	0%	1	0%	1	0%	1	0%	1	0%	1	0%			0	1	0	100%	100%	0%	100%	0%	1	100%	0%	1	100%	0%	1	0%	3
Proportion		100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%			0%	100%		100%	100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	100%	0%	100%	100%	0%	1	0%	

Appendix B.2: First Nations Business Database -- Summary

Tribal Council Name	FN Name	Community Development plan		CD plans - ec. dev. goals		Ec. Dev Plan		Ec Dev Portfolio		Ec Dev Employee		FN Dev Corp.		Tribal Council Dev Corp.		FN Individual Owner of Businesses		# of FN Individual Owner of Businesses		Ind. FN Owner of Businesses		# of FN Sole Own Businesses		FN JV with others (not TC)		# of FN JV with others (not TC)		TC Dev Corp.		JVs with TC Dev Corp.		FN JV with TC or others		Total Reported JVs
		yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no			
YTC	COTE	1		1		1		1		1		1		no		1		5		1		0		1		2		1		1		2		
YTC	CONSEBESS	1				1		1		1		1		no		1		0		1		3		1		0		1		0		1		0
YTC	KAKHEMSTANAW	1		1				1		1				no		1		1		1		2				0		1		0		1		0
YTC	KEEBEKOOSBE	1		1		1		1		1		1		no		1		0		1		2		1		0		1		0		1		0
YTC	KEY	1		1		1		1		1		1		no		1		1		1		0		1		2		1		0		1		2
YTC	SAKIMAY	1		1		1		1		1		1		no		1		0		1		2		1		0		1		0		1		0
Total		6	0	5	1	4	2	6	0	5	4	2	2			3	3	7	4	2	4	9	2	4	4	4	0	6	0	2	4	4	4	
Proportion		100%	0%	83%	17%	67%	33%	100%	0%	17%	83%	33%	33%			50%	50%	173	52	19	116	25	45	45	51	19	227	58	12	272				
Total		70	52	13	48	17	31	34	58	6	30	35	42	23		49	21	173	52	19	116	25	45	45	51	19	227	58	12	272				
Proportion		74%	19%	69%	24%	44%	48%	63%	9%	43%	50%	60%	33%			70%	30%	74%	27%	73%	27%	83%	64%	73%	27%	83%	17%							

Appendix C

Ranking of First Nations and Tribal Councils Based on Level of Economic Development Activity

C.1 First Nations Rankings

C.2 Tribal Council Rankings

C.3 Top and Bottom Ranked First Nations

Appendix C.1: First Nation Rankings

Tribal Council Name	FN Name	First Nations Rank		Owned By FN Individual		Owned By Individual FN		Joint Venture Individual FN		Joint Venture All	
		score	rank (range 1-25)	score	rank (range 1-12)	score	rank (range 1-7)	score	rank (range 1-5)	score	rank (range 1-10)
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKEG LAKE FN	30	1	11	2	3	4	1	4	6	5
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	KINISTIN FN	27	2	7	5	2	5	2	3	7	4
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	YELLOW QUILL FN	27	2	8	4	6	2	0	5	5	4
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MISTAWASIS FN	26	3	11	2	4	3	0	5	5	4
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	MUSKOWEKWAN FN	24	4	5	7	3	4	3	2	9	2
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	JAMES SMITH FN	24	4	12	1	2	5	0	5	3	6
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	SWEETGRASS FN	24	4	12	1	2	5	0	5	3	6
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	LAC LA RONGE FN	23	5	0	12	3	4	7	1	10	1
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	PEEPEEKISIS FN	23	5	4	8	2	5	1	4	7	4
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	FISHING LAKE FN	23	5	6	6	1	6	0	5	6	5
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	HATCHET LAKE FN	22	6	5	7	2	5	2	3	5	4
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	MOSQUITO FN	22	6	10	3	3	4	0	5	3	6
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	MUSKODAY FIRST NATION	21	7	7	5	3	4	0	5	5	4
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	KAWACATOOSE FN	20	8	2	10	3	4	0	5	6	5
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	CANOE LAKE FN	20	8	4	8	2	5	0	5	5	4
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	FLYING DUST FN	20	8	0	12	6	2	0	5	5	4
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	LITTLE PINE FN	20	8	7	5	1	6	1	4	4	5
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	GORDON FN	19	9	4	8	0	7	2	3	8	3
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	PIAPOT FN	19	9	3	9	1	6	0	5	6	5
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	STAR BLANKET FN	18	10	1	11	3	4	0	5	6	5
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	CARRY THE KETTLE FN	17	11	2	10	2	5	0	5	6	5
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	STANDING BUFFALO FN	17	11	1	11	1	6	0	5	6	5
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	WATERHEN LAKE FN	17	11	1	11	3	4	0	5	5	4
AGENCY CHIEFS TRIBAL COUNCIL	BIG RIVER FN	17	11	3	9	1	6	1	4	2	7
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	FOND DU LAC FN	16	12	1	11	0	7	2	3	5	4
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	ONE ARROW FN	16	12	2	10	1	6	0	5	5	4
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	CUMBERLAND HOUSE FN	16	12	1	11	1	6	1	4	4	5

