

METIS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN REGINA

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RCAP NOTES

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The opinions expressed in the paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect opinions or positions of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

All documentation provided by the author appears in this CD ROM version.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

I. The Research Project

This research project is part of a series of research projects which examines Aboriginal economies and Aboriginal economic development in 15 different Aboriginal communities across Canada. The purpose of the research is to obtain data regarding:

- factors which have historically and currently influenced the nature of;
- or which have presented barriers to;
- the development of Aboriginal economies.

The goal of the research is to identify ideas and strategies, both traditional and innovative, which hold promise for bringing about improvement in the economies of Aboriginal communities and in the economic circumstances of Aboriginal peoples.

The research on Metis Economic Development in Regina was contracted with Sasknative Economic Development Corporation. The researchers examined a broad range of historical factors covering the Metis and the community of Regina. In addition, they gathered and analyzed demographic data which reflects the economic status of Metis in Regina. The research also examined and analyzed data regarding business development, Metis Institutional development, the current status of Metis rights and Metis political institutions. Finally government policy and programming for Metis historically and current were examined and analyzed.

In carrying out the project, researchers used a variety of methods for identifying and gathering relevant information.

These included:

- identifying and gathering relevant historical information from libraries and public archives;
- identifying and selecting relevant demographic data from Census Canada reports and from other surveys conducted in the Metis community;
- identifying, selecting and interviewing a random sample of Metis currently living in Regina using a survey questionnaire;
- open ended interviews with a selected group of Metis business persons, Metis politicians and Metis bureaucrats;
- open ended interviews with a sample of government bureaucrats from relevant government agencies;
- open ended interviews with a selected group of persons from the general Regina business community.

II. Project Findings

a) The Origins of the Metis

The modern Metis originated during the era of the development and exploitation of trade in furs and manufactured goods in what is now Canada. They were the children of liaisons between European traders and Indian women. Some of these children grew up around the trading posts. As they reached maturity and as their numbers increased they became an alternate labour force to the European workers trading companies had traditionally employed. They in time became the main labour force of the fur trade economy. They occupied a variety of positions in

the trade but were generally excluded from managerial positions. In time substantial Metis communities developed at the key trading points. These communities were found along the major waterways, which served as the highways for transportation connected with the trade. They were located along rivers from Hudson Bay and Montreal to the Arctic. The early Metis therefore, were a dispersed people located over a vast trading empire.

In 1821 a merger took place between the two major and competing trading companies, the Hudson Bay Co. and the Northwest Co. As a result of this merger a major restructuring of the trade took place which displaced close to half of the labour force. The Hudson Bay Company, which claimed land rights along the Red River and its tributaries, had for some years been making land grants of river lots to European and Metis settlers. The Company offered land to displaced Metis workers and encouraged and assisted them to settle in the Red River area. By 1869, when Rupertsland and the Northwest Territories were joined to Canada, the population of the Red River area was estimated at approximately 12,000 persons, most of whom were Metis.

As Metis settled in the Red River area these settlers developed a new economic role for themselves. A few continued to work as labourers on the boat brigades. The majority made their living from a combination of subsistence farming, hunting, fishing and trapping.

The need of the agricultural community for animals and seed led to the development of north-south trade between the Red River and St. Paul, Minnesota. As well, some of the trade in furs and goods into the Northwest was shifted to land routes. The land route trade resulted in the invention of the unique goods carrier, the Red River cart. The carts were constructed out of indigenous materials. At the peak of the freighting business as many as 7000 men were employed in the operation of the Red River Carts. Considerable employment was involved in the

construction of the carts which in the Red River alone numbered as many as 2000. During this period of trade a major demand for leather made from Buffalo hides developed in the United States. The result was large scale harvest of the prairie buffalo, which in time led to their near extinction. As well a Metis merchant class of small traders emerged in the Red River.

During the early and middle period of the fur trade the Metis had occupied a dominant position in the economy as the working class. In terms of the economics of the time they were prosperous and had considerable economic influence. They governed their own affairs in the communities where they lived. As well they developed a highly organized and disciplined system of rules and laws for the buffalo hunt and for the conduct of affairs in their communities.

b) The Social and Economic Decline of the Metis Community

By the mid 1850s the Hudson Bay Company recognized that the traditional economy of the Northwest would not be viable in the longer term. The company began to examine other economic options. Engineers and other professionals were employed to carry out surveys of the potential for agriculture, forestry and mineral development. As well Great Britain wished to divest itself of the responsibility for and cost of managing this vast colony. At the same time the Americans were developing plans to annex the territory and the Canadian Colonies were also interested in territorial expansion. In 1868 the British government entered into negotiations with the new Canadian Federation for the purpose of transferring Rupertsland and the Northwest Territories to Canada. This would also bring the West Coast colony of British Columbia into Confederation. Legislation for the transfer of the territories was enacted in 1869. The legislation maintained the trading rights of the Hudson Bay Company and provided the Company with

generous land grants which gave it approximately 5% of the land in Rupertsland. The Act also provided for the recognition of the Indian rights which had been set out in the Royal Proclamation of 1763. However, no mention was made of the rights of existing settlers in the territories which included the Metis and a few white settlers from Britain, Central Canada and the U.S.

A consequence of this neglect was the resistance of the Red River Metis to the territorial transfer to Canada until their land and self-governing rights were addressed. The result was the Manitoba Act which addressed both issues. However, the provisions of the Act were implemented in an atmosphere of intense discrimination and persecution of the Metis. As a result many Metis left the Red River for other Metis settlements spread throughout the Northwest. A major portion of the Lands set aside for the Metis in the new province of Manitoba passed into the hands of speculators and new settlers from central Canada. The Metis quickly lost their influence in the new Manitoba government. After a time, constitutional education rights provided for in the Manitoba Act were taken away through provincial legislation. Metis who stayed in the Red River were soon pushed out of the social and economic mainstream of society and they became marginalized.

Metis who dispersed to other communities in the Northwest carried on a traditional life style for approximately another decade. They, along with other Metis in the territory, again petitioned for the recognition of their land rights and self-governing rights. By the 1880s traditional economic resources such as the buffalo herds, freshwater fish, fur bearing animals and game had been seriously depleted. These resources no longer provided a stable economy or way of life for Metis, particularly in the southern and central prairie areas. The decade of the 80s was

a decade of economic depression, coupled with severe drought in the prairies.

The social and economic situation of the Metis quickly declined and poverty and hunger were widespread. The Metis again organized themselves to protect their rights. In 1885 they made their stand at Batoche. The immediate and long term result of this resistance was disastrous for the Metis. Although land grants were provided for, as in Manitoba they were administered in a manner which would eventually deprive the Metis of most of their land. The remainder of the decade of the 80s was one of poverty, misery and increased isolation of the Metis community from mainstream development. In the far north life continued to some degree as usual, except the economic depression had reduced the demand for and hence the price of furs.

The drought and economic depression lasted until 1890. Beginning in the early 90s immigration began to accelerate. The arrival of new settlers from Europe and the U.S.A. reached a peak during the early 1900s. Although the Metis became increasingly more marginalized socially, the new economy provided some employment for them. Seasonal work was available on farms and in the building of railroads. The supply of game improved and trapping was again more profitable. Although marginalized during the period from the 1890s to the 1930s the economic position of the Metis was more tolerable due to the fact that hunger and widespread poverty declined.

The 1930s saw the next major crisis for the Metis community. Drought, food scarcity and the great depression again pushed the Metis into severe poverty and hunger was widespread. Many Metis had been or were being forced to abandon Crown lands where they had squatted. Some settled on road allowances. Others moved to the towns and cities where they continued to survive on welfare payments and occasional employment.

Following the 1930s and spurred by the Second World War, economic circumstances improved and so did marginal economic opportunities. However, beginning in the mid 1940s and lasting through the decades of the 50s and 60s a major mechanization of agriculture began to take place. This began a major shift in rural population to the urban centres in the province. The Metis were part of this rural-urban migration and significant numbers of Metis migrated to Regina during these decades. By the mid 1960s the provincial government began to recognize the serious social costs which resulted from keeping an entire community marginalized. The mid 1960s began an era of government programming designed to bring Aboriginal people, including the Metis, back into the social and economic mainstream.

c) Regina, History and Development

Regina was an artificial community the location of which was selected by Federal government bureaucrats for bureaucratic rather than economic reasons. From its beginnings the life and economy of Regina was dominated by government agencies. By 1884, the government of the Northwest Territories, the NWMP, Indian Affairs and Dominion lands administrations were all located in Regina. As immigration and settlement proceeded, servicing the agricultural community became the second mainstay of the local economy. Today 14 of the 21 largest employers are government agencies. Only 4 of the 21 largest employers are in the private sector. Government agencies including crown corporations account for approximately 20% of all jobs in Regina. The other major employment sectors in Regina include wholesale and warehouse distribution, financial and insurance services, the retail and personal services sectors and the construction industry.

Regina grew from a community of several hundred in 1884 to a community of approximately 200,000 in 1993. This population growth has been influenced by immigration and the boom and bust cycles in the agricultural economy. Attempts have been made to diversify the local economy by attracting manufacturing operations to Regina. This has succeeded to some degree and by the mid 1980s approximately 40% of all manufacturing in the province took place in and around Regina. Since the 1950s, Regina has benefited to some degree from major mining developments in the province. This includes oil and gas production, potash production, uranium production and coal production. However, the impact of mining has been less in Regina, than in communities such as Estevan, Swift Current, Saskatoon and Prince Albert.

Although Regina's economy has matured to some degree and it is now less affected by agricultural commodity price cycles, agriculture is still a major contributor to the local economy. Government activity is also tied to agricultural prosperity. The loss of or increase in government jobs, on which Regina is so dependent, has correlated closely to agricultural cycles.

d) The History of Regina Metis

Only a few Metis families from the historic communities of the Northwest settled in Regina prior to the 1930s. They played no significant role in the development of Regina from vacant prairie to bustling city. Based on available data it appears that the first significant migration of Metis to Regina took place during the 1930s. They had already survived four decades as a marginal people. The extreme poverty of the 1930s brought on by drought and the great depression forced some families to seek survival in urban communities. In Regina they had improved access to seasonal and casual work and to welfare assistance. Nevertheless they lived

in marginal neighbourhoods and continued to be marginal to the social and economic mainstream.

Migration of Metis to Regina continued throughout the decades of the 40s and 50s and then accelerated in the decades of the 60s and 70s.

The families interviewed in our research survey indicated that over 50% came to Regina after 1959. As marginal people most survived in Regina with limited education and training and limited job skills and experience. They had to compete with an already large pool of unskilled workers. Because of both open and systemic discrimination they were among the last persons to be considered for available employment. Their economic status remained marginal and they experienced other social problems such as family breakdown, crime and delinquency and health problems generally associated with poverty cultures. They lived in marginal housing and had little incentive to improve their education and training or knowledge and skills because employment requiring high knowledge and skills levels was generally not open to them.

The cause of the Metis, including the Regina Metis, was taken up in the late 1930s and early 1940s by a group of prominent Liberals who organized the Saskatchewan Historical Society. There was a new push for the recognition of Metis land rights. This was supported by historical research conducted by a Regina legal firm. This was not pursued after the election of the C.C.F in 1944. The new government preferred programs designed to meet the needs of all ethnic groups and generally kept clear of specific or significant programs designed to respond to the needs of one ethnic group. During the 50s and early 60s the Metis in Regina and other centres began to re-organize and work for the recognition of their specific needs. However, these needs would not be seriously addressed until after the election of a Liberal government in 1964.

e) Government Policy and Programs Since 1950

The Federal government has traditionally taken the position that Metis land claims had been dealt with through the scrip issues. Therefore, like other citizens Metis were a provincial government responsibility. As indicated the province continued to relate to Metis as another ethnic group whose needs could be addressed by the same policies and programs available to other ethnic groups in the province. Therefore, it undertook no special initiatives to address Metis issues and needs.

When the Liberal government came to power in 1964 it recognized that specific initiatives were needed if Indians and Metis in the province were to participate in the social and economic development of the province. It set up a special agency for this purpose in 1965 and elevated that agency to the status of a government department in 1968. The government encouraged and assisted Indians and Metis to strengthen and extend the scope of their organizations and to make their needs known to politicians and bureaucrats regarding special programming for Aboriginal people. The need for programs to upgrade the education and training levels and job skills of Metis was recognized as a cornerstone, particularly since Metis did not have access to federal government programming. As well the need for a business development program and special employment initiatives was recognized.

The Indian and Metis Department established the Non-Registered Indian and Metis Program (NRIM), later changed to Non-Status Indian and Metis Program (NSIM), to provide funding to assist students to upgrade their basic education and to pursue vocational/technical and University training. After several years this program was transferred to the Department of Education. The program remained basically intact as originally developed until 1983 when the

then Conservative government made two significant changes to NSIM policy. The first change limited the funding to Adult Basic Education Programming. Metis students now had to pay their own way at technical schools and the Universities. The second change was to transfer control over decisions on programs and student selection from Metis education committees to the Saskatchewan Institute of Applied Science and Technology (SIAST) campuses and the Regional Colleges. These institutions were required to appoint Native Advisory Committees (NAC's) to assist with Native programming decisions.

The second initiative of the Indian and Metis Department involved establishing a program of Capital grants and loan guarantees to assist Metis who wanted to enter business or who wished to expand an existing business. The program has undergone some changes over the years with grants being increased to \$10,000 and the loan guarantee program being discontinued. The program is currently administered by the Department of Economic Development.

Business development assistance was also provided through a program jointly administered and funded by the province and the federal government known as Special ARDA. Assistance was provided for developing business plans. Grants of up to 50% of project costs could be provided for secondary industry and up to 90% for primary production. Applicants had to contribute 10% of the cost as equity. This program continued until the 1980s when it was integrated into the Canadian Aboriginal Economic Development Strategy (CAEDS).

The third initiative of the Indian and Metis Department was the establishment of a program to provide employment for Aboriginal persons within government agencies, agencies receiving government funding and in private businesses with government contracts. A variation of that program was continued by successor agencies until 1985 when the program was

discontinued.

In 1982 the federal government established a major program for Aboriginal people known as the Native Economic Development Program (NEDP). Under this program funding was available for research, project development, capital contributions, training in business and related disciplines, to establish Aboriginal economic and financial institutions and for potential joint venture initiatives.

Approximately 10 Metis business projects were funded in Regina. In addition three Metis institutional projects provincial in scope and headquartered in Regina were funded. These included the Metis Economic Development Foundation which promoted economic development, and assisted individuals or groups to prepare project proposals and business plans. This agency had a four year funding agreement and the agency was wound down when the agreement expired.

A second initiative was Sasknative Economic Development Corporation (SNEDCO) which was incorporated as a Class B loans corporation. It has a \$5 million capital base. At present it is also administering an equity loans program and a Business Advisory Service. The third institution was a Foundation to administer a scholarship fund. It was initially endowed with a capital base of \$750,000 which now stands at \$1 million. The interest from the fund is used to grant scholarships and to cover administration costs.

NEDP had a five year mandate but due to a slow start up and a phase out year, the program continued through fiscal year 1988-89. Its' replacement, CAEDS, was developed as a joint initiative by the Department of Regional Industrial Expansion (DRIE) and Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) in 1989. DRIE (Now Industry Science and Technology Canada-ISTC) is currently mandated to deliver most elements of the NEDP program.

CEIC is to deliver training required by Aboriginal people to take maximum advantage of business and economic opportunities. The current CEIC program is known as Pathways to Success. In the case of Metis the program is delivered by a series of Local Area Management Boards (LAMBS) and a Provincial Management Board (RAMB).