Appendix C.1: First Nation Rankings

Tribal Council Name	FN Name	First Nations Rank		Owned By FN Individual		Owned By Individual FN		Joint Venture Individual FN		Joint Venture All	
		score	rank (range 1-25)	score	rank (range 1-12)	score	rank (range 1-7)	score	rank (range 1-5)	score	rank (range 1-10)
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	MONTREAL LAKE FN	16	12	2	10	1	6	1	4	4	5
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	NIKANEET FN	15	13	2	10	1	6	0	5	6	5
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	PASQUA FN	15	13	4	8	0	7	0	5	6	5
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	BLACK LAKE FN	15	13	1	11	0	7	2	3	5	4
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	MAKWA SAHGAHGAN FN	15	13	0	12	2	5	0	5	5	4
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	WAHPETON FN	15	13	0	12	1	6	2	3	5	4
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	WHITECAP DAKOTA/SIOUX F N	15	13	1	11	1	6	0	5	5	4
AGENCY CHIEFS TRIBAL COUNCIL	PELICAN LAKE FN	15	13	2	10	1	6	2	3	3	6
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	STURGEON LAKE FN	15	13	2	10	1	6	0	5	3	6
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	THUNDERCHILD FN	15	13	7	5	0	7	1	4	1	9
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	ISLAND LAKE FN	14	14	0	12	1	6	0	5	5	4
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	POUND MAKER FN	14	14	2	10	4	3	0	5	0	10
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	LITTLE BLACKBEAR FN	13	15	1	11	0	7	0	5	6	5
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	MUSCOWPETUNG FN	13	15	1	11	0	7	0	5	6	5
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	OKANESE	13	15	0	12	1	6	0	5	6	5
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	BUFFALO RIVER FN	13	15	1	11	0	7	0	5	5	4
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	CLEARWATER DENE FN	13	15	1	11	1	6	0	5	5	4
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	RED EARTH FIRST NATION	13	15	0	12	2	5	1	4	4	5
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	SHOAL LAKE FN	13	15	0	12	2	5	1	4	4	5
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	COTE FN	13	15	5	7	0	7	2	3	2	8
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	SAULTEAUX FN	13	15	0	12	3	4	2	3	2	8
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	ONION LAKE F N	13	15	1	11	3	4	1	4	1	9
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	DAY STAR FN	12	16	0	12	0	7	0	5	6	5
WILLOW CREE TRIBAL COUNCIL	BEARDY'S FN	12	16	0	12	1	6	3	2	3	6
SOUTH EAST TREATY 4 TRIBAL COUNCIL	OCHAPOWACE FN	12	16	0	12	7	1	0	5	0	10

Appendix C.1: First Nation Rankings

Tribal Council Name	FN Name	First Nations Rank		Owned By F N Individual		Owned By Individual FN		Joint Venture Individual FN		Joint Venture All	
		score	rank (range 1-25)	score	rank (range 1-12)	score	rank (range 1-7)	score	rank (range 1-5)	score	rank (range 1-10)
SOUTH EAST TREATY 4 TRIBAL COUNCIL	WHITE BEAR FN	12	16	0	12	6	2	0	5	0	10
AGENCY CHIEFS TRIBAL COUNCIL	WITCHECAN LAKE FN	11	17	0	12	0	7	1	4	2	8
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	MOOSEMIN FN	11	17	0	12	4	3	0	5	0	10
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	KEY FN	10	18	1	11	0	7	2	3	2	8
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QUAPPELLE	WOOD MOUNTAIN FN	9	19	1	11	0	7	0	5	6	5
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	BIRCH NARROWS FN	9	19	0	12	1	6	0	5	5	4
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	KAHKEWISTAHAW FN	9	19	1	11	2	5	0	5	0	10
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	SAKIMAY FN	9	19	0	12	2	5	0	5	0	10
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	KEESEKOOSE FN	8	20	0	12	2	5	0	5	0	10
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	ENGLISH RIVER FN	7	21	0	12	0	7	0	5	5	4
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	PETER BALLANTYNE FN	7	21	1	11	0	7	0	5	3	6
INDEPENDENT	AHTAHKAKOOP FN	7	21	0	12	1	6	0	5	0	10
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	COWESSESS FN	6	22	0	12	3	4	0	5	0	10
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	RED PHEASANT FN	6	22	2	10	1	6	0	5	0	10
INDEPENDENT	JOSEPH BIGHEAD FN	5	23	1	11	0	7	1	4	1	9
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	LUCKY MAN	4	24	0	12	0	7	0	5	3	6
INDEPENDENT	PHEASANT RUMP FN	3	25	2	10	0	7	0	5	0	10
INDEPENDENT	OCEAN MAN FN	2	26	1	11	0	7	0	5	0	10

Appendix C.2: Tribal Council Rankings

Tribal Council Name	# of FN	TC Rank		TC Score/# of FN	
		score	rank	score	rank
SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	7	155	3	22	1
BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	4	67	6	17	2
TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	16	255	1	16	3
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	12	183	2	15	4
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	9	119	4	13	5
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	6	72	5	12	6
SOUTH EAST TREATY 4 TRIBAL COUNCIL	2	24	9	12	6
AGENCY CHIEFS TRIBAL COUNCIL	3	29	8	10	7
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	6	55	7	9	8
INDEPENDENT	4	17	10	4	9

Appendix C.3: Top and Bottom Ranked First Nations

Top and Bottom Ranked: Overall Economic Development Activity and Forms of Ownership											
FN Name	Tribal Council Name	First Nations Rank		Owned By FN Individual		Owned By Individual FN		Joint Venture Individual FN		Joint Venture All	
		score	rank (range 1-25)	score	rank (range 1-12)	score	rank (range 1-7)	score	rank (range 1-5)	score	rank (range 1-10)
Top Ten Overall											
MUSKEG LAKE FN	SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	30	1	11	2	3	4	1	4	6	5
KINISTIN FN	SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	27	2	7	5	2	5	2	3	7	4
YELLOW QUILL FN	SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	27	2	8	4	6	2	0	5	5	4
MISTAWASIS FN	SASKATOON TRIBAL COUNCIL	26	3	11	2	4	3	0	5	5	4
MUSKOWEKWAN FN	TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	24	4	5	7	3	4	3	2	9	2
JAMES SMITH FN	PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	24	4	12	1	2	5	0	5	3	6
SWEETGRASS FN	BATTLEFORDS TRIBAL COUNCIL	24	4	12	1	2	5	0	5	3	6
LAC LA RONGE FN	PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	23	5	0	12	3	4	7	1	10	1
PEEPEEKISIS FN	TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	23	5	4	8	2	5	1	4	7	4
FISHING LAKE FN	TOUCHWOOD FILE HILLS QU'APPELLE	23	5	6	6	1	6	0	5	6	5
Bottom Ten Overall											
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	BIRCH NARROWS FN	9	19	0	12	1	6	0	5	5	4
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	KAHKEWISTAHAW FN	9	19	1	11	2	5	0	5	0	10
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	SAKIMAY FN	9	19	0	12	2	5	0	5	0	10
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	KEESEKOOSE FN	8	20	0	12	2	5	0	5	0	10
MEADOW LAKE TRIBAL COUNCIL	ENGLISH RIVER FN	7	21	0	12	0	7	0	5	5	4
PRINCE ALBERT GRAND COUNCIL	PETER BALLANTYNE FN	7	21	1	11	0	7	0	5	3	6
INDEPENDENT	AHTAHKAKOOP FN	7	21	0	12	1	6	0	5	0	10
YORKTON TRIBAL COUNCIL	COWESSESS FN	6	22	0	12	3	4	0	5	0	10
CONFEDERATION OF TRIBAL NATIONS	RED PHEASANT FN	6	22	2	10	1	6	0	5	0	10
INDEPENDENT	JOSEPH BIGHEAD FN	5	23	1	11	0	7	1	4	1	9

Appendix D

1986 and 1991 Socioeconomic Data for High and Low Ranked First Nations

D.1 1986 Data

D.2 1991 Data

source: 1986 and 1991 Censuses of Canada

Appendix D.1: High versus Low Performers -- 1986

Geos:	4712829	4705803	4716860	4705805	4715849	4710822	4716855	4714842	4716854
First Nation	RED PEARL NO	COMBES IS	ALMADU NO	UKAMIT 71	JAMES BATH NO	ALBOKOMVA IS	WESTMAN IS	INMETRO IN	MURDOCK IS
Population, 1981	460	342	927	105	1834	459	265	413	260
Population, 1986	394	377	953	151	1875	469	250	169	1477
Population percentage change, 1981-1986	-14.3	10.2	2.8	43.8	2%	6	-5.7	-27.9	-14.2
Land area in square kilometers, 1986	97.4	115.6	181.3	90.4	485	121	59.9	126	331
Total population	390	380	950	150	1870	468	250	170	1480
Total number of private households	90	90	185	45	410	70	50	90	305
1 person (Size of household)	15	10	15	10	50	12%	5	5	15
2 persons (Size of household)	10	20	10	10	50	12%	10	10	40
3 persons (Size of household)	10	10	30	10	60	15%	10	5	35
4 - 5 persons (Size of household)	30	30	45	5	110	27%	15	10	85
6 - 9 persons (Size of household)	20	15	65	10	110	27%	15	10	100
10 or more persons (Size of household)	5	0	15	0	20	5%	0	0	10
Total population 15 years and over	240	225	560	95	1120		205	145	850
Less than grade 9	115	65	280	30	490	44%	90	75	395
Grades 9 - 13 without secondary school cert.	65	70	155	25	315	28%	85	45	325
Grades 9 - 13 with secondary school cert.	5	0	15	0	20	2%	5	0	15
Trades certificate or diploma	5	5	15	0	25	2%	0	5	10
Other non-university education without dipl.	15	20	30	15	80	7%	5	15	40
Other non-university education with diploma	25	35	40	10	110	10%	5	10	20
University without degree	15	25	20	5	65	6%	10	5	30
University with degree	0	5	10	5	20	2%	0	5	10
Total 15 years and over	245	225	560	100	1130		205	145	845
In the labour force	85	130	190	55	460		65	35	285
Employed	50	100	135	45	330		50	35	200
Unemployed	35	30	55	10	130		15	0	100
Participation rate	35%	58%	34%	55%	41%		32%	24%	34%