In 1980 the Metis community started up an adult and cultural education institution, Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research (GDI). Since that time GDI has been delivering the following programs:

(i) Under agreements with the Province:

- a. a Native Teacher Education program certified by two provincial universities;
- b. operating a library resource centre;
- c. doing historical, cultural and current research; and
- d. developing curriculum and curriculum materials with an Aboriginal content.

(ii) Under agreements with CEIC:

- a. a variety of trades and technical training;
- b. a Metis Business Management program certified by the University of Regina;
- c. a Metis Human Justice Workers program certified by the University of Regina;
plus
- d. a variety of other programs designed to prepare Metis students to pursue vocational, technical and professional training.

More recently the province has agreed to the establishment of a new institution, Dumont Technical Institute (DTI). DTI will be federated with SIAST and will deliver Adult Basic Education (ABE) programs certified by the province and vocational/technical programs certified

by SIAST. It plans to begin program delivery effective January 1, 1994. DTI also has the authority to deliver non-credit programs and courses.

The other Metis institutions which have or are currently part of the Metis economic strategy include the Provincial Metis Housing Corporation (PMHC). PMHC initially embarked on a major program of emergency repairs and house building in rural areas. More recently it delivered a variety of services under contract with CMHC to applicants under the Rural and Native Housing program. Since the province has withdrawn from this program the future role of PMHC is uncertain at this time. However, it does continue to deliver the emergency repair program.

f) The Current Situation of the Metis

Data regarding the current status of the Metis community in Regina has been gathered from a number of sources including:

- the 1991 Stats Canada Census and the follow up Aboriginal Peoples survey;
- a sample survey carried out as part of the research for this project; and
- a 1991 research report prepared for CEIC.

The following is a summary of the most current demographic data regarding Regina Metis:

- on the 1991 census approximately 3800 Metis self-identified. Some Metis leaders claim the figure should be as high as 20,000;
- the number of Metis in the 15 and under age category is 41%, double that for the general population;
- the number of Metis adults with less than grade 12 is double that for the general

population.

- unemployment among Regina Metis is 2.5 times that for the general population;
- employed Metis who are holding low skill jobs is 65% higher than for the general population;
- the incomes of Regina Metis are estimated to be approximately \$14,000 per capita compared to per capita income of \$23,800 for all Regina residents;
- there is no significant difference in family stability between Metis and other Regina families as measured by marital status and family mobility;
- proportionately fewer Regina Metis pursue private businesses as compared to all provincial Metis;
- the majority of Metis who have been or are currently operating a business did not utilize funding assistance from government or from SNEDCO;
- Metis identify the values important to business success which are identified by society at large;
- Metis identify the lack of managerial skills and marketing skills as the most important factors in the failure of Metis businesses;
- the lack of personal equity is seen as a significant barrier to Metis getting into business;
- although there were some demographic differences between Metis men and women these differences were consistent with male/female demographic differences found in the general population;
- Metis do not identify the lack of child care services as a barrier to pursuing training and/or employment;

- Metis believe the role of Metis politicians should be advocacy, lobbying and assisting Metis businesses to develop information, support and networking systems;
- the Metis see the most significant barrier to employment being their limited education and job skills;
- discrimination in various forms is still believed to be a barrier to employment and needs to be addressed through cross cultural programming and where possible a redefining of formal job qualifications for some vocational, technical and professional jobs; and
- Metis were unanimous in their view that decisions regarding business projects and hiring for bureaucratic positions in Metis institutions should be made on merit and not on political considerations.

The Metis community has developed a number of Metis institutions some of which are directly involved in economic and business development. Other Metis Institutions contribute to the economic improvement of Metis by providing employment and contracts for Metis business persons.

These include the following:

- Gabriel Dumont Institute which currently delivers some university based educational programming and which provides cultural programming;
- Dumont Technical Institute which will be the Metis Institution to deliver ABE, vocational and technical training to Metis;
- Provincial Metis Housing Corporation which delivers some home improvement programs and other rural and Native housing services;
- Metis Addictions Commission of Saskatchewan Inc. which provides institutional and

community based programming to chemical addicts; and

- SNEDCO which is a Class B loans corporation and which also delivers an equity loans program and a Business Advisory service.

The Metis Society of Saskatchewan (MSS), the province and the federal government are involved in Tri-partite discussions regarding the development of a Metis role in program delivery. Although the MSS characterizes these discussions as leading to self-government, the position of the province is that the constitutional and legal basis for self-government does not exist at the present time.

Current government programming for Metis is more limited and restrictive than programs delivered in the 1970s and 1980s. The city does not have any programs targeted at Aboriginal peoples except an employment equity program. The Regina Economic Development Authority (REDA) which is a quasi-public city agency, has an Aboriginal committee with a business development mandate. However, to date there is no evidence of concrete results from its deliberations. The province delivers a grants program to small Metis businesses and provides some business advisory services which are available to Metis entrepreneurs. The federal government through Industry Science and Technology (ISTC) delivers most elements of the previous NEDP programs plus some additional services such as a loans insurance program. However, the current criteria require a high probability of success before a project is funded.

g) Analysis and Evaluation

There is a good deal of service overlap and a lack of co-ordination and integration of program delivery in both the fields of education/training and economic and business development. These are key areas where a single strategy and a single program delivery system is

needed if there is to be substantial improvement in the socio-economic circumstances of Metis.

Other findings of this research project include the following:

- the constitutional status of the Metis needs to be resolved and a legislative base is required to facilitate Metis self-determination;
- a legal definition of Metis is required, an enumeration must be carried out and a Metis register must be established to provide solid data for program planning, development and delivery;
- a legal basis must be provided for the Metis political organization so it is recognized as the one political voice of the Metis in the province;
- the Metis have a youth population double that for the general population. This factor must be allowed for in planning education/training and other programs and services for Metis;
- cultural strengthening and building a positive personal and cultural self-image is important to instil feelings of confidence and self-worth in the Metis population;
- specific employment creation projects should be developed and delivered for those persons not able to or not motivated to improve their skills through formal training and education;
- more emphasis should be placed on integrating Metis into middle and high income employment where personal qualifications make this feasible;
- government and private employers must be encouraged to review their employment policies and practices to remove systemic barriers which limit the employment of Metis;
- the issue of transfer rights of employees who lose their jobs as a result of devolution of

- programs to Aboriginal agencies must be addressed. This problem may negate the efforts of Metis institutions who are attempting to create employment for Metis;
- a variety of family and personal community support services are needed to help Metis deal with social/economic problems stemming from a century of being a marginalized people;
 - Metis women and families need access to affordable and high quality child care services to assist them to pursue education and employment goals;
 - to support the development of Metis businesses a one window agency is required which is controlled by Metis and which delivers a broad range of training, advisory and financial services; and
 - the role of a Metis political organization should be to legislate, to plan and to develop policy and to ensure that the support services needed by Metis businesses are available.

h) Recommendations

Based on the findings of this research project the following recommendations are put forward:

- That a Metis political institution be established which operates on the following principles:
 - o representation by population;
 - o control of its own resource base;
 - o accountability to its own electors for its use of resources;
 - o control of planning, decision making and program delivery;

- division of powers between legislative, program delivery and judicial functions of government; and
- opposition parties and a free press.
- There be an immediate enumeration of Metis.
- Steps be taken as soon as possible to provide a constitutional basis and a legal basis for Metis self-determination.
- That an integrated strategy and a single Metis organizational system be established to deliver post high school training for Metis.
- That a program of financial assistance be developed to assist Metis who wish to pursue university training.
- Cultural programming be available in the K-12 system for Metis students who wish to participate in such programming.
- The Education/training strategy be based on labour market needs and training be delivered where the best linkages can be made between training and job availability.
- That a variety of employment support programs be available to assist Metis to adjust to work place demands and to integrate into a broad range of occupations.
- That job creation projects be initiated for persons not able to pursue training or who need a transition period before they can integrate into the regular job market.
- That steps be taken to ensure that the provisions of the labour relations act and of collective agreements do not operate to deny Metis employment in their own institutions.
- That one single strategy be developed for the support of Metis businesses and potential

Metis entrepreneurs. This program should be delivered by a Metis organization.

- That the Metis community take steps to establish a full fledged Metis institution in the form of a Metis Credit Union which can offer a broad range of financial services to Metis.
- That a plan be developed for an integrated training/business complex sometimes referred to as an incubator mall.
- That a Metis strategic investment fund be established to enable the Metis community to become partners in medium and larger successful business operations. The strategy should also provide for jobs for Metis to be opened in return for capital investment.

III. Conclusion

To redress problems created over the past century and to effectively implement all of these recommendations may take several decades. However, a start needs to be made now beginning with the provision of the legal framework and citizen base needed for self-government.

SASKNATIVE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

Regina Metis Economic Development

PART I

THE RESEARCH PROJECT

1. Introduction

For the benefit of the reader who may not be familiar with the case studies on Aboriginal economies, the purpose of the research is summarized below.

This research project was contracted by Sasknative Economic Development Corporation (SNEDCO) with the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). RCAP decided to commission a series of case studies which focused on historic/current/future economic development issues of selected Aboriginal communities. The purpose of these case studies can be broadly defined as follows:

- to obtain a better understanding of the economies of Aboriginal communities and the factors which have influenced their development;
- to identify problems and barriers to economic development historically and currently; and
- to collect ideas for improvement of and innovation in economic development strategies for Aboriginal Peoples.

SNEDCO was contacted by the RCAP staff and asked to consider undertaking a contract to do the case study on Regina Metis. SNEDCO engaged a principal researcher to conduct the research. RCAP provided ethical guidelines for the research.

2. Summary of the Research Proposal

a) Project Goals and Objectives

The project goals and objectives are summarized as follows:

- a review of the early history and traditional role of the Metis in the economic development of the Northwest;
- a review of government attitudes and policies toward Metis and how this impacted on their economic position;
- a review of government programs and policies and how they impacted on Metis during the period 1960 to present;
- consultations with the Metis community, government and key business and financial leaders to examine the current situation and to obtain ideas and proposals for Metis economic development; and
- through the consultation process to generate ideas to remove barriers and to propose new and/or innovative solutions and approaches to Metis economic development.

b) Project Personnel

The personnel assigned, contracted and employed by SNEDCO to carry out the project are as follows:

- Lyle Bolen - manager of the SNEDCO Business Advisory Services (BAS), was the project manager.
- Lawrence F. Heinemann was contracted as the principal researcher for the project. His responsibilities were as follows:
 - to plan the overall project;

- select and supervise research assistants;
 - prepare all data collection instruments used in the project;
 - liaison and working relationships with agencies and personnel with diverse sources of information;
 - organizing meetings and workshops;
 - the preparation of the draft and final reports; and
 - the preparation of the summary for publication.
- Two Metis women were hired for the summer as the research assistants. They were MaryJean Kammerer and Tania Fritzler. They assisted with historical and other document research, conducted interviews with Regina Metis and did most of the interviews with personnel from the government, business and financial sectors and with Metis politicians and selected Metis business persons. They also assisted with the Metis local's workshop and the Advisory Committee workshop.

c) Project Methodology

In conducting the research the following methodology was used:

1) Document Research

Information has been gathered from:

- the Metis Archives at Gabriel Dumont Institute. These archives included information from:
 - the public Archives in Ottawa;
 - the Archbishops Archives in St. Boniface;
 - the Manitoba Archives and the Hudson Bay Co. Archives located in the Manitoba Archives;

- Saskatchewan Archives housed at the University of Regina and Saskatoon;
- Glenbow Foundation in Calgary, plus other collateral sources identified during the process of the research; and
- Historical books and reports dealing with the Metis including but not limited to the following:
 - The American Indian Frontier, William Christie McLeod.
 - The Treaties of Canada with the Indian, Alexander Morris.
 - Report of the Select Committee on the Hudson Bay Co. (1857).
 - History of the Northwest, Alexander Begg.
 - Hold High Your Heads, August Tremauden.
 - Manitoba, The Birth of a Province, W.L. Morton.
 - Dominion Lands Policy, Chester Martin.
 - Louis Riel, George F. Stanley.
 - Halfbreed Scrip, Fillmore.
 - All Western Dollars, Peter Lowe.
 - Les Metis Canadian, Marcel Geraud.
- a research report prepared for AMNSIS dated March 31, 1984 and located in the Gabriel Dumont Institute library but which has not been published.
- Government reports and records describing various government programs designed to promote and assist Metis Economic Development.
- Reports of consultants evaluating such government programs.
- The latest Stats Canada Census reports regarding Aboriginal peoples plus some earlier Census Canada reports.

2) Sample Survey of the Metis Community

To obtain general background information and views and the responses of Metis, a sample of 43 Metis selected at random from the membership lists of the two Regina Metis locals, were interviewed. The interviews were conducted by using the questionnaire included as Appendix 1.

3) Workshop

Members of the two Regina Metis locals were invited to attend a half-day workshop where issues and questions relevant to Metis economic development and potential economic development were discussed.

4) Interviews with stakeholders in Metis economic development

The persons interviewed included leaders from the following sectors or stakeholders concerned with economic development generally and/or Metis economic development specifically:

- Metis political and institutional leaders past and present;
- federal, provincial and local government officials;
- a selected group of Metis business persons, some who are successful, some who have failed;
- selected business leaders from the Regina community; and
- selected leaders from the financial community in Regina.

d) Project Advisory Committee

A project advisory committee was established to assist the researchers as follows:

- to obtain input into the research proposal;
- to provide the researchers with the names of contact people in the various stakeholder

- sectors of the community;
- to obtain ideas for the removal of development barriers and/or innovative strategies for economic development; and
- to share findings and to get reactions to these findings.

The advisory committee was composed of persons from the following sectors:

- Metis Women
- Metis Society Locals in Regina
- The area LAMB (Local Area Management Board-Pathways)
- Employment and Immigration Canada (CEIC)
- Department of Industry, Science & Technology, Canada (ISTC)
- Saskatchewan Indian and Metis Affairs Secretariat (SIMAS)
- Department of Economic Development
- Chamber of Commerce
- Regina Economic Development Authority (REDA)
- Statistics Canada (Stats Can.)
- Gabriel Dumont Institute (GDI)
- Child Care, Social Services

The advisory committee met on three occasions. The purpose of each meeting was as follows:

- Orientation meeting - early July
- Proposal and Information Input meeting - August 6, 1993
- Brainstorming workshop - September 9, 1993

e) Project Schedules

The contract with the RCAP set out the following schedule for the research project:

- Interim Report - August 31, 1993
- Complete Draft of Case Study Report - September 30, 1993
- First Revisions - October 31, 1993
- Final Revisions - December 30, 1993

Reviews of the case study report are to be conducted as follows:

- By Commission Staff - October 1 - 19, 1993
- Researchers workshop - October 23 & 24, 1993
- Peer review - November 1 - 30, 1993

Following the submission of the final report, the contract requires SNEDCO to prepare a summary of the report findings for publication by the RCAP.