Appendix D.1: High versus Low Performers -- 1986

Geos:	Low Performers						High Performers						
	4712829	4705803	4716860	4705805			4715849	4710822	4716855	4714842	4716854		
First Nation	- RED PHEASANT 108	- COWESSIS 72	- ATANAPULP 104	- SAKMAY 74	Total	Proportion or Average	- JAMES SMITH 100	- MURKIN/DONAH 85	- METAWABE 100	- KINISTHO 81	- MURKIN LAKE 102	Total	Proportion or Average
Unemployment rate	41%	23%	29%	18%	28%		23%	0%	63%	20%	13%	35%	
Composition of income (%) - Total	100	100	100	0			100	100	100	0	0		
Employment income (%)	50.5	77.3	57.5	0		60%	59.2	43	60.1	0	0		56%
Government transfer payments (%)	47.6	19.9	41.7	0		38%	30.7	56.8	38.7	0	0		40%
Other income (%)	1.9	2.8	0.9	0		2%	10.1	0.3	1.2	0	0		4%
Household income - all private households	85	110	185	0	380		80	55	90	0	0	225	
Under \$5,000 (Household income)	10	10	15	0	35	9%	5	10	20	0	0	35	16%
\$ 5,000 - \$ 9,999 (Household income)	20	25	35	0	80	21%	10	10	20	0	0	40	18%
\$10,000 - \$14,999 (Household income)	20	20	35	0	75	20%	15	15	20	0	0	50	22%
\$15,000 - \$19,999 (Household income)	15	15	45	0	75	20%	15	10	15	0	0	40	18%
\$20,000 - \$24,999 (Household income)	5	10	15	0	30	8%	5	5	5	0	0	15	7%
\$25,000 - \$29,999 (Household income)	5	10	15	0	30	8%	10	0	5	0	0	15	7%
\$30,000 - \$34,999 (Household income)	0	5	5	0	10	3%	5	0	0	0	0	5	2%
\$35,000 - \$39,999 (Household income)	5	5	5	0	15	4%	5	5	0	0	0	10	4%
\$40,000 - \$49,999 (Household income)	5	5	10	0	20	5%	5	0	0	0	0	5	2%
\$50,000 and over (Household income)	0	5	5	0	10	3%	5	0	5	0	0	10	4%
Average income (Household income)	\$ 17,555	\$ 19,746	\$ 20,118			\$ 19,455	\$ 22,742	\$ 16,159	\$ 15,683				\$ 18,200
Median income (Household income)	\$ 14,249	\$ 14,749	\$ 15,832			\$ 15,234	\$ 18,749	\$ 13,832	\$ 11,374				\$ 14,455

Appendix D.2: High Versus Low Performers -- 1991

Geos:	Low Performers										High Performers												
	4712829	4705803	4716860	4705805	4715849	4710822	4716855	4714842	4716854	Proportion/Average	394	377	953	151	1875	469	250	465	169	223	1477	295	
Population, 1986 (1)	Population, 1991 (2)	Population percentage change, 1986-1991	Land area in square kilometres, 1991	Total population	Total number of private households	1 person (Size of household)	2 persons (Size of household)	3 persons (Size of household)	4 - 5 persons (Size of household)	6 or more persons (Size of household)	Total population 15 years and over	Highest level of schooling, less than grade 9 (18)	Grades 9-13 - Without secondary certificate	Grades 9-13 - With secondary certificate	Trades certificate or diploma	Other non-university - Without certificate (19)	Other non-university - With certificate (19)	Other non-university - Without certificate (19)	Other non-university - With certificate (19)	University - Without degree	University - With certificate (20)	University - With degree	Both Sexes - 15 years and over
	308	308	-22%	310	60	5	0	15	20	25	185	50	65	10	0	10	15	15	25	10	10	160	
	301	301	1%	380	115	25	0	15	25	50	275	45	170	25	0	40	15	15	40	10	20	240	
	308	308	-14%	825	195	30	25	10	70	105	500	190	310	25	0	120	40	40	15	10	20	485	
	147	147	-3%	150	40	10	10	5	135	105	1055	25	310	25	0	30	20	20	15	0	15	85	
	1658	1658	-12%	1665	410	70	15	5	60	135	1055	310	310	25	0	75	50	40	15	0	45	445	
	415	415	7%	395	85	15	10	5	30	25	235	55	75	10	0	10	10	10	15	0	15	95	
	296	296	18%	295	70	10	15	5	20	20	170	75	90	10	0	15	10	15	30	0	10	225	
	448	448	-4%	450	100	5	10	5	35	35	295	100	90	10	0	20	15	15	20	0	10	160	
	186	186	10%	190	40	0	5	5	15	10	135	30	30	0	0	20	15	15	20	0	10	275	
	180	180	-19%	180	60	20	5	15	15	5	125	45	10	10	0	10	15	15	25	0	0	110	
	1505	1505	2%	1510	355	50	50	50	115	95	960	305	255	50	5	110	75	75	110	25	30	240	
	295	295		302		14%	14%	10%	32%	27%												890	
	394	394		310		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	377	377		380		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	953	953		825		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	151	151		150		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	1875	1875		1665		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	469	469		416		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	370	370		395		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	250	250		295		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	465	465		450		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	169	169		190		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	223	223		180		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	1477	1477		1510		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	295	295		302		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	394	394		310		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	377	377		380		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	953	953		825		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	151	151		150		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	1875	1875		1665		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	469	469		416		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	370	370		395		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	250	250		295		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	465	465		450		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	169	169		190		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	223	223		180		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	1477	1477		1510		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	295	295		302		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	394	394		310		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	377	377		380		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	953	953		825		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	151	151		150		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	1875	1875		1665		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	469	469		416		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	370	370		395		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	250	250		295		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	465	465		450		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	169	169		190		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	223	223		180		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	1477	1477		1510		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	295	295		302		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	394	394		310		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	377	377		380		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	953	953		825		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	151	151		150		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	1875	1875		1665		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	469	469		416		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	370	370		395		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	250	250		295		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	465	465		450		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	169	169		190		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	223	223		180		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	1477	1477		1510		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	295	295		302		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	394	394		310		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	377	377		380		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	953	953		825		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	151	151		150		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	1875	1875		1665		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	469	469		416		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	370	370		395		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	250	250		295		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	465	465		450		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%												60	
	169	169		190		14%	10%	32%	27%	27%													

Appendix D.2: High Versus Low Performers -- 1991

Geos:	Low Performers										High Performers									
First Nation	Food Process 100	Consumer 77	Metals/Equip 104	Chem 74	Text	Proportion/Change	House Equip 103	Automotive 66	Machinery 103	Electronics 81	Metals 103	Food Process 100	Consumer 77	Metals/Equip 104	Chem 74	Text	Proportion/Average			
	4712829	4705803	4716860	4705805			4715849	4710822	4716855	4714842	4716854									
Employed, both sexes 15+	40	90	120	35	285	60	40	55	45	55	255	40	55	45	55	255				
Unemployed, both sexes 15+	20	40	95	10	165	35	10	30	15	30	100	20	40	15	30	100				
Not in the labour force, both sexes 15+	105	115	270	40	530	130	115	190	50	55	540	105	115	270	40	530				
Participation rate, both sexes 15+	38%	52%	44%	53%	46%	42%	28%	29%	55%	50%	38%	38%	52%	44%	53%	46%				
Unemployment rate, both sexes 15+	33%	32%	44%	22%	37%	37%	22%	38%	25%	17%	29%	33%	32%	44%	22%	37%				
Composition of total income, total (35) %	100	100	100	0		100	100	100	0	0		100	100	100	0					
Employment income %	53.3	62.8	53.5	0	56%	62.9	44.1	47	0	0	52%	53.3	62.8	53.5	0	56%				
Government transfer payments %	46.1	33.4	45.9	0	43%	35.3	55.1	49.5	0	0	46%	46.1	33.4	45.9	0	43%				
Other income %	0.7	3.8	0.6	0	1%	1.8	0.8	3.5	0	0	2%	0.7	3.8	0.6	0	1%				
Household income - All private households	60	110	195	0	365	100	60	110	0	0	270	60	110	195	0	365				
Under \$10,000, (Household income)	15	30	40	0	85	15	15	40	0	0	26%	15	30	40	0	85				
\$10,000 - \$14,999, (Household income)	15	25	40	0	80	15	20	25	0	0	22%	15	25	40	0	80				
\$15,000 - \$19,999, (Household income)	10	15	30	0	55	15	10	15	0	0	15%	10	15	30	0	55				
\$20,000 - \$29,999, (Household income)	10	20	45	0	75	25	15	25	0	0	19%	10	20	45	0	75				
\$30,000 - \$39,999, (Household income)	10	10	20	0	40	10	0	10	0	0	7%	10	10	20	0	40				
\$40,000 - \$49,999, (Household income)	0	0	10	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	7%	0	0	10	0	10				
\$50,000 - \$59,999, (Household income)	0	0	10	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	4%	0	0	10	0	10				
\$60,000 - \$69,999, (Household income)	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0%	0	10	0	0	10				
\$70,000 and over, (Household income)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%	0	0	0	0	0				
Average income, (Household income) \$	\$ 20,303	\$ 19,264	\$ 19,843		\$ 19,792	\$ 23,474	\$ 17,973	\$ 15,340			\$ 18,840	\$ 20,303	\$ 19,264	\$ 19,843		\$ 19,792				
Median income, (Household income) \$	\$ 15,584	\$ 15,562	\$ 16,576		\$ 16,119	\$ 19,712	\$ 14,624	\$ 12,704			\$ 15,629	\$ 15,584	\$ 15,562	\$ 16,576		\$ 16,119				

Appendix E
Corporate Survey and Letter

April 10, 1996

«Title» «FirstName» «LastName»
«JobTitle»
«Company»
«Address1»
«City», «Province»
«PostalCode» Fax «fax»

Dear «Title» «LastName»:

I am writing to request your assistance in research I am conducting in support of the programs of the School of Business and Public Administration of the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College. You and your company have been selected because of your membership in the Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business and the interest that that membership indicates in corporate/Aboriginal issues.

The School of Business and Public Administration offers undergraduate certificate, diploma and degree programs in Commerce/Administration and a First Nations Master of Business Administration Degree (in partnership with the University of Saskatchewan). My area of responsibility and interest within these programs is Aboriginal economic development, in particular joint ventures and other alliances between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal corporate partners. There is a real need for, and pressing shortage of, good material for use in our teaching program about what is happening in this area and why.

Research I have already conducted (and published) indicates that joint ventures and other alliances are emerging as the strategy of choice for business development among Aboriginal people. I have been able to compile a reasonable body of material describing this strategy and the reasons for its rising popularity from an Aboriginal perspective. What is missing is good material describing the process from the perspective of corporations who have elected to enter into alliances with Aboriginal people. Why do corporations enter into joint ventures and alliances? What types of joint ventures and alliances are being formed (e.g. true joint ventures and business partnerships, special arrangements for sourcing from Aboriginal suppliers and/or using Aboriginal distributors, policies and programs to encourage Aboriginal individuals and communities to become suppliers and/or distributors, special hiring and other workforce programs, etc.)? Is the practice growing? If so, how quickly? Are alliances more common in particular areas and/or industries? What are corporations looking for in Aboriginal partners? What programs have corporations put in place to encourage and support partnerships with Aboriginal people?

I know much of this material is available in company literature and elsewhere, but it is not in a form readily accessible or useful to students. My objective is to pull such material together and make it available to our students and others. To this end, I am requesting your help in three ways. First, would you complete and return (by fax) the attached two-page questionnaire? You will notice the questionnaire consists of a series of questions to be answered yes or no and the opportunity for brief comments. The subjects of these brief comments lead to my second request -- could you send me copies of any 'public' material you have on «Company»'s programs for, or partnerships with, Aboriginal people. Finally, could you send me a copy of your annual report for the years ending in 1985, 1990, and 1995 (if originals are not available photocopies would be perfectly adequate).