PART II

THE METIS ORIGINS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE METIS COMMUNITY

1. Regina - Not a Historic Metis Community

Regina was not one of the natural communities which grew up as part of the commercial development of the fur trade in Rupertsland and the Northwest Territories (NWT). Traditional communities which have become some of today's modern communities developed because they were strategically located on a major waterway or at the junction of several waterways. Originally water transportation was the main method of transporting goods and people. Early communities developed at locations which had strategic advantages as centres where furs and certain other primary products were exchanged for manufactured goods.¹

Regina is not located on a major water transport route, nor was it located on any of the overland Red River cart routes which developed during the later stages of the fur trade economy. Large quantities of manufactured goods and raw products moved over these routes.² Regina, in fact, was an artificially created community, which was originally selected as the headquarters for the capital of the NWT. The government then moved some civil servants who were responsible for Indian Affairs, for Dominion lands and for land development in the Northwest, to Regina. By the time Regina was incorporated as a town in 1884, the fur trade economy and the exploitation of the prairie bison was coming to a close. The new era economy of the Northwest was to be based on immigration and the exploitation of the prairie land. The decision was made to build the transcontinental railway using a southern route. Regina was established on this route and this generated growth in preparation for the railroad. The decisions which led to Regina becoming the

capital of the NWT and later the capital of the new province of Saskatchewan were political and bureaucratic decisions and not economic decisions.

There was never a Metis community at the Regina location prior to the selection of the site. There were Metis families who settled in the Regina census area prior to and during the 1880's. The Regina census area took in the Metis communities at Lebret, Fort Qu'Appelle and the File Hills. Several early Metis families who settled in Regina, generally provided some service to, or were employed by the new government bureaucracy.³

The Metis population of Regina grew slowly. It was not until the 1930's that there was an identifiable Metis community in Regina. Metis came to Regina as migrants from other communities in the Regina census area and in the NWT where the historic role and economy of these communities was connected to the fur trade. Further, most Metis migrants to Regina came after the economies in their communities of origin had declined or ceased to exist. Metis generally left these communities after they had become marginalized both economically and socially. In their move to Regina, they usually continued to occupy marginal social and economic positions.

To understand the economic position of Regina Metis it is necessary to briefly review the fur trade and the role of the Metis in the Northwest community.

2. The Origins of the Metis

As is generally known, the ancestors of today's Metis were the Indigenous Aboriginal population and the early fur traders. Trade relationships with the Indian tribes of the Northwest

¹ August Tremauden, Hold High Your Heads, (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1982), p.p. 10 - 11.

² Alexander Begg, History of the Northwest, Volume 1 (Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Company, 1894), p.p. 298 - 299.

³ 1891 Canada Census.

began during the 17th century, as both the French trading company and the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) began to trade with the Indians. This trading originally took place at the headwaters of the great rivers of the Northwest. It gradually moved inland as competition between the companies intensified and the demand for furs and other products increased.

During the early period of this development, the tendency was for children of the liaisons between the fur traders and Indian women to be absorbed either into the new settler communities or by the Indigenous Aboriginal tribes. As trade moved further inland, permanent trading posts were established at locations distant from settlements in central Canada. These new communities required a more permanent and stable work force made up of managers, traders and those who performed a variety of labour functions in the fur trade. The work force initially was made up of persons of European ancestry who would take Indian wives. They established semi-permanent homes where the children of these liaisons were raised. The children absorbed some of the culture of both parents. Over a period of time, a new cultural group emerged. They were to play an important role in the trade and later commercial development of and settlement of the Northwest of Canada.⁴

They, however, were not a homogenous population with a homogenous culture. The "Broise Brule", later to become known as "Metis", were of French origin, spoke French and developed a culture based on the French culture and the values of the Roman Catholic church. Those of English ancestry, originally referred to as "half castes" and later to be referred to as "halfbreeds", developed a culture based on British traditions and the values of the dominant Protestant churches (Anglican and Presbyterian).⁵ The Canadian government, when it joined the

⁴ Extracts from Minutes of a Hearing of the Select Committee on the Hudson Bay Company, 1857, p.p. 43, 58, 91 - 92, 438. Public Archives of Canada.

⁵ Tremauden, p.p. 3 - 4.

Northwest to Canada in 1869 and in later legislation, referred to all persons of mixed Aboriginal and European ancestry as "halfbreeds". It dealt with them legislatively and administratively as if they were one homogenous group.⁶ (For the purpose of this report, this diverse population will be referred to as "Metis".)

As the population of Metis increased, Metis gradually began to replace European workers from Great Britain and the Courier de bois from central Canada as the major work force in the fur trade. They became the preferred work force for several reasons which included the following:

- the Metis had important family connections with the Indian tribes which facilitated trade relationships;
- they had an intimate knowledge of the country and knew how to live off the land;
- they were indigenous to the area of the trade and provided a more stable work force; and
- they provided a less costly work force.⁷

3. The Emergence and Dispersal of the Metis Community

Throughout the history of the fur trade most of the chief traders and factors (managers) of the fur trade and of the trading posts were persons either from or of European origin. With a few notable exceptions, Metis were not allowed to occupy these positions of trust and influence (many of the original Metis were the sons and daughters of the managerial class). The Metis children grew up around the trading posts or may have travelled with their fathers on inland trading expeditions.⁸

As the system of trading posts penetrated west to the Pacific and north to the Arctic, the

⁶ Tremauden, Chapter 1.

⁷ Tremauden, Chapter 2.

⁸ Begg, p.p. 295 - 304.

Metis became dispersed throughout the Northwest. Permanent settlements grew up around the trading posts. The settlers were primarily the Metis whose numbers and influence increased over time. Some worked as clerks and labourers at the trading posts themselves. The majority worked on the boat brigades that plied the Churchill, the Saskatchewan, the Peace and the McKenzie rivers and their many tributaries.⁹

The Company of New France, which became the Northwest Company (NWC) after the fall of New France to the British in 1763, had been very aggressive in exploring and expanding its trading empire into the Northwest.¹⁰ The HBC, for the first 100 years of its presence in Rupertsland, was content to do its trading at posts around Hudson Bay. The Cree tribes acted as middlemen trading with tribes farther inland. It was not until the NWC began to penetrate territory which had been granted to the HBC under its Royal Charter that the latter company became active in pushing its network of trading posts inland.

This competition at times deteriorated into open conflict with halfbreeds pitted against Metis in the process. It was, however, through this process of competition that the Metis became dispersed throughout the Northwest. Well known communities such as Cumberland House, Prince Albert, Green Lake, Ile a la Crosse, La Loche, St. Albert, to name a few, were established during this period.¹¹

4. The Metis Role in the Early Fur Trade

Because of the great distances from the headquarters of the trading companies in Montreal (NWC) and Moose Factory (HBC), the companies established divisional points along the major

⁹ Begg, p.p. 295 - 304.

¹⁰ Begg, p.p. 295 - 304.

¹¹ Tremauden, Chapter 1 & Chapter 2.

rivers. Significant settlements grew up at these locations where the Metis established permanent homes. For example, on the southern route, Fort Garry was one of these major divisional points. The trading post provided employment for a small core of workers. The major employment was with the boat brigades which took manufactured goods inland and brought out raw furs. The trade required many boats and usually up to nine men were required to man each boat.¹² The next divisional point on the Lake Winnipeg - Saskatchewan River route was Cumberland House. The boatmen would unload their cargo of manufactured goods there and take on a cargo of furs for the return trip. At Cumberland House, another boat brigade took goods inland to La Loche and returned with furs. In this manner, the trade route stretched to the mouth of the McKenzie River in the Arctic.

The HBC had its territory along the Churchill River system divided up in a similar manner. In the late 1700s, the HBC began to develop an inland network of trading posts and began to utilize the Metis labour force. Competing trading posts were often located close to each other, duplicating the labour needs of the fur trade.¹³

Much of the labour was of a seasonal nature, that is summer employment. In the winter season, some Metis became independent trappers and/or hunted and fished to provide food for themselves and for the trading post personnel. In time, some even became private traders. As well, in a few communities where soil and climate conditions were favourable, some limited food was grown and sold to the developing church missions as well as to the trading posts.¹⁴

The church missions, with which the Metis had strong religious connections, also provided some employment and generated some economic activities. The missions employed a few people

¹² Begg, from the Journals of Harmon, p.p. 295 - 298.

¹³ Extracts from Select Committee on the Hudson Bay Company, p.p. 43, 58, 91 - 92.

¹⁴ McLeod and Morton, Cuthbert Grant of Grantown: Warden of the Plains, (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart,

for various labouring functions locally. As missionaries moved inland to visit Indian tribes, the Metis provided them with transportation and acted as guides and interpreters.¹⁵

Except for occasional clashes between groups aligned with the two companies, this period of the fur trade saw the Metis prosper and come to play a key role in the fur trade. Permanent homes were established where the families spent time year around and where the men lived when not out on the river boats or on the hunt. Some social institutions developed around the church. The church provided some schooling, medical care and organized the social activities. The homes were all built from logs and furnished with the necessities of the day.¹⁶

The following is a description of a Metis home taken from a book edited by August Tremauden, title in English Hold High Your Heads:

"The cabins ... were made of sawed tree trunks ... The axe was the only tool used for this work. They filled the chinks ... with clay. The inside and outside were whitewashed. The ... roofs were covered with thatch. ... A single door between two windows with panes of scrapped skin allowed both light and inhabitants to enter the only room ... which often had no floor A clay fireplace filled part of the wall at the far end. A big curtained bed for the parents and cots for the children stood against the other walls. A solid table flanked by two benches, a roughly made arm chair, a rocking chair for the elderly, a simple set of cooking utensils, a small mirror, some chests, a few ... robes, a flintlock or musket ... a powder horn, a bag of shot ..., some nets, an axe, apparatus for lighting the fire, a crucifix or saints statue and a few holy pictures made up the furnishings of most cottages."¹⁷

1974), p.p. 141 - 142. Also see Tremauden, Chapter 1.

¹⁵ Tremauden, Chapter 1.

¹⁶ Tremauden, Chapter 2.

¹⁷ Tremauden

5. The Merger of the Fur Companies

The competition for trade in goods and furs led to occasional skirmishes between the traders and fur brigades and drove down the price of goods exchanged for furs. This competition had a devastating effect on the profitability of the fur trade. The HBC was headquartered in Great Britain. Its relatively high labour costs made it unprofitable. The NWC located in Montreal was better located to manage its trade. It made extensive use of Metis labour and had much lower costs which enabled it to continue to prosper.

A new element was added to this competition in the early 1800s. Lord Selkirk, a major shareholder in the HBC, decided to bring Scottish settlers to live in the Red River area. The story of the settlers and how this led to a more serious outbreak of violence at a location called "Seven Oaks" is well known. It is also well known that following these events, the British government interceded and eventually brought pressure to bear on the two companies to merge. What is not generally known is that, although the new company was to use the name the HBC, the management and control of the company effectively passed over to the shareholders and managers of the NWC.

Another result of this merger was the major restructuring which took place in the fur trade. The practice was to establish competing trading posts close to each other at most of the major trading locations. With the merger, all of these duplicate trading posts were closed. The result was that a large number of employees at these posts were put out of work.¹⁸

The HBC, from the time it established Fort Garry in the late 1700s, had laid claim to the right to make land allotments to settlers along the Red River and its tributaries. It had encouraged some limited settlement of the Metis workforce at these locations and of retired

European employees who became known as the old settlers. The number of settlers engaged in agriculture was still small prior to 1821 when the companies merged. Those who were left unemployed by the first major restructuring in the economy of the Northwest were encouraged to migrate to the Red River area and were promised land. Much of the surplus Metis labour from the system of trading posts migrated to the Red River to take up land and agriculture.¹⁹ By the 1840s, the population of the area along the Red River and its tributaries had reached 4000. As the Metis population grew and the fur trade began to decline, the migration to the Red River continued and by 1869, the population had reached close to 12000.²⁰

6. The New Economy of the Northwest

Following 1821 and up to the 1880s a new economy emerged in the Northwest. The trade in goods and furs did not continue to play as important a role in the new economy. By 1869 probably only about half of the population was directly engaged in the fur trade. Also the nature of the fur trade was changing. The Metis who were displaced from the trade made a transition to the new economy which they in part created, without experiencing serious economic hardships. The new economic activities included agriculture, overland transportation, the buffalo hunt and the emergence of the private Metis traders. To demonstrate the viability and resourcefulness of the Metis community, we briefly examine each of these developments:

a) Agriculture

The farms of the Metis established according to the survey system adopted from the French were primarily self-sufficient farm units. They produced some surplus produce which was sold

¹⁸ S. E. E. Rich, The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857, (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1967).

¹⁹ McLeod and Morton & Tremauden.

²⁰ Begg, p.p. 367 - 369.

to the HBC, the church missions, and to the independent merchant class emerging in the settlements. The east/west trade routes did not make it economically feasible to transport surplus farm produce to central Canada. The seed and animals required for these rapidly expanding settlements could not be easily brought from the east. As a result, trade began to shift to north/south routes. The bulk of the goods were brought in from St. Paul in exchange for surplus produce and other products such as buffalo hides. Some cattle were obtained in St. Paul but the bulk of the animals imported to the Northwest were obtained in Omaha. However, no significant exports of agricultural products developed.²¹

This shift in trading patterns led to two other developments, overland transportation and the emergence of the private trader.

b) Overland Transportation

The need for overland transportation to St. Paul and Omaha led to the development of the unique "goods carrier" the Red River cart. As well, the HBC saw the advantages of overland transportation for its trade in goods and furs. The water transportation did not disappear, particularly for locations easily accessible by water routes. However, the Red River carts provided a supplement to water transport. This form of transport had a number of advantages for the Company. Many destinations could be reached more directly and more quickly overland. The frequent labour disputes with its boatmen were more easily suppressed. The Metis who owned the Red River carts were private entrepreneurs. They moved freight for a poundage rate, which was more attractive to the HBC than the cost of water transport. Competition among carters and between them and water transport kept rates low. Begg, in his history of the Northwest, indicates that by the mid 1800s as many as 1500 carts were employed moving goods

²¹ Tremauden, Chapter 2.

between Fort Garry and St. Paul. Up to another 500 were employed carrying goods into the Northwest. One man was required for each three carts. At this time up to 700 persons were directly employed operating the Red River carts and up to 2000 oxen were required to move the carts.²² This provided a good market for excess animals from the farms.

c) The Private Traders

As the population of the Red River increased after the 1820s, a new class of merchants or independent traders emerged. The HBC claimed a monopoly over trade under its charter. It made many efforts to enforce its claim including the seizure of goods being transported, imprisonment of violators and court action to stop the traders. A famous court case in 1849, the Sayer trial, became a watershed for the activities of the private traders. Sayer was found guilty but the HBC did not have the ability to enforce the verdict. Sayer was escorted out of the court by other traders. The company then attempted to use its wealth and influence in direct competition with the traders as a means of putting them out of business.²³

Private traders were responsible for the north/south shift in transportation routes. The HBC had to adjust much of its trade to the north/south corridor as well to compete with the private traders. Private traders also began to trade inland for furs with Indian and Metis trappers. They employed substantial numbers of Metis in trade and transportation.

d) The Buffalo Hunt

For the Indians of the prairies, the buffalo hunt had always provided a major stable food supply. The fur companies had traded with Indians for pemmican to supplement their own supplies of food. Metis who lived on the prairies sometimes joined the Indian hunt or conducted

²² Begg, p.p. 298 - 299.

their own hunt. However, except for food and the clothing and robes made from the hides, buffalo hides were not a major item sought by the companies for export to Europe.

The resettlement of large numbers of Metis at the Red River led to the growth of Metis hunting expeditions.²⁴ Originally, as described by Tremauden and Begg, the hunt was to provide for community food supplies and hides for clothing. However, new technology was developing which resulted in the buffalo being hunted for their hides alone. This new technology was related to the industrial development of the eastern and mid-west US and the activities of private traders.