This same request is being sent to approximately forty other members of the Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business. Responses will be combined to obtain an overview of corporate/Aboriginal relations from a corporate perspective. No companies will be singled out for attention except positively as examples of 'best case' practices.

Thank-you for your cooperation. The information you are providing will make a valuable contribution to the education of our Aboriginal business students. In the long-run, «Company», other companies and the Canadian economy in general should benefit from a growing cadre of competent and capable Aboriginal business managers and from the resulting increase in viable and competitive Aboriginal businesses.

Two other matters. First, if «Company» is looking for Aboriginal people for either summer employment or entry-level management positions, one of our students or graduates might meet your needs. If you are interested, I would be pleased to act as an intermediary and make your recruitment material available to our students.

Second, we are always looking for people to address our classes on matters relating to business in general and business relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal partners in particular. If you (or someone else from your company) are ever in Saskatoon or Regina between September and March and are willing, we would be pleased to have you speak to one or more of our classes.

It would be of great help to me if you (or the person to whom you delegate this task) could return the completed questionnaire by fax by April 15 and the other material by mail as soon as possible.

Please direct responses and inquiries to:

Bob Anderson
School of Business and Public Administration
Saskatchewan Indian Federated College
710 Duke Street
Saskatoon, SK

S7K 0P8

Phone (306) 931-1807, Fax (306) 665-0175

If you would like more information about the College and our programs, please let me know.

Thank-you again,

Bob Anderson

Associate Professor of Administration

4. Are Aboriginal people and/or communities significant customers of «Company»?
 yes _____no _____
 If not, do they have the potential to become significant customers in the future?
 yes _____no _____
 Is the fact that Aboriginal people/communities are, or might be, significant customers a major reason for «Company» considering (and adopting if already in place) policies toward hiring Aboriginal people and/or establishing business relationships with Aboriginal companies? yes _____no _____
 Please comment briefly
5. Do Aboriginal people currently directly or indirectly control resources important to the operations of «Company»? yes _____no _____
 In the future do you expect Aboriginal people to gain direct or indirect control of resources important to the future operations of «Company»? yes _____no _____
 Is the fact that Aboriginal people/communities have, or might acquire, direct or indirect control over resources important to its operations of a major reason for «Company» adopting its current policy toward hiring Aboriginal people and/or establishing business relationships with Aboriginal companies and communities?
 yes _____no _____
 Please comment briefly.
6. Has «Company» developed a policy and programs to encourage Aboriginal companies to meet some of the companies current and future input and other needs?
 yes_no _____
 Beyond encouraging existing Aboriginal companies to become suppliers, does «Company» have a program or process to assist Aboriginal communities or individual to develop companies that can meet some of «Company»'s future input and other needs? yes_____no____
 If yes to either, please describe briefly.

7. More generally (not just with respect to Aboriginal people), would you say that «Company» is more likely to pursue a strategy involving joint ventures and other partnerships, sub-contracting of activities previously done in-house, negotiated supplier contracts, etc., now and in the future, than it was five years ago?
yes_____no___ Ten years ago? yes_____ no___
Please comment briefly.

Appendix F

Socioeconomic Data for Meadow Lake First Nations and other Communities

F.1 1986 Data

F.2 1991 Data

Source: 1986 Census of Canada

Appendix F.1: 1986 Census Data Summary, MLTC Study Area

	Total Non-Aboriginal	Villages & Hamlets - North	First Nations	Total Aboriginal	Impact Area	Province
Proportions						
Population:						
Population - 1986	9,923	6,714	4,972	11,686	21,609	1,009,613
Population - 1981	9,723	5,522	4,334	9,856	19,579	968,313
Percent growth	2.06%	21.59%	14.72%	18.57%	10.37%	4.27%
% Aboriginal Origin	15%	93%	99%	96%	59%	
Age Distribution:						
0 - 4 years	9%	15%	17%	16%	13%	9%
5 - 9 years	9%	11%	14%	12%	11%	8%
10 - 14 years	9%	12%	13%	12%	11%	8%
15 - 19 years	9%	13%	12%	13%	11%	8%
20 - 24 years	8%	10%	10%	10%	9%	9%
25 - 34 years	15%	16%	14%	15%	15%	17%
35 - 44 years	12%	9%	7%	8%	10%	12%
45 - 54 years	9%	6%	6%	6%	8%	9%
55 - 64 years	8%	4%	4%	4%	6%	9%
65 - 74 years	7%	2%	2%	2%	5%	7%
75 years and older	5%	2%	1%	1%	3%	5%
Education:						
Less than Grade Nine	26%	47%	53%	49%	38%	19%
Grades 9-13 without secondary certificate	37%	25%	27%	25%	31%	33%
Grades 9-13 with secondary certificate	7%	4%	3%	4%	5%	9%
Trade Certificate or diploma	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%
Other non-University without diploma	6%	5%	8%	6%	6%	6%
Other non-University with diploma	12%	9%	4%	8%	9%	14%
University without degree	6%	5%	3%	4%	5%	10%
University with degree	5%	4%	2%	3%	4%	7%
Labor Force Participation:						
Population 15 years and older	7,230	4,145	2,810	6,955	14,185	751,090
In the labor force	4,765	2,140	1,070	3,210	7,975	501,750
Employed	4,355	1,440	720	2,160	6,515	461,515
Unemployed	415	695	350	1,045	1,460	40,225
Participation rate	66%	52%	38%	46%	56%	67%
Unemployment rate	9%	32%	33%	33%	18%	8%
Households:						
1 person	21%	15%	11%	13%	18%	
2 persons	27%	14%	7%	12%	20%	
3 persons	16%	13%	13%	13%	15%	
4 - 5 persons	30%	28%	33%	30%	30%	
6 - 9 persons	6%	23%	27%	25%	14%	
10 or more	0%	6%	9%	7%	3%	