Industrial development required large quantities of strong leather to make belts for the machinery in factories. The traders met this need by encouraging the Metis to hunt for the hides alone. Between 1825 and 1840, the numbers of carts assembled to pursue the hunt increased from approximately 500 to over 1200. The senseless massacre of the buffalo resulted in their virtual extinction by the mid 1880s. The hunt provided a significant economic stimulus to the Northwest for approximately a half century. In the end, it achieved an important policy objective of Sir John A. McDonald and the Canadian government. The disappearance of the buffalo paved the way for large scale European immigration and the introduction of European and American methods of farming.

This development, coupled with other political and policy developments, was to have a devastating effect on the Metis as we will explore in Part III of this report.

7. The Education and Values of the Metis

There was no formal education system, either public or private in the Northwest during the

²³ Begg, p.p. 303 - 304, Chapter 6 & Chapter 16.

²⁴ Tremauden, p.p. 14 - 15 & Begg, p.p. 299 - 304.

period when the Metis community was developing. Learning took place primarily on-the-job and in the home. This method of educating served the needs of the people in a developing frontier society. Most Metis spoke French because it was the primary language of commerce of the day. Those brought up in English homes would also speak English. Almost all Metis could converse in Cree, having learned the language either from their mothers or in the course of their contacts with the Indians. Some formal education was provided to promising children selected by the clergy at mission schools. The church recruited students with the goal of educating them as priests or ministers. Some indeed did pursue such vocations. One such person was the Reverend Henry Budd, a well known Presbyterian minister of the day. Others, such as Alexander Kennedy Isbister, having received some education, migrated to England where he took up legal studies and became a well known lawyer. He championed the cause of the Metis during the hearings of the Select Committee on the HBC in the 1850s. Others, such as Louis Riel, began to study for the priesthood. He then left his studies and worked for a year in a lawyer's office before returning to his community where he became a politician and statesman.

It is obvious from the events outlined above that the Metis, for a century before Manitoba became a province, were an independent, self-sufficient and economically successful community. What was the value system on which this economic success was based? From the descriptions of their development and role in the economy of the Northwest, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- the Metis were a very ingenious and adaptable people as they were able to adjust to changes in the Northwest economy and develop new ways of participating in the economy;
- they worked hard, putting in long hours and putting up with deprivation when

- circumstances required;
- although very independent, they were also loyal to their employers when this was required;
 - they were able to use the resources available to provide food and shelter for themselves and their families;
 - the buffalo hunt showed them as capable of fairly complex methods of organization;
 - when necessary, as on the hunt, they were capable of being highly disciplined as evidenced by the Laws of the Buffalo Hunt (generally known as the Laws of the Prairie);
 - they were renowned for their honesty;
 - they showed an ability to govern themselves as was evident in the proceedings of the provisional government of the Red River and in the laws they developed for their communities such as the Laws of St. Laurent and the Laws of St. Albert;
 - they were generous and quick to help those in need; and
 - "They esteemed peace but held justice still more dear".²⁵

Along with these values, there were social and religious values, if not important to their economic success, certainly a product of an economically successful people. Tremauden and others described some of these values as follows:

- they had a deep respect for the priests and ministers and would go to great lengths to assist them in their mission work;
- they liked fun and merriment. Storytelling, fiddling, dancing, and parties were cherished. Reunions, weddings, feasts, and religious holidays were opportunities to socialize and have a good time; and
- strict moral codes governed the relationships between men and women.²⁶

The one failing of the Metis men was their excessive use of alcoholic beverages at social events and on their return from their voyages. The excess use of liquor was of enough concern that the priests of the Red River began an active campaign against the evils of drinking. Hard liquor was often provided by the HBC traders as part of the workers pay. As well, beer and wine were produced by the Metis using local ingredients.²⁷

This brief review provides a picture of how the Metis community grew, developed and flourished in an environment which permitted and encouraged their economic participation. Given access to economic resources and the right to sell their labour in a competitive market, the Metis were economically successful. Next, we will briefly examine the events which led to the reversal of their economic fortunes and their decline into poverty. We will also examine how the Metis were deliberately relegated to a marginal economic and social position in the developing Northwest.

²⁵ Tremauden, Chapter 1 & Chapter 2.

²⁶ Tremauden & Begg

²⁷ Correspondence from The Archbishop's Archive in St. Boniface.

PART III

THE MARGINALIZATION OF THE METIS AND THEIR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DECLINE

1. New Economic Directions

By the 1860s, political, economic and environmental factors were beginning to change in ways which the Metis were not aware of and/or did not understand. The HBC had recognized as early as 1848 that the fur trade would not continue to be profitable in the long term. Sir Edmund Head, resident Governor of the Company at the time, saw his task as reorganizing the trade to make it profitable in the short term while seeking out means by which the Company could turn the terms of its charter into long term and profitable development. This, he believed would be based on the exploitation of other resources including land, timber and minerals.²⁸

At the same time, the newly created Union of Upper and Lower Canada was developing plans for territorial expansion. In addition, the British government had two major concerns. Firstly, it was experiencing increasing problems and incurring increasing expenses attempting to govern and maintain law, order and peace in the NWT. Since the events at Seven Oaks, Great Britain had maintained a military detachment at Fort Garry.²⁹

Secondly, the United States (USA) government was also developing territorial ambitions. It was planning to lay claim to the Northwest and join it as a colony or state to the USA. Both the British and Canadian politicians were alarmed by this prospect. Therefore, negotiations began in 1860 between the British and Canadian governments and the HBC for all of the territory covered by the Rupertsland Charter plus the remainder of the NWT to be joined as a colony to

Canada. When the Fathers of Confederation formed the British North America Act, which was passed by the British Parliament in 1867 (The BNA Act 1867), they provided for the four original provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The Act also provided for the colonies, Prince Edward Island, British Columbia and Newfoundland to join as provinces at a later date. As well, they provided for Rupertsland and the Northwest Territories to become part of Canada at a later date and to be under the direct administration of the Canadian Government in Ottawa.³⁰

2. The Implications for the Metis

Part of the agreement made by the negotiating parties was the relinquishment by the HBC of its charter and its rights under the charter to govern the territory. The British government in turn transferred the territory and the governing rights to Canada. The interests of the HBC were provided for as follows:

- the Company would continue to have the right to pursue the fur trade and other trade in goods;
- the Company retained all of its trading posts and a generous block of land around each post; and

²⁸ Extracts from minutes of Hearings of the Select Committee on the HBC, 1857, p.p. 438.

²⁹ Stanley, Chapter 4 & 5.

³⁰ The BNA Act, 30 & 31, Victorie Chapter 3, 1867.

- the Company would be allocated two sections of land, including mineral rights, in every township (36 sections) when the land was surveyed. In total, the Company would gain title to approximately five (5) percent of all the land in Rupertsland.³¹

The agreements between the two governments and the Company made no provision for the inhabitants of the NWT. Nor did it recognize any rights of the population or existing governing arrangements which they had developed during the reign of the HBC. There was already legislation dealing with Indians in both Upper and Lower Canada. This legislation was consolidated as an Act Respecting Indians, by the new government headed by Prime Minister John A. McDonald. However, there was no mention of the Metis or other inhabitants of the area in the agreement with the HBC or in the BNA Act provisions which made Indians a federal government responsibility. The British Government proceeded to draft and pass legislation to transfer Rupertsland to Canada. There was no consultation with and no provisions regarding the rights of the inhabitants other than the Indians. The actual transfer of ownership and governing rights of Rupertsland and the NWT took place in 1869.

Because of the limitations of communication facilities at the time, news of the impending change spread by word of mouth and became the subject of much rumour. If the Canadian government was aware of the political problems developing in the Northwest, it took no steps to deal with them. The population of the Red River parishes at the time was estimated to be approximately 12 to 15 thousand. It was estimated that approximately an equal number of inhabitants (other than Indians) were widely dispersed throughout Rupertsland and the NWT.³²

³¹ Documents related to the Rupertsland transfer agreement found in the 1820 sessional papers and Statutes of Canada, An Act to Establish the Department of the Secretary of State; An Act for the Temporary Government of Rupertsland, 1869.

³² Excerpts from Ritchot's Diary; W. L. Morton, Manitoba, the Birth of a Province, (Manitoba: Record Society Publishing, 1967).

The Metis and other settlers of the Red River were the ones who were most quickly and seriously affected. The ownership of the lands they occupied, as well as other land rights, their commercial rights and their self-government rights were not protected. The Canadian government refused to give the inhabitants any verbal assurances regarding their rights. Instead surveyors were sent to the Red River settlement to carry out a legal survey of the land.

By this time, a new system of land survey, known as the Torrens System, had been developed by an American engineer. Because of the relative simplicity of the system, both in terms of the actual surveys and the registration and transfer of title, the Canadian government adopted this system.

Matters came to a head when surveyors dispatched to the area began to lay out survey lines which cut across properties which were owned and/or occupied by Metis inhabitants. As mentioned earlier, the lands they occupied had been surveyed according to the River lot system. These lots ran back two miles from the river and were approximately 40 rods wide (220 yards), which was the equivalent of 1/4 section or 160 acres. As well, the river lot residents claimed haying rights on an additional two mile lot in the rear of their river lots. The Torrens system was based on the American measure of acres, with land being surveyed into sections of 640 acres (one square mile) and subdivided into four quarter sections.

Because of rumours of the impending takeover by the Canadian government, the Metis in the parish of St. Norbert, one of the most southern parishes began to organize. The leaders were a priest, Father Ritchot, and a Metis, Maxime Lepine. When the surveyors arrived the Metis sought a meeting with the head surveyor, Colonel Boulton, to express their concerns. Boulton took the position that he had no authority to deal with the Metis and must proceed to carry out his orders to conduct the survey. When the survey actually began, a group of Metis lead by Maxime

Lepine stopped the surveyors and ordered them off their property. A stalemate developed in that the surveyors were not prepared to proceed with the survey in the face of opposition from local residents. Meanwhile, the Metis in all of the parishes, fearing they would be displaced from their homes, began to organize politically. They recognized their need for a credible leader to help develop and present their concerns and demands to the Canadian authorities.³³

Louis Riel had returned to the Red River in the spring of 1869 after a number of years of absence. He had left the settlement as a young teenager to go to Montreal. There he had studied for the priesthood. Before completing his studies, he left the Catholic Seminary and spent some time apprenticing as a clerk in the law firm of Rudolf LaFlamme (LaFlamme was also the leader of a new Quebec political party, "The Parti Rouge" which eventually joined with the Ontario Grits to form the Liberal party). After approximately a year, Riel left this employment and went to Chicago, where he spent approximately a year before returning to the Red River.³⁴

The local Metis, recognizing his oratorical and leadership skills, approached him to present their case to the Canadian authorities.³⁵

3. Riel and the Formation of the Province of Manitoba

Riel spoke to Boulton regarding the concerns of the Metis settlers. Boulton responded by indicating that he was only carrying out his orders and could not deal with Metis grievances. When MacDonald heard the news, he hastily arranged for the appointment of Lieutenant Governor McDougall. At the same time, the government sped up construction on the Dawson road from Thunder Bay to Fort Garry. This project began a year earlier and was to give the

³³ Excerpts from Ritchot's Diary.

³⁴ W. L. Morton, Manitoba, the Birth of a Province.

³⁵ Excerpts from Ritchot's Diary.

Canadian government quicker access to the territory. When Boulton resumed his survey in the fall in the parish of St. Vital, the Metis decided to form a National Committee to organize the Metis into a provisional government. After a convention of all of the French and English parishes, a provisional government was established with Riel as president. The outcome of their deliberations was the drafting of a Bill of Rights to be presented to the Canadian government. Steps were also taken to prevent McDougall from entering the territory from the USA until the Canadian government dealt with Metis demands.³⁶

The Bill of Rights contained the following which the Metis considered essential to a settlement of their grievances:

- that the settlers be confirmed in the possession of land they currently occupied and used;
- that additional land be set aside for the Metis children;
- that the Red River and adjacent settlements enter Canada as a province with provincial self-government rights and control over the public domain;
- that free trade for the inhabitants be guaranteed;
- that there be no excise taxes for goods entering or leaving the new province;
- separate schools be guaranteed; and
- that the vote be guaranteed for all males 21 and over.³⁷

It is clear from reviewing MacDonald's correspondence with McDougall, other officials in government and officials already at the Red River settlement that he was of the view that the Metis of the Red River should be granted no rights. His comments were, at times, both racist and

³⁶ Stanley, Chapter 4 & 5.

³⁷ W. L. Morton, Manitoba, the Birth of a Province, p.p. 140.

intolerant.³⁸ At the same time, MacDonald was a politician and realist who recognized that a military operation in the Northwest would be very costly and that it was, therefore, desirable to settle the claims of the Metis and other settlers to avoid open conflict. The following excerpts from his letters to McDougall are typical of his personal views on the one hand and his political approach on the other:

- November 27, 1869 - MacDonald to McDougall

"We have no intention of giving up the country and we shall make preparations for a military operation in the spring..."

- December 12, 1869 - MacDonald to McDougall

"The cost of sending a military force will be so enormous that, ... , it would be a pecuniary gain to spend a considerable sum of money ... buying off the insurgents ..."

In a later letter to John Rose, a Member of Parliament, he commented as follows:

- February 23, 1870 - MacDonald to John Rose

"Everything looks well for a delegation coming to Ottawa, including the redoubtable Riel. If we get him here, as you must know pretty well by this time, he is a gone coon."³⁹

4. The Provisions for the Settlement of Claims and the Consequences for the Metis

Riel, sensing the danger to himself personally, did not accompany the Red River delegation to Ottawa. However, with some modifications to the provisions in the Bill of Rights, an agreement was struck in the spring of 1870. The details of the settlement were entrenched in the Manitoba Act, which is one of Canada's constitutional documents. The one essential element in the Bill of Rights which the Metis were not successful in obtaining was ownership and control of

³⁸ MacDonald Papers, (Public Archives of Canada, 1869).

³⁹ Excerpts from MacDonald's Papers.

the land and other natural resources which all of the original provinces had attained. This shifted control over settlement of Metis land claims from the new province to the central government.

The Act provided for the Federal government to confirm title to river lots, including hayland rights. It also provided for land to be set aside for the children of the "Halfbreed Heads of Families".⁴⁰ The method selected to confirm the titles to river lots was complex and convoluted. It is outlined in detail in a research report of the Manitoba Metis Federation.⁴¹ Several false starts to the process were made. The whole process took 10 years to complete. Meanwhile, racism against the Metis was being stirred up by the United Empire loyalist, Dr. Christian Schultz, and the racist Orangeman, Clarke. As new settlers flooded into the settlement from Ontario, the majority of whom were Orangemen, a deliberate policy of intimidation and racism was carried out resulting in the deaths of several Metis. As a result, many Metis families signed over their land rights by way of quit claim deeds to buyers such as Dr. Schultz and Donald Smith for a small cash settlement. They set out to establish new homes in the Northwest where they believed they would be beyond the grasp of the Canadian government and the racist Orangemen.⁴²

The method chosen to distribute land to the children of the families was money scrip issued in \$20 denominations and made negotiable to the bearer. The scrip could be located on any open Dominion Land (land not already occupied or committed for some other purpose). The speculation and outright fraud in the use of scrip has been well documented. Small sums of cash were received by some Metis for their scrip. Other families left without claiming their entitlements under the Manitoba Act. A genealogy, showing the dispersal of the Red River Metis

⁴⁰ The Manitoba Act, 1870.

⁴¹ Final Report of the Manitoba Land Commission, D. N. Sprague, University of Manitoba (1979 - 1980).

⁴² Final Report of the Manitoba Metis Land Commission.

to communities in the Northwest was prepared by the Manitoba Metis Land Commission.⁴³ By 1886, all of the lands provided for under the terms of the Manitoba Act had been patented. The records show that only 20% of the lands remained in the ownership of the allottees. The majority of these owners were English halfbreeds who were favoured by the Ottawa government and its officials for racial reasons and because of their cooperation with authorities. Evidence of this is the fact that the English halfbreed claims were dealt with first and most claims had been confirmed before the consideration of the French Metis claims began.

The Metis who stayed generally found that they had minimal influence in the settlement. Their freedom to trade, hunt and supplement their farm income was seriously curtailed. Those who moved west and north established new homes and for a time carried on a lifestyle similar to that of the previous half century.⁴⁴

5. The Metis in the Northwest

The Metis of the Red River generally settled in communities where they already had relatives and friends living. They went to communities such as Camperville, Brochet, The Pas and Cranberry Portage, in what is now Manitoba. In present day Saskatchewan, they migrated to communities such as Lebret, Crescent Lake, Lac Vert, Prince Albert, Batoche, Fish Creek, Willowbunch, Cypress Hills and Ile a la Crosse. In present day Alberta, they settled in communities such as St. Albert, St. Paul, Lac La Biche and Slave Lake. In these communities, they established new homes and carried on their lives as previously. They believed they were beyond the reach of the Canadian government, the racist Orangemen and the greedy speculators.

For a time, they continued to enjoy their freedom and lived well, harvesting the resources

⁴³ Final Report of the Metis Land Commission.

of furs, game, buffalo, timber and wild foods for their own use. At locations such as Lebreton, Batoche, Prince Albert and St. Albert some took up farming again. However, a new set of circumstances would emerge which would quickly plunge many of these families into abject poverty.

These included the following:

- The intense harvesting pressure on fur bearing animals had greatly reduced their numbers.
- Some white settlers were beginning to come into the territory and the government sent surveyors to prepare the way for settlement and for the railway.
- Overfishing in the lakes and rivers of the Northwest resulted in this source of food becoming scarce.
- They could no longer depend on the buffalo herds for food and hides.
- A serious drought in the 1880s in the prairie region coupled with the other factors cited above resulted in a virtual collapse of the economy.
- There were few raw materials to be traded for goods. The other native foods and domesticated food supplies were in short supply because of the drought.

Widespread poverty, hunger and deprivation resulted. This factor, along with concern over title to land being occupied by Metis and land grants for the children, brought the issue of Metis rights to the forefront again. Beginning in the late 1870s and through 1885, numerous petitions from all parts of the territory were sent to Ottawa. These petitions requested that the claims of the Metis of the Northwest be dealt with on the same basis as were the Metis claims in Manitoba.⁴⁵ As was the case with the Metis in Manitoba, the government for a time simply

⁴⁴ Final Report of the Metis Land Commission.

⁴⁵ Tremauden, p.p. 112 - 116, Stanley, p.p. 247 - 253, Chronicles of St. Laurent, 1870 - 1884, Oblate Archives,

ignored the petitioners. MacDonald was preoccupied with problems connected with the building of the railway to the Pacific. In addition, the Canadian government had adopted a policy of inducement to railway building by offering large land grants to the companies building the railroad. Therefore, the government did not wish to make any land commitments until this policy could be confirmed by surveys.

The ignoring of the petitions resulted in the Metis once again organizing to attempt to force the government to deal with them. The mythology generally attributes the demands of the Metis to Riel and a group of other trouble makers at Batoche. However, there was widespread dissatisfaction and agitation in the Northwest not just among Metis but also among the Indians and white settlers. This explains the involvement of Indians in the 1885 resistance and the support and involvement of white settlers such as Jackson from Prince Albert who acted as advisor and secretary to Riel during the Northwest resistance.

The MacDonald government finally acted to deal with the concerns of the Northwest Metis in the spring of 1885. This was done through amendments to the Dominion Lands Act. The Act made provision for the land claims of the Metis. The government was also preparing to send a military detachment to the Northwest to support the efforts of the Northwest Mounted Police to establish and maintain peace, law and order.⁴⁶ This action was, however, too late to head off the Metis resistance. The Metis of the Batoche area established a provisional government and took control of the area and of various government and commercial activities in the area. The first conflict happened by chance when Dumont and a group of Metis encountered a brigade of Northwest Mounted Police (NWMP) from Fort Carlton, at Duck Lake. They assumed the police had come to impose their authority on the Metis. A pitched battle resulted in which a number of

police personnel plus a few Metis were killed. The government then moved quickly to dispatch troops to the Northwest to put down the "Rebellion".

The reason for the action being centred at Batoche related to the fact that there was a fairly large settlement of Metis in that general area. They had settled on river lots according to the survey system of the Red River. The settlements included Batoche, St. Laurent, St. Louis, Fish Creek, Halcro, Prince Albert and Duck Lake. Some of the key men in the settlements such as Louis Schmidt and Maxime Lepine had been involved in the events at the Red River in 1869. They were instrumental in convincing the people of the area to send an emissary to meet with Riel in the spring of 1885. They invited him to come to Batoche to again champion the Metis cause and lead the Metis. Riel, who at the time was working in a Catholic Mission in Montana, agreed to return. The result was the "Northwest Rebellion". This history is well known and celebrated even today. But what is not well known is the tragic impact which followed for the Metis.

6. The Metis Immediately After the Resistance

As was the situation after the Red River resistance, the Metis in the Northwest were subjected to intense discrimination and racism. This took a number of forms including revenge, intimidation, broken promises, and political and bureaucratic collusion. Revenge took the form of pillage by the soldiers and legal action against those who were held responsible for the uprising. In regard to the former, the following excerpts from a letter by Royale, a Manitoba politician, to Bishop Tache in the summer of 1885 describe the pillage by the soldiers:

"Alas, mgr., if you could see your poor colony!....all along the right

⁴⁶ Tremauden and Stanley.

bank...there are only ruins. The most beautiful houses are destroyed...All the fields...are a wasteland...often burned. You no longer see the herds which were the wealth of the country. The poor people who have not taken flight are shamed, humiliated..Many have only the clothes on their backs."⁴⁷

Another priest, Vegreville, in a letter to Tache provided a similar account indicating all of the houses had been pillaged and many had been burned.⁴⁸ Many of the Metis directly involved in the uprising fled to Montana. Others moved further North. The survey of the river lots in the Batoche area was completed and titles to the lots were granted to those who remained or later returned.

The completion of the pacific railway and the earlier introduction of steam boats on the Red and Saskatchewan River systems had a major impact on the freighting business. The need for the overland carts to St. Paul came to a quick end. As well, freighting into the interior Northwest was reduced to delivery from rail points and steamer ports to communities not served by these new means of transportation. Even this freighting would disappear by 1910. As a result, large numbers of Metis were put out of business or out of work.

In the Southern prairies, the Metis quickly descended into poverty. Those in the woodland and lake country faired better since they were able to continue their trade in furs, and to fish, hunt and gather berries for some of their food supply. Many also supplemented their food supplies by keeping a garden, a few cows and some chickens.

The method chosen to deal with the Metis claims in the Northwest was again the distribution of money scrip. Some Metis, with the urging of their priests, refused to accept money scrip. Therefore, the government provided an option of land scrip. For the purposes of

⁴⁷ Royale to Tache, July 14, 1885, St. Boniface Archives.

⁴⁸ Vegreville to Tache, May 23, 1885, St. Boniface Archives.

scrip, land was arbitrarily valued at \$1 per acre as was the case in Manitoba. Land scrip rules provided that the scrip could only be located on open Dominion lands by the allottee. Money scrip, as with the Manitoba issue, was made out to the bearer. The speculators who had a practice run in Manitoba refined their techniques and with the assistance of compliant politicians and government officials victimized the Metis on a large scale. The Metis often knew little of what was happening. The majority spoke French and only a few could read or write. The Metis, because of their poverty and the depressed economy, needed immediate cash to survive and generally accepted small sums of money for their scrip. Prices varied over time with early issues generally netting \$1 for every \$3 of scrip. The speculators also found ways of obtaining and registering land scrip in spite of the strict regulations governing its use.⁴⁹

A detailed analysis of government orders in council (O.C.'s) governing scrip plus practices and policies of the department of the interior, Lands Branch, indicates that regulations were bent and/or modified over time to deprive the Metis of the benefit of their scrip and to aid the speculators in their speculative activities. For example, the government set up a system in Ottawa where certain speculators could bank their scrip for future use. This privilege was granted to most chartered banks and to certain other institutional and private speculators. The analysis of what happened to the scrip issued to Metis individuals indicates that of some 26,000 scrip certificates issued, approximately 52% ended up in the hands of chartered banks. The Metis allottees had ended up with only a small amount of cash.

This whole process of divesting the Metis of their land resource base took place over a period of approximately 40 years. It began in Manitoba in the 1870s and lasted through 1910 after the final scrip was issued in conjunction with the signing of Treaty No. 9 with the Indians of

⁴⁹ A Research Report, Association of Metis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan (AMNSIS) completed 1984,

Northwestern Saskatchewan.⁵⁰

In the Southern prairies, the situation of the Metis was generally desperate. Although Metis, in addition to their scrip entitlement, could file for a homestead few families took advantage of this option as few families had the resources to obtain seed and/or animals required to establish themselves.

The primary sources of information about the Metis during the period following 1885 are records of the NWMP and correspondence from the Archbishop's Archives at St. Boniface. NWMP correspondence during the late 1880s and early 1890s contain many references to deprivation and starvation in Metis communities. The problem existed not only in the prairies at places such as Willowbunch, Bresaylor, Pincher Creek, and many other southern communities but also in Northern communities such as Lac La Biche and Slave Lake in Alberta. The NWMP provided a good deal of relief supplies from their own stores to these communities. They relayed many requests for seed for planting crops from these communities to the government in Ottawa.

The government in Ottawa reacted to these requests by initially refusing any assistance. MacDonald argued that the Metis already had an advantage over new settlers and, therefore, should not receive any assistance in the form of seed or relief supplies. NWMP commanding officers were reprimanded for providing relief and were given explicit orders to cease such assistance.⁵¹ Additional references to Metis destitution at the time are found in the Oblate Records and in House of Commons debates. Pressure from the churches and the embarrassment caused by M.P.s who insisted on debating these matters in the House of Commons forced Prime Minister MacDonald to provide seed and animals to assist Metis to get established in farming.

unpublished, Chapter 6.

⁵⁰ Department of the Interior Correspondence, Scrip files, O.C.'s and related materials and reports R.G. 15, public Archives of Canada.

Aid was to be returned in kind. As well, the temporary issue of relief supplies to Metis families was approved.

7. The Economic Role of the Metis During the Settlement Period

Settlement of the Northwest proceeded slowly until the decade of the 1890s. At that time, the number of settlers coming from Europe to the prairies increased significantly. This was due to increased recruiting and promotion by the Canadian government, the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) and the land companies (land companies were granted large blocks of land on condition that the land be settled within a certain time period). The largest wave of immigration took place during the period 1900 to 1914. This development was both positive and negative for the Metis. It was positive in that it provided increased opportunities for seasonal jobs. It was negative in that it forced many Metis to abandon crown lands on which they had settled.⁵²

Although some Metis took up homesteads, others moved North into the forested country where they were able to live off the game, the fish and income from trapping. The severe drought was ended by the 1890s and the supply of fish, game and fur bearing animals once again began to increase.

The majority of displaced Metis settled on crown lands where they raised cattle and garden produce for themselves. They located in areas with a good supply of wood, water, haylands, and pasture. They either neglected to file for a homestead or they were settled on land which had been set aside for other purposes and for which they could not file (Land was set aside for many other parties and purposes. These included land for railway companies, HBC lands, school lands, pre-emption lands and grants to land companies). Generally the areas selected by the Metis were not

⁵¹ Northwest Mounted Police records, R.G. 18, public Archives of Canada.

in demand during the early settlement period. Metis labour, however, was in demand during the summers. Typical seasonal labour included picking buffalo bones, rocks and stumps, cutting brush, help with seeding and harvesting and work on the rapidly developing railway system. Some families migrated to the developing towns and cities. Here they lived on the fringes often in shack towns and survived on income from casual and seasonal work plus relief assistance when available. Even in these communities the Metis were marginalized, discriminated against, or simply ignored. Often the children were not required to or encouraged to go to school.

In 1905, the province of Saskatchewan was incorporated and some of the responsibilities the federal government had assumed for Metis became a provincial or municipal responsibility. However, the control of resources including land resources continued to be a federal responsibility. Once the final scrip was issued in 1909-1910, the dealings of the federal government with the Metis decreased significantly. The government took the position that it had satisfied Metis claims and that Metis were a local and provincial government responsibility.

During the early 1890s and through to 1930 there is not a great deal of reference in either government documents or church documents to the circumstances and status of the Metis. It would appear that the growing economy of that time provided enough marginal job opportunities that the people were able to survive at a level which they accepted. The great war of 1914-1918 saw many Metis join the armed forces and serve overseas. However, Metis were generally denied the recognition and re-establishment assistance available to other service men following the war.

After the war the settlement, railway building and related economic development continued. In addition to a buoyant economy, the supply of game and fish was again adequate to meet many people's food needs. Trapping again provided a more stable income in the winter when demand

⁵² A Research Report, AMNSIS, Chapter 7.

for marginal labour was scarce. This situation continued through the 1920s. Most Metis stayed in rural areas. A few gradually gave up the rural life for a marginal existence in urban areas. Neither the government or the church appeared concerned about the economic role of the Metis during this period. However, as settlement proceeded and the Crown lands occupied by the Metis were needed for settlement, substantial numbers were being forced from their homes. A community of rural Metis developed who became known as the Road Allowance People.⁵³

8. The Metis and the Great Depression

Pressures for settling available land continued until 1937, when the number of family farm units in Saskatchewan reached a high of 150,000. Metis families who had not been displaced from Crown lands where they were considered squatters prior to 1930 found themselves displaced during the 1930s. The road allowance people generally lived in log huts and were concentrated in several areas, namely the Willowbunch area and the area known as the File Hills.

Their situation was desperate since seasonal and casual work was in very short supply. The railway building had come to an end. A few families who had worked on railway maintenance also found themselves unemployed and forced to re-establish on a road allowance. Farmers were not hiring help as their own circumstances were often desperate. Where help was hired, pay was usually in the form of food, since cash was a scarce commodity. As squatters on road allowances, municipalities were reluctant to provide them with relief because the Metis paid no taxes. As well, many other rural people couldn't pay their taxes and municipalities had few resources to distribute. Because they paid no taxes there were also questions about their right to access other services such as schooling and health care. Game as a source of food was again in short supply

⁵³ Don McLean, Fifty Historical Vignettes, Views of a Common People, (Gabriel Dumont Institute, 1989); pages 183 -

and the Metis had to compete for game with the settlers who also needed game for food because of the drought and depressed commodity prices. Fur bearing animals, as a cash crop, were again in short-supply because of the drought. As well, the Metis were now competing with settlers who also began to trap to raise some much needed cash.

There was enormous pressure on the government to remove the Metis from the road allowances. The plight of these people is documented in a film titled "The Road Allowance People".⁵⁴ During the mid 1930s, the Patterson government worked out a plan to move a number of Metis from road allowances in the Willowbunch area north to the Debden area. Here they were settled on homestead lands which were heavily wooded and had not previously been settled.

Some of their descendants still farm in the area today. Some families moved on their own to urban areas, such as Moose Jaw and Regina. Other families stayed, and with the Catholic Church, formed a co-operative farm in the Willowbunch area.