Appendix F.1: 1986 Census Data Summary, MLTC Study Area

	Total Non-Aboriginal	Villages & Hamlets - North	First Nations	Total Aboriginal	Impact Area	Province
Household Income:						
Under \$5,000	8%	6%	8%	7%	8%	6%
5,000 to 9,999	15%	17%	20%	18%	16%	11%
10,000 to 14,999	12%	13%	24%	17%	14%	12%
15,000 to 19,999	13%	13%	16%	14%	14%	11%
20,000 to 24,999	11%	13%	11%	12%	12%	9%
25,000 to 29,999	8%	11%	8%	10%	9%	9%
30,000 to 34,999	7%	8%	6%	7%	7%	8%
35,000 to 39,999	6%	6%	2%	4%	5%	7%
40,000 to 49,999	8%	7%	3%	6%	7%	11%
50,000 and over	11%	6%	3%	5%	9%	17%
Average income	\$25,215	\$23,289	\$18,051	\$21,206	\$23,528	\$30,786
Source of Income:						
Wages and salary	62%	64%	52%	59%	61%	64%
Self-employment	13%	7%	5%	6%	9%	12%
Government Sources	17%	28%	43%	34%	26%	13%
Retirement pension	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%	3%
Other sources	6%	1%	2%	2%	4%	9%

Appendix F.1: 1986 Census Data Summary, MLTC Study Area

Data	Total Non- Aboriginal	Villages & Hamlets - North	First Nations	Total Aboriginal	Impact Area	Province
Education:						
Population 15 years and older	7245	5300	2810	8110	15355	751095
Less than Grade Nine	1900	2470	1480	3950	5850	144125
Grades 9-13 without secondary certificate	2680	1310	755	2065	4745	247190
Grades 9-13 with secondary certificate	520	210	80	290	810	64720
Trade Certificate or diploma	80	55	25	80	160	16450
Other non-University without diploma	415	280	220	500	915	41450
Other non-University with diploma	840	495	120	615	1455	102650
University without degree	470	270	75	345	815	78685
University with degree	340	210	55	265	605	55825
Household Income:						
All private households	2995	1310	865	2175	5170	358265
Under \$5,000	240	80	70	150	390	20355
5,000 to 9,999	460	220	170	390	850	40885
10,000 to 14,999	370	165	205	370	740	41500
15,000 to 19,999	390	175	135	310	700	38575
20,000 to 24,999	340	165	95	260	600	32805
25,000 to 29,999	250	150	70	220	470	31245
30,000 to 34,999	215	100	50	150	365	28745
35,000 to 39,999	170	75	20	95	265	25680
40,000 to 49,999	225	95	25	120	345	39245
50,000 and over	335	85	25	110	445	59230
Average income	\$25,215	\$23,289	\$18,051	\$21,206		
Age Distribution:						
0 - 4 years	875	985	840	1825	2700	85895
5 - 9 years	890	765	675	1440	2330	82340
10 - 14 years	870	800	640	1440	2310	77480
15 - 19 years	870	840	620	1460	2330	78615
20 - 24 years	770	695	480	1175	1945	88900
25 - 34 years	1470	1060	700	1760	3230	170505
35 - 44 years	1205	605	360	965	2170	118160
45 - 54 years	935	400	305	705	1640	89010
55 - 64 years	825	270	195	465	1290	90105
65 - 74 years	695	165	115	280	975	75545
75 years and older	505	110	40	150	655	53050
	9910	6695	4970	11665	21575	1009605

Appendix F.1: 1986 Census Data Summary, MLTC Study Area

	Total Non-Aboriginal	Villages & Hamlets - North	First Nations	Total Aboriginal	Impact Area	Province
Households:						
1 person	685	230	100	330	1015	
2 persons	895	215	70	285	1180	
3 persons	530	205	125	330	860	
4 - 5 persons	990	430	310	740	1730	
6 - 9 persons	215	350	255	605	820	
10 or more	0	90	85	175	175	
	3315	1520	945	2465	5780	