The largest number of road allowance people lived in the File Hills. Before the CCF came to power in 1944, Tommy Douglas had promised to help the Metis acquire land. There was a heavily wooded area around Green Lake which was considered suitable for agriculture. The government established a training farm in the area and had nine townships removed from the provincial forest and set aside for Metis settlers. People from the File Hills were assembled in Lestock. A special train was arranged to take people to Green Lake where they were assisted to build homes for themselves. A small saw mill was established which provided building materials and which provided some employment for people settling there and for local Metis already located there. Green Lake was established during the fur trade era and already had a small stable population, still largely dependent on a traditional way of life, plus some employment in forestry.

The success of this undertaking was mixed. Some people became discouraged and returned to their homes in the Lestock area. Some migrated to the cities, with Regina, Saskatoon and Prince Albert as their primary destinations.

A significant number of Metis had joined the armed forces after mobilization in 1939 and the early 1940s. Records indicate they served loyally and some were decorated for valour. However, after the war they again did not receive the help other veterans received to become re-established. GDI is currently gathering information from Metis veterans and from the files of deceased Metis veterans. This will provide an account of how Metis veterans fared during the post war period.

9. Metis Organizations and Political Activities After 1886

Even though there was deliberate intimidation of the Metis after the Northwest resistance, records of the NWMP indicate Metis were meeting to press their claims. These meetings were for the purpose of organizing petitions in support of their rights. Meetings began as early as 1887 and continued until the last scrip was issued in 1909.⁵⁵ In the early 1900s the Metis of Manitoba and Saskatchewan established an organization known as "L' union Metisse Saint Joseph de Manitoba". The purpose of the organization was to record and publish a history of the Metis. This group was of the view that government authorities and historians were deliberately distorting Metis history and the role of the Metis in the Northwest. The work of gathering material for the book was undertaken by the Metis members of the association. A Manitoba historian and friend of the Metis, August Tremauden, was commissioned to write the book. It was finally published in 1929 in French. It was translated and published in English in the 1970s

⁵⁴ The Road Allowance People, A Film by Maria Campbell.

under the title "Hold High Your Heads". Unfortunately Tremauden, for health reasons, had moved to California with all of the records gathered by the Metis. He completed the book there but it is not known what happened to the records on which the book is based.

There are occasional references during the period after World War I to the activities of Metis in the Batoche area. They had established an organization known as the St. Joseph Societe. This organization periodically pushed for the recognition of Metis land rights. Its other primary activity was the annual staging of Metis days at Batoche.

The cause of the Metis received a boost after the election of a Liberal government in 1934. Several prominent Liberals, Zackary Hamilton, J.P. Turner and J.A. Gregory along with some prominent Metis, Pritchard from North Battleford, Klyne from Lebret, La Rocque and Amyotte from Regina formed an organization known as the "Saskatchewan Historical Society". Hamilton and Turner were known to have Metis wives. The reasons for the interest of Gregory who championed the Metis cause in the legislature during the latter 1930s and early 1940s is not known. He was president of the organization, Turner was recording secretary and Hamilton was the only staff person. The organization received a small annual grant from the government to fund its operations. Its only activities appear to have been the support of efforts to have the Metis "Indian Title" recognized and to have their "Land Rights" confirmed. The organization focused on three activities.

Firstly, they assisted the Metis to organize their own Metis organization which became known as the "Saskatchewan Metis Society" (SMS). By 1938 the provincial organization was formed and it is known that it had branches in Regina, Willowbunch, Assiniboia, Saskatoon, Lebret and the Battlefords.

⁵⁵ Northwest Mounted Police records, Public Archives of Canada.

Secondly, Hamilton spent almost all of his time gathering together reports, correspondence and other documents relative to the Metis rights and showing how Metis had been deprived of their land by the speculators. These records along with records of the early meetings of the SMS are located in the Archives at the University of Regina.

Thirdly, Hamilton and Turner assisted the Metis to document their case and to prepare a submission to the government requesting funds to undertake an in-depth investigation of the Metis claims. A grant of \$10,000 was approved by the province and a Regina legal firm, Noonan and Hodges, was commissioned to do the study. Hamilton worked closely with the law firm in conducting the research by identifying and obtaining relevant documents, reports and correspondence.⁵⁶

The Noonan and Hodges' report was completed in 1943 and was tabled in the legislature in the spring of 1944. The province also forwarded a copy of the brief to Ottawa with a request for meetings to begin negotiations to deal with Metis claims. The researchers had concluded that Metis did not have a legally sustainable claim to "Indian Title" but that they did have a strong "moral claim". They recommended the claim be dealt with by the federal and provincial governments.⁵⁷ Correspondence by Hamilton seems to indicate that an initial meeting of bureaucrats may have been held but we could find no records of such a meeting.

A provincial election took place in the early summer of 1944, which resulted in the defeat of the Liberal government and the election of the CCF. The Noonan and Hodges report and the push of the Metis organization for the recognition of their claim to "Indian Title" was not pursued. The egalitarian philosophy on which the CCF was built meant that the party and the

⁵⁶ Documents and letters of the Saskatchewan Historical Society, Saskatchewan Archives, University of Regina.

⁵⁷ Noonan and Hodges, Brief on an Investigation into the Legal, Moral and Equitable claims of the Metis people of Saskatchewan, public Archives of Saskatchewan, University of Regina, 1943.

government were not prepared to recognize special rights for any "ethnic group" in Saskatchewan. Instead the Douglas government established a minorities committee in the Premier's office, to deal with minority groups. Its primary pre-occupation was with the Hutterite colonies but it did some work with Indians and Metis as well.

The government assumed financial responsibility for Metis farms at Willowbunch and Lebret and established new farms at Green Lake and Cumberland House. As indicated above, the Green Lake initiative included the moving of Metis from the south to that community and the setting aside of nine townships for eventual Metis settlement. As well, Pritchard, from the Battleford's area, was helped through the establishment of a community pasture in the area to which Metis squatters had access for their cattle raising operations.

The other initiative of the government that dealt specifically with Metis was provision for a Metis education and training program in the department of Public Welfare and Rehabilitation for promising Metis students. There was one staff person who worked with Metis communities to identify such students and who arranged financial assistance to encourage these students to continue into high school. The focus seems to have been on students from isolated rural communities and the practice generally was to remove them from their homes and send them to larger centres for their schooling.⁵⁸

10. Conclusion

This extensive history has not immediately dealt specifically with the Metis of Regina. However, in a subsequent chapter of this report, the connections of this Metis history with the Metis of Regina will be explored. From our review of the historical development and decline of

the Metis community, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- as a new ethnic group in the Northwest, the Metis were able to develop as a separate community with a distinctive culture and be an independent and self-sufficient people;
- this development of the Metis community resulted because they had access to the natural resources on which economic opportunities of the time were based;
- their labour was recognized as valuable and preferable to that of Europeans because of their family connections with the Indians and their knowledge of the country;
- they developed economic, social and religious values which provided a sound underpinning for their economic role;
- the Ottawa government viewed the Metis as an impediment to the development of the Northwest and therefore embarked on a deliberate policy of intimidating and marginalizing the Metis as a means of preventing them from standing in the way of government policy objectives;
- these government policies coupled with several periods of severe drought, rapid economic change, several economic depressions and the flood of settlers, pushed the Metis further to the margins of society so that by the 1930s there simply was no place or need for the Metis;
- the Metis did not quietly accept their marginal position but, beginning with the events of the Red River, agitated, organized and actively fought for the recognition of their rights. When concessions were granted by the government, these were delivered in ways which did not improve the economic status of the Metis;

⁵⁸ From records of the Department of Public Welfare and Rehabilitation and from discussions with persons

- this marginalization of the Metis had a devastating impact on their economic situation, their social circumstances and on their culture. As the country emerged prosperous from the Second World War, the Metis continued to occupy a marginal position in society with little political influence. Governments undertook no meaningful initiatives to address Metis grievances or to help the Metis change their economic, social and cultural circumstances.

PART IV

REGINA, HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

1. Location

As indicated earlier in this report, Regina was not a community whose location was part of the historic development of the Northwest. It originally was known as Pile of Bones, a name given to the creek which passes through the area. The banks of the creek were strewn with large quantities of buffalo bones. It is likely the creek was a place where buffalo herds came for water and therefore would have been a favourite place for buffalo hunters to stalk their prey. When the time came to adopt a permanent name, the federal government decided on the name, Regina, in honour of Queen Victoria.

The decision was made to route the CPR over a southern route rather than through Prince Albert and Fort Saskatchewan. The selection of a site on the new railway line for the capital of the NWT was left to Van Horne, the railway builder and Lieutenant Governor of the Northwest Territories, Edgar Dewdney. Since Van Horne was completely preoccupied with problems related to the building of the railway, the decision on the site was actually made by Edgar Dewdney. The decision regarding the site was made in 1881 but was kept secret until the summer of 1882. The original site selected was approximately 5 miles north on what is known as boggy creek. However, when the surveyors established the survey for the railway line, they chose a route further south close to Pile of Bones creek currently known as Wascana creek. Dewdney had acquired some land in the area from which he stood to reap a profit if the railway passed close to or through the land and if the capital was located close by.⁵⁹

At the time Dewdney served as Lieutenant Governor of the NWT and as commissioner of

2. Settlement and Growth

The first settler arrived and settled by the Pile of Bones creek in 1881. By the summer of 1882 three settler families were located at the site, none of whom were Metis. Earlier in 1882 the Northwest Mounted Police were ordered to relocate from Fort Walsh to Regina. The actual move did not take place until 1883 when prefabricated buildings were shipped from Ontario and erected along the creek, just North of the present location of the RCMP training headquarters. The NWT Council held its first sitting in Regina in 1882. The Administrative offices were moved from Battleford in 1883 when new buildings for the government were established along a road which later became known as Dewdney Avenue. Dewdney's residence was established on Dewdney Avenue at the intersection of what is now Dewdney Avenue and Albert Street.

When the railway reached Regina in late 1882, it is estimated that approximately 600 residents lived in a canvas shack town along the railway right of way. The first newspaper began publication in 1883 as the "Regina Leader". The owner and publisher was Flood Davin. In 1884 a Dominion Lands office was established. In its first year, this office processed 4000 land applications for patents and titles from the Regina district. Regina was incorporated as a town in 1884. In 1890 the first water and sewer services were constructed. By 1903, Regina had a population of approximately 3000. It was incorporated as a city that year and in 1905 became the provincial capital after the province of Saskatchewan was formally established by way of the Saskatchewan Act, 1905.

By 1911, the population had reached 30,000. Following this, population growth continued

⁵⁹ A History of Regina; Bentley.

but at a slower pace. By 1926 the population had reached 38,000. During the next two decades the population growth accelerated reaching 60,000 by 1946. Following World War II population growth continued at a steady pace with the population reaching 175,000 by 1984. Since that time population growth has slowed and by 1991 census, the population was just under 200,000.⁶¹

3. The Development of the Economic Base of Regina

From its beginnings the growth and development of the provincial government was the most important generator of new economic growth in Regina. In addition, Regina became the hub from which many railways fanned out to all parts of the province but in particular to the southern part of the province. The building of the city infrastructure, the building of private commercial buildings and of homes, along with the rapid development of the railway system, provided a major impetus to employment for the large number of immigrants who were coming to the area.

Regina quickly became a center for the location of wholesale establishments from where goods were distributed to the rapidly developing agriculture community. It also became a service center from where a significant portion of the service needs of the rural economy were provided including financial services. In addition, Regina became the financial service center for the province. Banks, trust companies, insurance companies and other financial services established their provincial and/or regional offices in Regina. Also, Simpsons established its catalogue distribution center for Western Canada in Regina. As the city grew the need for local government services also grew providing further employment. In addition, Regina was the center for regional federal government services provided in the Northwest.

⁶⁰ Dewdney Papers, Public Archives of Canada.

The early 1900s also saw the development of farmer's co-operatives. The most significant of these was the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool which established its headquarters in Regina. Co-op Dairies was another institution which located its headquarters in Regina. Up until the decade of the 1960s Regina had a very limited manufacturing base. There was some processing of agricultural products (dairy products, bakery products, meat packing, and processing of eggs and poultry). As well, two small oil refineries were built, one owned by a farmers co-operative and one by Imperial Oil. In the late 1920s General Motors built a automobile assembly plant which began operation in 1929. After several years it was a victim of the great depression. It opened again briefly in 1939. When the war began it was turned into a small arms ammunition factory. After the war the federal government purchased the plant and used it for military purposes for a time.

In summary, during the period up to the Second World War, the economic growth and the economy of Regina was based on the following:

- government services
- wholesale, warehousing and distribution
- agricultural service center
- construction
- financial services
- co-operatives
- some secondary manufacturing
- retail and consumer services

⁶¹ Census Canada Report & A History of Regina; Bentley.

4. Development Since World War II

In the decades of the 1950s and 1960s growth was still generated primarily by the above sectors. These were decades during which agricultural production increased significantly and when commodity prices were strong. During these decades there was a significant shift of population to urban areas. The population shift was made up of three basic groups. It included farmers who were retiring, generally with good incomes from the sale of their farms and from savings resulting from strong commodity prices. Also small farmers were selling their farms as the decade saw the consolidation of farms into a smaller number of farm units based on the economics of mechanization. These farmers came to the city with some assets and became part of the urban labour force. The third group was made up of people who were marginal to the economy in the rural areas and consisted primarily of Aboriginal people. This population shift as it relates to the Metis will be examined in more detail in the next section of this report.

There was a brief agricultural recession in the period 1969-1971, but agriculture quickly recovered from this setback. It experienced an unusually prosperous period from the early 1970s through to the mid 1980s. About 1984 agriculture commodity prices collapsed. This was due to a combination of overproduction and trade policies pursued by American and European governments. The economic sectors serving agriculture provided a major impetus to the city's growth and development up to the mid 1980s.

Rapid employment growth continued at all three levels of government throughout this period. Another growth area during these decades which was generated by the provincial government was the development of a public business sector in the form of crown corporations. Numerous attempts at government businesses delivered through the crown corporation sector were attempted in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Many of these failed but several large crowns,

namely public utilities, including SaskTel, SaskPower and SaskEnergy, have been successful and have generated significant employment in Regina where their head offices are located. In addition, Saskatchewan Government Insurance (SGI) has been a successful crown corporation and is one of Regina's major employers. Also, several crowns have spun off private business corporations, namely International Systems Management (ISM) (formerly Westbridge Computer Corporation) and Direct West, the former Telephone Directory Division of SaskTel.⁶²

All governments since the mid 1940s have pushed the concept of diversification of the Saskatchewan economy. Some progress has been made in this regard. By 1984, 40% of all manufacturing in the province took place in and around Regina. The significant manufacturing sectors included:

- the processing of agricultural produce;
- steel production and related fabrication of pipe, structural, tubular and other steel products;
- oil refining;
- short line agriculture machinery and industrial equipment; and
- herbicides and pesticides.

⁶² A History of Regina; Bentley.

There are a wide variety of other smaller manufacturing operations which, combined, have generated significant employment opportunities over the past several decades.

Other commercial sectors which were strong generators of employment during this period were the following:

- wholesale distribution and warehousing;
- the financial services sector;
- the retail and personal services sector;
- the Co-operatives which saw major growth. The Co-op refinery expanded, Co-operative

Insurance grew rapidly, the Credit Unions expanded and Co-operative Data Services was established. In regard to Credit Unions, Credit Union Central, a central regulatory and investment agency for local Credit Unions in the province, located its head office in Regina. It has seen significant growth during the period since the late 1960s when it was established;

- tourism has seen major expansion; and
- the construction sector has generated significant increases in employment during the decades since World War II.

The Regina Economic Development Authority (REDA) published an Economic Development Strategy in 1991, which listed the 20 largest employers in Regina with total numbers of employees as shown in the table below.⁶³ One of the major employers in Regina, Sears, was omitted from the list and has been added to the table:

Number of Employees by 21 Largest Regina Employers	
<u>Employers</u>	<u>Total Positions</u>
Government of Saskatchewan	5,000
SaskTel	2,600
City of Regina	2,000
Government of Canada	1,900
Regina School Division	1,800
Regina General Hospital	1,800
Pasqua Hospital	1,250
University of Regina	1,100
Plains Health Centre	1,000
IPSCO	950
SaskPower	935
Canada Safeway	915
SGI	900
Regina Separate School Board	840
Co-operators	790
Sask Property Management Corporation	725
Saskatchewan Wheat Pool	650
Canada Post	500
Consumers' Co-op Refinery	500
Leader Post	420
Sears	<u>1,000</u>
TOTAL	27,575

⁶³ REDA Background Documents to the published report, 1991.

The REDA data does not provide any employment figures for other economic sectors which are known to be major employers. These are:

- the financial services sector;
- the warehousing and wholesale distribution sector;
- the retail and consumer services sector; and
- the tourism sector.

Another economic sector which has contributed to Regina's economic growth and employment is the mining sector. This sector includes oil and gas development along with other mining. The oil and gas developments in the south eastern and south western parts of the province resulted in a number of companies establishing exploration and production offices in Regina in the late 1950s and the early 1960s. This stimulus to employment lasted for little more than a decade when oil companies gradually began to consolidate their operations in Calgary. This development was the result of fewer new oil finds in the province, the economics of the oil industry and new technology which required less staff. Some oil and gas companies remain in Regina, namely Sask Oil and Northern Canadian Oils. They are significant, but not major, employers.

In regard to other mining in the province, only Kalium Chemicals, a major potash producer with a mine located between Regina and Moose Jaw, has its offices in Regina. It is a significant employer but not one of the major employers in Regina.

Economic activity in Regina peaked about the mid 1980s. Since that time the city's economy has been adversely affected by the depression in the provincial, national, and international economies.

5. The Economy of Regina Today

With the collapse of farm commodity prices in the mid 1980s a major impact was felt in the Regina economy. This was aggravated by the severe drought in 1988 and the more general nationwide recession which began in 1989.

This resulted in reductions in employment in the following areas:

- warehouse and wholesale distribution. Although still a major warehouse and wholesale distribution center the drastic drop in farm income had a significant effect on wholesale demand. In addition, some major companies had already been consolidating their warehousing facilities in centers such as Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton. In particular, this is the case in the automobile sector. As well, wholesalers such as Federated Co-op and Westfair Foods either have or are in the process of consolidating their operations in Saskatoon;
- the drop in farm income was felt throughout the economy and therefore demand in the retail sector and the personal services sector decreased affecting employment in those sectors with many small businesses closing or going into receivership;
- the financial services sector was also affected by the drop in incomes and several financial institutions such as Pioneer Trust and Pioneer Life closed. On balance, employment in this sector has probably remained at 1988 levels;
- Co-operatives have also been affected by the drop in incomes in the farm sector and again employment in this sector is not increasing;
- the manufacturing sector has shown some overall reduction of employment with no new manufacturing operations of significant size being located in Regina in recent years. Demand for steel, pipe and short line farm and industrial equipment have decreased

or, at best, been flat. This sector has, however, had a significant recovery in 1993.

There has been some increase in the production of herbicides and pesticides but this has not translated into many new jobs;

- there has been growth in the transportation sector with most of that growth being in the trucking industry;
- there have been significant reductions in construction and the construction labour force since the mid 1980s. Although home construction is again showing some strength, commercial construction will remain depressed for the foreseeable future;
- the tourism and hospitality industries have shown some increase in the last two years and employment is probably somewhat above the levels of the mid to late 1980s;
- the public sector is the sector where the most significant reductions in employment are taking place. Both the federal and the provincial government struggle to bring their deficits under control. Their strategy is reducing expenditures for staffing including many of the higher paying management and professional positions. This development is also affecting the health care system and the public school systems including the University, whose enrolment is up but where employment is down. There is no potential for increased employment in these sectors in the foreseeable future;
- the economic news, however, is not all bad for the Regina economy. Crown Life Insurance was convinced to transfer its headquarters to Regina bringing approximately 1000 new jobs to the city. As well, the Farm Credit Corporation relocated its headquarters plus approximately 200 jobs to Regina. Sears has announced the consolidation of its catalogue ordering services for Western Canada in its Regina facility, eventually adding approximately 900 part-time jobs. Also, several major discount retailers are

starting up operations in Regina. This will add approximately 200 new jobs, the majority of which are part-time; and

- there have been some gains in the high-tech sectors with ISM having obtained some major contracts. It is in the process of expanding its workforce. There are a number of smaller computer operations which are showing some growth. However, there will not be major additions to high tech industries until there is a substantial improvement in the national and international economies.⁶⁴

There is some evidence of a general improvement in the provincial economy. Some farm commodity prices, primarily livestock and hogs, are very strong. There will be strength in commodity prices for oil seed products of which Saskatchewan had a record harvest in 1993. There is a large wheat crop with some increase in the quality of the harvest. Prices for top grade milling wheat are stronger than those realized in recent years. A moderate or major surge in the farm economy will have a significant impact on demand and employment in those economic sectors primarily concerned with serving the agriculture community. There will as well be other spinoff effects felt throughout the economy.

In summary, the Regina economy, although much more diversified than 30 years ago, is still dependent on the health of the agricultural community for its economic well being. The manufacturing sector in Regina produces goods primarily for the provincial and or prairie market. There are some exceptions to this but they are not large generators of employment at this time.

⁶⁴ REDA Background Documents, 1991.

PART V

HISTORY OF REGINA METIS

1. No Metis at Regina Site

As indicated earlier no Metis lived at the site where Regina is located prior to the selection of the site for the capital of the NWT. The earliest census from 1884 - 1885 did not provide population data for Regina town site separately. The census was tabulated by districts. Regina and Qu'Appelle were in one district taking in a area stretching from the USA/Canada boundary to north of the Qu'Appelle Valley and taking in communities such as Indian Head, Fort Qu'Appelle and Lebret. It is known from historical records that there were Metis living in the area. The census information identifies approximately 575 Metis in the area but there is no indication as to whether any of them lived in Regina.⁶⁵

The NWMP employed some Metis as guides and for various labouring jobs around their headquarters. Therefore, it is likely that a few Metis families moved to Regina with the NWMP when they relocated their headquarters from Fort Walsh to Regina.⁶⁶ It has been established that Peter Hourie, a Metis, to whom Riel surrendered after the 1885 resistance at Batoche, lived in Regina for a brief period. The name Peter Hourie does appear in the 1891 census for the Regina district but does not appear in any subsequent census for the Regina district.

It is believed that in 1885 there was one other Metis family in Regina. This family was in the hauling and freighting business. The family provided such services to both Lieutenant Governor Dewdney and to the NWMP. There is also information available that this family may

⁶⁵ Census of the Provisional District of the Northwest Territories, 1884 - 1885.

⁶⁶ 1891 Census.

have aided in the escape of Gabriel Dumont to the US.⁶⁷

2. Metis in the District of Assiniboia

The first census taken in 1884 - 1885 for the District of Assiniboia, which included all of southern Saskatchewan north to the Qu'Appelle Valley, listed approximately 1000 persons of Metis ancestry. Approximately 80% of them gave their origins as French. From records of the 1886 scrip issues, it is known that the bulk of these people lived in the Fort Qu'Appelle, Lebret and the File Hills areas with smaller populations at Willowbunch and in the Swift Current - Maple Creek area. On scrip applications, a few show their address as Regina. It is likely that this was only a mailing address⁶⁸ for a small community of Metis who lived at the south end of Last Mountain Lake approximately 25 miles northwest of Regina.

The first census which had separate population data for the town of Regina was the 1891 census. No residents of the town identified themselves as Metis. In fact, only a few families at locations such as Lebret and Willowbunch identified themselves as Metis in that census. Even the numbers of persons identifying themselves as French had decreased considerably from earlier census likely due to deliberate intimidation of the Metis after the 1886 resistance by authorities and by the new settlers who were flooding into the territory.⁶⁹

From the scrip records, it is known that substantial numbers of people (in the thousands) registered claims to Metis scrip in the Treaty 2 and 4 areas. Treaty 4 covered an area of the province south of a line which stretched from Fort Pelly in the east to Maple Creek in the west. Treaty 2 took in the southeast corner of the territory including the Moose Mountains. These

⁶⁷ Tremauden, Hold High Your Heads.

⁶⁸ Individual Scrip files of the Department of the Interior, Public Archives of Canada.

⁶⁹ Census of the Provisional Districts of the Northwest Territories, 1891.

Metis claims were often registered with the active encouragement of speculators who were then acquiring the scrip from the allottees.

If there were any Metis in Regina in 1891 other than Peter Hourie, they did not identify themselves as such. The same situation was evident in the 1901 census. It is likely that by that time there were a few Metis families in Regina. They would have lived on the margins of the town and engaged in marginal occupations of a seasonal and casual nature. The genealogy of the Metis prepared by Frye and Sprague in which they show the dispersal of the Metis from Manitoba after 1869 identifies Peter Hourie as the sole Metis having relocated to Regina from Manitoba between 1870 and 1901.⁷⁰

In an attempt to identify when known Metis family names first appear in the Regina census, scrip records from the 1886 scrip issue were checked against the lists of families identified in the Regina census. One family, Fleury, appeared in 1907 as living in Regina. Other families receiving scrip identified in the Regina census up to 1930 include the following:

- 1910 – Major
- 1920 – Desmarais
- 1925 - Simpson & Fisher⁷¹

There may have been other Metis families in Regina at the time but they did not so identify themselves in the census. A more significant number of Metis migrated to Regina during the 1930s. This fits with earlier historic records which suggest that as long as the Metis were able to live from some combination of farming, hunting, trapping and seasonal and casual labour, they stayed in the community or in the area where they had traditionally settled or where they located

⁷⁰ The Genealogy of the First Metis Nation, Frye and Sprague.

⁷¹ Canada Census Reports.

after 1885. During the 1930s, an additional 43 families who had received scrip settled in Regina with the majority of them moving in 1935. This is consistent with the period of the great depression and the threats of forceable movement of people squatting on road allowances. The data also suggests people moved as extended families or community groups. Some of the well known Metis families who moved to Regina during the depression years included the La Rocques, the Sinclairs, the Parisiens and the Daniels.⁷² An additional 18 Metis scrip families appeared for the first time in census data from the 1940s. However, it should be again noted that only a few of these families actually identified themselves as Metis. Most of them identified themselves as either French or Scottish.⁷³

Not all Metis forced from Crown lands or road allowances moved into the white community. A significant number who had close family connections with Indian families were accepted into the bands of which these families were members and took up residence on reserves.⁷⁴

From 1950 through 1965, an additional 48 Metis scrip families moved to Regina (as indicated earlier, there may have been other Metis families locating in Regina who received scrip after the 1886 issue. There would as well have been families who through marriage with non-Status Indians or Europeans, established new Metis family names not identified as families receiving scrip during the period from 1886 through to 1910). An analysis of where these Metis families resided prior to moving to Regina indicates that the bulk of the Metis families moving during the period to 1965 came from communities such as Lebret, the File Hills area, Crescent

⁷² Canada Census Data, 1936 and 1941.

⁷³ Canada Census Data, 1946 and 1951.

⁷⁴ Records of Band Councils and Indian Affairs Records.

Lake and Willowbunch.⁷⁵

In the research survey of 43 current Regina families we sought data from persons about their family history both regarding when families moved and the community from which they moved to Regina. The results are summarized in Tables 1 & 2 below:

Table 1

Time Period of Settlement of Metis Families in Regina

Time Period	Number of Families	Percent
Prior to 1930	3	7
During the 1930's through the 1950's	12	28
During the 1960's through the 1980's	26	60
Since and including 1990	1	2.5
Uncertain	1	2.5

Table 2

Community of Origin

General Area	Number	Percent
File Hills/Qu'Appelle Valley	15	35
Other Saskatchewan Communities	9	21
Manitoba Communities	14	33
Other	4	9
Uncertain	1	3

The data above varies from the census and scrip data summarized earlier in the report. It indicates that the majority of the families in the survey have moved to Regina since 1960. The census data and scrip data identify the majority of the families moving in the 1930s and 1940s. It should be noted the current Metis families in Regina who identity as Metis are not all descendants of families receiving scrip or may be descendants who have in the interim acquired

⁷⁵ Scrip Records and Census Canada Data.

names not found in the scrip records. In regard to origins 35% originated in the File Hills/Qu'Appelle Valley region and 33% originated in Manitoba communities.

3. The Economic Status of the Metis in Regina

As indicated above, the Metis community had been relegated to an economic position of a marginal people in the developing economy of the Northwest. A small number became successful farmers or ranchers but these few are generally not identified as Metis by the community at large and others have not held themselves out to be persons of Metis ancestry. One individual from Saskatchewan who became well known and admitted to having Indian ancestry was the Honourable James Gardiner. The Gardiner family were successful farmers in the Balcarres area. Jimmy, as he was generally known, obtained the education necessary at the time to become a teacher (normal school certificate). He later entered provincial politics serving as leader of the Saskatchewan Liberal Party. In the mid 1930s, he entered federal politics and represented a Saskatchewan constituency until the mid 1950s. Much of his time in federal politics was spent as Minister of Agriculture, where he established himself as a credible representative of the agricultural community. However, although he admitted to Indian ancestry, he never identified himself with or associated with the Metis community.

The Metis, who were marginalized in their historic communities continued to occupy a marginal economic position when moving to towns and cities. They lived in the least desirable housing, continued to depend on casual and seasonal work when it was available and supplemented their incomes with "relief" as social assistance payments were generally known at the time. There is little specific information available about the economic situation of Metis families in Regina up to the 1980s. Data from the 1986 and 1991 census, the Aboriginal peoples

survey (APS) and from the survey of 43 randomly selected families will be reported in a later section of this report.

Based on information currently available, some conclusions can be drawn. The first significant movement of Metis families to Regina took place during the decade of the 1930s. As previously indicated, families were being forced from crown land and road allowances as a result of settlement and because of tax considerations. Prospects for casual employment and eligibility to receive relief were much better in Regina than if you were squatted on a road allowance somewhere in the File Hills. As well, some families had farmed on small acreages around Lebret. As these farms were no longer viable, some of these Metis moved to the city.

The survival strategy was to work when paying employment was available and live on relief when there was no other income. Living on the fringes of society, some families were drawn into illegal ways of earning a living. In general, Metis families experienced the range of social problems associated with poverty cultures. These included high rates of school dropout, delinquency, crime, alcoholism, child neglect and, in some instances, abuse of children, family breakdown and hunger.

During the decade of the 1940s when there was plentiful employment for anyone who could work, their economic situation improved if there were able bodied workers in the family. For those families who were single parent families with dependent children, not much changed. It is also known that many Metis men entered the armed services during the 1940s. Their families received financial assistance while the men were in the services. This partially accounts for the movement of additional families to the city during the 1940s. Some would move because Regina was a more desirable place to live while heads of families were in the armed services. Others likely moved to take advantage of employment opportunities. When the men returned

from serving in the military after the war, they were often denied the recognition and benefits available to other veterans.