Appendix F.2: 1991 Census Data Summary, MLTC Study Area

	Total Non-Aboriginal	Villages & Hamlets - North	First Nations	Total Aboriginal	Impact Area
Proportions					
Population:					
Population, 1986 (1)	9,799	6,714	4,624	11,338	21,137
Population, 1991 (2)	10,038	6,979	5,395	12,374	22,412
Population percentage change, 1986-1991	2.4%	3.9%	16.67%	9.14%	6.03%
Age Distribution:					
0 - 4 years	9%	16%	17%	17%	13%
5 - 9 years	9%	13%	13%	13%	11%
10 - 14 years	9%	10%	12%	11%	10%
15 - 19 years	8%	10%	11%	10%	9%
20 - 24 years	6%	9%	9%	9%	8%
25 - 29 years	8%	10%	9%	9%	9%
30 - 34 years	8%	8%	7%	7%	7%
35 - 39 years	7%	5%	5%	5%	6%
40 - 44 years	6%	4%	4%	4%	5%
45 - 49 years	5%	3%	3%	3%	4%
50 - 54 years	5%	3%	3%	3%	4%
55 - 59 years	4%	2%	2%	2%	3%
60 - 64 years	4%	2%	2%	2%	3%
65 - 74 years	7%	3%	2%	2%	5%
75 years and over	5%	1%	1%	1%	3%
Education:					
Less than Grade Nine	23%	38%	45%	41%	32%
Grades 9-13 without secondary certificate	32%	21%	27%	24%	28%
Grades 9-13 with secondary certificate	10%	4%	4%	4%	7%
Trade Certificate or diploma	3%	4%	3%	4%	3%
Other non-University without diploma	5%	9%	4%	7%	6%
Other non-University with diploma	13%	15%	10%	13%	13%
University without degree	7%	5%	5%	5%	6%
University with degree	6%	4%	2%	3%	5%
Labor Force Participation:					
Both Sexes - 15 years and over	7250	4230	3080	7310	14560
In labour force, both sexes 15+	5185	2015	1205	3220	8405
Employed, both sexes 15+	4790	1415	855	2270	7060
Unemployed, both sexes 15+	400	575	350	925	1325
Not in the labour force, both sexes 15+	2060	2225	1875	4100	6160
Unemployment rate, both sexes 15+	8%	29%	29%	29%	16%
Participation rate, both sexes 15+	72%	48%	39%	44%	58%
% of potential LF employed	66%	33%	28%	31%	48%

Appendix F.2: 1991 Census Data Summary, MLTC Study Area

	Total Non-Aboriginal	Villages & Hamlets - North	First Nations	Total Aboriginal	Impact Area
Households:					
Size of household, 1 person	21%	16%	14%	15%	18%
Size of household, 2 persons	29%	15%	12%	14%	22%
Size of household, 3 persons	15%	16%	13%	15%	15%
Size of household, 4 - 5 persons	29%	30%	30%	30%	29%
Size of household, 6 or more persons	6%	22%	32%	26%	15%
Average number of persons per census family	3.25	3.95	4.35	4.11	3.65
Household Income:					
3802 Under \$10,000, household income	6%	17%	24%	20%	12%
3803 \$10,000 - \$14,999, household income	13%	18%	20%	19%	16%
3804 \$15,000 - \$19,999, household income	10%	13%	16%	15%	12%
3805 \$20,000 - \$29,999, household income	20%	19%	18%	19%	19%
3806 \$30,000 - \$39,999, household income	16%	13%	11%	12%	14%
3807 \$40,000 - \$49,999, household income	13%	8%	6%	7%	10%
3808 \$50,000 - \$59,999, household income	6%	5%	3%	4%	5%
3809 \$60,000 - \$69,999, household income	5%	3%	1%	2%	4%
3810 \$70,000 and over, household income	10%	5%	2%	3%	7%
3811 Average income, household income \$	\$36,927	\$26,347	\$21,276	\$24,264	\$31,397

Appendix F.2: 1991 Census Data Summary, MLTC Study Area

Data	Total Non- Aboriginal	Villages & Hamlets -		Total Aboriginal	Impact Area
		North	First Nations		
Age Distribution:					
0 - 4 years	865	1155	940	2095	2960
5 - 9 years	915	895	725	1620	2535
10 - 14 years	900	705	635	1340	2240
15 - 19 years	795	675	600	1275	2070
20 - 24 years	615	665	510	1175	1790
25 - 29 years	770	675	480	1155	1925
30 - 34 years	765	535	385	920	1685
35 - 39 years	735	370	265	635	1370
40 - 44 years	640	300	215	515	1155
45 - 49 years	525	220	175	395	920
50 - 54 years	455	225	150	375	830
55 - 59 years	440	170	115	285	725
60 - 64 years	375	155	90	245	620
65 - 74 years	720	185	110	295	1015
75 years and over	525	100	60	160	685
Education:					
Less than Grade Nine	1675	1600	1390	2990	4665
Grades 9-13 without secondary certificate	2285	885	850	1735	4020
Grades 9-13 with secondary certificate	750	170	135	305	1055
Trade Certificate or diploma	210	180	90	270	480
Other non-University without diploma	380	365	120	485	865
Other non-University with diploma	940	615	320	935	1875
University without degree	485	220	145	365	850
University with degree	460	155	55	210	670
Household Statistics:					
Total number of private households	3430	1770	1185	2955	6385
Size of household, 1 person	715	275	160	435	1150
Size of household, 2 persons	990	265	140	405	1395
Size of household, 3 persons	530	290	150	440	970
Size of household, 4 - 5 persons	980	530	355	885	1865
Size of household, 6 or more persons	190	395	385	780	970
Average number of persons per census family	3.25	3.95	4.35	4.11	3.65

Appendix F.2: 1991 Census Data Summary, MLTC Study Area

Household Income:	Total Non- Aboriginal	Villages & Hamlets - North	First Nations	Total Aboriginal	Impact Area
3801 Household income - All private households	3360	1535	1070	2605	5965
3802 Under \$10,000, household income	215	265	255	520	735
3803 \$10,000 - \$14,999, household income	445	275	210	485	930
3804 \$15,000 - \$19,999, household income	325	205	175	380	705
3805 \$20,000 - \$29,999, household income	675	290	195	485	1160
3806 \$30,000 - \$39,999, household income	525	195	120	315	840
3807 \$40,000 - \$49,999, household income	425	130	60	190	615
3808 \$50,000 - \$59,999, household income	210	70	30	100	310
3809 \$60,000 - \$69,999, household income	160	40	10	50	210
3810 \$70,000 and over, household income	340	70	20	90	430
3811 Average income, household income \$	\$36,927	\$26,347	\$21,276	\$24,264	\$31,397