With the war over, Canada generally, and Saskatchewan in particular, entered a period of sustained and rapid growth during the 1950s. The agricultural economy was very buoyant as commodities were in good demand, prices were relatively high and favourable weather produced high yields. The spinoff from this agricultural boom was felt in all of the towns and cities across the province but particularly in Regina. This significantly improved employment possibilities for everyone in the rural areas including the Metis. However, the Metis still generally lived on the margins of society. Employment for them consisted of low skill, low paying jobs and the casual and seasonal jobs which had become the norm for many after six decades of living as a marginal population. The reasons for the continuation of this marginal status included factors such as racism, systemic discrimination, limited education and training, low job skills, and social and health problems common to poverty cultures.

Another factor affecting the economic prospects of all poverty cultures is that the basic historic values have change because their traditional values no longer sustain the economy of the community. When the Metis played an important role in the economy of the Northwest, their success was based on values which gave the culture stability. Traditional institutions, such as the church and the historic community for a time helped sustain these values after the Metis community was marginalized. However, when faced with starvation and various forms of discrimination, the first moral law is "survival". When one has to choose a means of survival not sanctioned by the community or its traditional institutions one becomes isolated from that community. A survival-oriented value system is developed which replaces traditional values. These new values like the old, become endemic to (part of) the new culture and generally deviate

from and are in conflict with the values of the larger society. To become successfully integrated into mainstream society and the mainstream economy it is necessary to adapt and to incorporate values which provide the stability necessary to take advantage of economic opportunities. Ingrained cultural values do not change easily and present another barrier to successful economic integration.

4. Conclusion

From preliminary research, several conclusions can be reached regarding the Metis population of Regina. These include the following:

- Regina was not a community Metis chose to live in during the early years of the city's development. Therefore, they did not carve out an economic role for themselves as Regina grew to city status.
- The bulk of the Metis relocated to Regina after 1929. The reasons for moving were generally survival reasons, that is, the prospects of survival for a marginalized people were better in the city than in the rural areas, particularly during the depression years.
- Metis arrived in Regina with limited education and job skills. Therefore, they competed for seasonal, casual and low paying employment with an already large pool of labouring class people in the city. As a result, they were destined to live in marginal neighbourhoods of the city where most services including education services, were inferior to those generally available in more affluent parts of the city.
- Because of limited skills, job opportunities available were marginal. They were either full-time low skill, low paying jobs or were of a seasonal or casual nature.
- Many families depended on public assistance to supplement other income and in the case

of broken families where there were no adult wage earners, public assistance was often the sole means of support.

- Overt racism and discrimination was still a reality for most Metis.
- Systemic discrimination was also experienced by those who did obtain an education and attempted to obtain better paying and higher status jobs. For example, until recently persons who could be identified as Aboriginals from their appearance were not hired in retail establishments, financial institutions and in other commercial sectors where management believed their business would be negatively affected by the visibility of such employees.
- There was a widely held view among all employers, including governments, that Aboriginals were not reliable or honest and that they were lazy preferring partying to working.
- As a consequence through the first two decades following World War II, the Metis remained a marginal people and were not able to achieve an equitable role in the Regina economy.

However, changes were gradually taking place which would begin to change the circumstances of Regina Metis and of all Metis in the province. These changes resulted from initiatives taken by the Metis community through its own political organizations. These organizations have been generally supported by governments except when the goals and objectives of the Metis organizations bring them into conflict with the goals and objectives of governments.

Government assistance has to a large degree been self serving. Firstly, governments reacted

to public pressure which stemmed from the fact that the high cost of keeping a whole community in a marginal economic role was no longer acceptable. Secondly, Canadian governments want to have an image of being progressive and non-discriminating in the world community. Finally, the Aboriginal population has increased to the extent that the "Aboriginal vote" could influence some election results and, therefore, good relationships with the Aboriginal community are to be cultivated. These factors and other developments will be explored in more detail in subsequent sections of this report.

PART VI

GOVERNMENT POLICY AND PROGRAMS SINCE 1950

1. Metis, A Provincial Responsibility?

Initiatives were undertaken by the Government of Canada and the Indian community beginning in the late 1940s to begin the task of revamping government policies and programs directed at Status Indians. However, the federal government's position regarding Metis since the early 1900s was that their Aboriginal claims had been extinguished. Therefore, Metis were no longer a federal government responsibility. As a result, no similar initiatives in matters dealing with government policies and programming were undertaken for Metis.

At the provincial level, the Saskatchewan government continued to view Metis as one small segment of a larger ethnic mosaic who were all to be dealt with by basically the same policies and programs. This egalitarian philosophy was based on the notion that "same" was "equal". It failed to recognize the barriers, both of a racist nature and of a systemic nature, which prevented Metis from participating equally in the economic and social life of the province. Therefore, no special policy or program initiatives were undertaken beyond those described in an earlier section of this report.

In 1964 the Saskatchewan Liberal party under the leadership of Ross Thatcher won the provincial election and formed the government of the province. One of the planks in the party platform was a proposal to establish a special agency within government to be responsible for policies and programs for Indians & Metis. It specifically addressed assisting Indians and Metis to overcome the handicaps and barriers to their more equitable participation in the social and economic mainstream. In 1965 the Indian and Metis Secretariat was organized as a branch of the

Department of Natural Resources. In 1968, following a fall 1967 provincial election, this agency was elevated to the status of a separate government department known as The Saskatchewan Indian and Metis Department.

2. Policy Development

Policies of the newly created provincial agency for Indians and Metis were based on several assumptions including the following:

- Indians and Metis were experiencing serious social problems and were almost completely shut out of participation in the economic life of the province. Therefore, some special initiatives were required to assist them to overcome their position of disadvantage;
- the problems being experienced by Indians and Metis could be dealt with by delivering more services and programs to them which responded to their development needs; and
- some special programming would be required to deal with particular problems which were unique to the Indian and Metis community.

Policies and programs were influenced to a greater extent by the Indian community than by the Metis community. Several factors accounted for this influence. These included the following:

- the identifiable Indian community was larger than the identifiable Metis community;
- Treaty Indians had a geographic territory which was set aside for their use;
- the Indian community was organized into local units called bands which had a legal status;
- the Bands had a legal right to exercise local self-government as provided for in the Indian

Act;

- the Indian community had access to both local and federal government resources which they could use to develop and present their needs to the province for provincial government policies and programs designed for Indian communities; and
- the concentration of Indian communities in some provincial constituencies meant the Indian vote could determine the outcome of the elections in these constituencies.

Although Metis had maintained some organizational structures since the time of the Northwest resistance they tended to be single issue or culturally oriented organizations. The issue most emphasized and pressed by Metis organizations was the recognition of their land rights. This issue was not taken seriously by either level of government. Governments took the position that land rights had been extinguished. The other major activity of the Metis organization was to hold the Metis Days Cultural Festival at Batoche.

As noted earlier in this report, Metis organizations tended to become dormant or active depending on the general economic circumstances in the province and, in particular, the economic circumstances of the Metis community. Metis organizations emerged in the late 1930s and early 1940s around the land issue. The organizations became dormant in the mid to late '40s and for much of the 1950s when economic circumstances improved. In the latter 1950s the Metis became aware that they were not participating in a meaningful way in the economic prosperity of the province and again began to renew their organizations.

The need for a land base continued to be a central theme of Metis organizations. The province saw the problems of the Metis in terms of inadequate education and training and a lack of job skills needed to participate in the economic mainstream. In terms of Metis businesses the

province saw the problem as a lack of access to financial resources needed to become involved in commercial and business ventures.

Among bureaucrats at the provincial level there was a beginning recognition of the fact that Aboriginal people must become their own advocates and have more control over decisions affecting their lives. Therefore, the province deemed it important to provide some funding for organizing activities of the Metis. This provided them with human resource expertise to develop their ideas and proposals and to lobby provincial politicians.

The Indian and Metis Affairs branch saw another aspect of its role as piloting innovative approaches to the delivery of a particular program. When the program was established it would then be transferred to the appropriate line department. Where no line department had the particular responsibility for the program the new department would deliver the program. The jurisdictions of education and training and Social Services were examples of the former. The Economic Development (Business development) program was an example of the latter.

In keeping with this philosophy, the policy adopted was to focus on programs designed to promote education and training for Metis adults and to provide financial resources for what can be broadly defined as Metis Business Development.

3. The Non-Registered Indian and Metis Program (NRIM)

The federal government accepted total responsibility to resource the education/training programs required by status (registered) Indians. It, however, took the position that the province was responsible for Metis and non-Status Indians education (Non-registered was to be later changed to Non-Status and the program is now known as the NSIM program). The new department took the initiative to develop and deliver this training program. Metis organizations

also understood part of the need as adult education. Metis needed assistance to acquire skills to integrate into the economy to enable them to manage their own institutions. The emphasis was on the former as the concept of Aboriginal people having their own institutions which they controlled, to deliver programs and services to their own people, had not yet found favour in government. Government delivered these new programs and was responsible to make policy decisions. It also determined resource levels and how these resources were utilized.

To provide Metis with an opportunity to participate in the mainstream economy, the NSIM program provided funds for instructional costs, tuition and fees where applicable and for training allowances for Metis while in training. Funding was available for the following education/training initiatives:

- What can broadly be defined as upgrading or what is now more commonly referred to as Adult Basic Education (ABE). The objective of this training was to provide students with the education they required to qualify for entry into vocational/technical training and/or entrance into university. The largest block of funding was earmarked for this type of training. There were serious educational deficits in the Metis community which had to be addressed if people were to proceed to more advanced education. Students could either enter an existing ABE program being delivered by the province or Metis communities could recruit enough students in their community and have the province deliver a program at the community level. In urban areas, such as Regina, the former was generally the delivery pattern. In Northern communities, such as Beauval, the latter was generally the method of delivery. The department would buy seats or fund the total program and students recruited for the program received an allowance to purchase books and supplies and they received living allowances.

- Funds were also available to students wishing to pursue a technical, vocational or university education. As a rule, the students had to attend a technical institute or one of the universities in the province. Exceptions were made where a particular type of training was not available provincially. A small number of students attended out-of-province universities. Tuition and fees, books and supply allowances, and living allowances were available to the students.

After several years of the delivery of this program by the Indian and Metis department it was decided that the program should be permanently located in the Department of Education. The funding gradually increased until it reached a maximum of approximately \$4 million in the mid 1980s. The current level of funding is \$3.6 million. The program has been subjected to funding cuts as part of recent government initiatives, to reduce government spending.

In 1972 with the election of the NDP, the NSIM program was continued and funding was increased in line with general government spending increases at the time. Program policies essentially remained the same. However, steps were taken to work more closely with the Metis to determine what training would be delivered, where it would be delivered and to select students. The Metis in the political areas of the Association of Metis and Non-Status Indians (AMNSIS) organized what were referred to as Area Education Committees. These committees assumed this responsibility. They worked with both the Department of Education and Canada Employment and Immigration Centres (CEIC) to identify training needs and to organize and deliver training on an area basis. The bulk of the training money was allocated on an area basis. Some funding was also earmarked for the expenses of the area education committees. The students still had an option of entering a Metis organized training program or another program

available in the area. In regard to vocational/technical/trades training and university training, the area education committees participated in the selection of students who then entered chosen training programs at the appropriate institution. In early 1982, a plan was being developed to devolve the control, management and the delivery of the NSIM program to a Metis institution.

In 1982 following the spring election, there was a change of government to a Conservative administration. This new government brought a different philosophy to governing. It was not favourably disposed to third party funding, as grants to non government organizations were labelled. It did not believe that Metis should have any special financial advantages or incentives to pursue training not available to other trainees. Finally, it was of the view that control of programming and decision making should be vested within government or government institutions to provide for greater accountability for the use of resources.

As a result, the following significant changes were made in the NSIM program:

- funding for technical/vocational/trades and university education for Metis students was discontinued. These students were put on the same basis as other students. Either their families had to finance their education or they had to take loans under one of the student loan programs. In the case of Metis students, most took loans because families who had resources to fund their children's advanced education were the exception. Provisions were made for partial forgiveness of loans for students who successfully completed their training. According to students, the manner in which the loan forgiveness is administered results in only a small portion of the loan being forgiven.

Dropouts from advanced training programs were substantial with some students re-entering

their original program or other education programs on several occasions. The change in policy proved to be such a disincentive to potential Metis students that by 1987 SIAST was not able to identify any Metis students in its programs beyond the ABE level. The impact on registration in regular university offered programs was also significant but there is no data available in regard to Metis in university programs after 1982; and

- funding for Adult Basic upgrading was redirected from AMNSIS political areas and from Area Education Committees for use by SIAST campus' and Regional Colleges. The training programs were all to be delivered by these institutions and each institution was to appoint its own Native Advisory Committee (NAC). This model for delivering Adult Basic Education and other advanced training still exists. It is again in the process of being changed. These changes will be outlined later in this report.

4. Employment In Government

a) Department Jobs

The Saskatchewan Indian and Metis Department, to promote employment of Aboriginal peoples, pursued the objective of significantly increasing the numbers of Aboriginal people employed by the province in government jobs. This was accomplished in several ways. The department was committed to hiring Aboriginal staff where possible to carry out departmental programs. A majority of the staff employed by the department were of Aboriginal ancestry.

b) Other Government Jobs

To integrate Aboriginal people into the general government service, the department developed what became known as "The Supernumerary Program". It was recognized that a very

limited number of Aboriginal people possessed the education and training to qualify for most government jobs. Some special initiatives were required. The concept of the Supernumerary program was approximately as follows:

- Additional out-of-scope jobs at entry level positions were created and then these positions were assigned to line agencies and departments based on their entry level job complements. These were to be training positions designed to provide Aboriginal people with experience and training which would enable them to compete for regular government jobs as positions became vacant. However, only a small number of these persons ever obtained permanent government jobs.

There were several problems with the program which included the following:

- No training plans were required of government departments. There was no system to monitor if any training was taking place or if Aboriginal persons were being given serious consideration for jobs as they became available. Some departments retained supernumerary staff for as long as three years or until the program was terminated. The program provided extra staff and there were no requirements or incentives for persons responsible for hiring to consider these persons for permanent employment.
- Another problem was that the program was imposed on government agencies. There was no commitment by the managers and no preparation of line staff to integrate Aboriginal workers into their workforce.

c) New Directions

In 1971 there was another change of government with the NDP elected. In keeping with its egalitarian philosophy, it determined that it did not want an agency specifically for Aboriginal

Peoples. Therefore, the Indian and Metis Department was disbanded in 1972 and two new agencies were established to take over its functions. The Department of Northern Saskatchewan was established to provide a full range of government services to all residents in the North. The large majority of the people in the North, 80% were Aboriginal. The department carried on some programs previously delivered by the Indian and Metis department.

The second agency to be established was the Human Resource Development Agency. Its mandate was to provide a variety of services to all groups of persons in the province, outside the Northern Administration District, who could be defined as physically, socially and educationally handicapped. Programs that were developed had to be available to all handicapped persons.

It was decided to terminate the Supernumerary program and to replace it with a more focused program which provided for permanent employment at the completion of training. All government agencies were asked to identify entry level positions as they became vacant or when new positions were created (because of provisions in the collective agreements between the government and the Union, it was not possible to appoint trainees into in-scope positions at other than the entry levels). Training plans were developed for each person placed in such a training position in consultation with the government agency concerned and the Public Service Commission. Training was for a specific period of time. There was a requirement that if the services of trainees were satisfactory they would be appointed to the positions they occupied as trainees. Agencies had the right, in consultation with HRDA and the Public Service Commission, to terminate the employment of trainees whose performance was considered unsatisfactory. As previously it was believed that once persons became permanent employees they would be able to compete for higher level positions in the public service.

This program to promote employment of handicapped persons in government still suffered

from some of the problems experienced by previous programs. Firstly, it was still in essence a program which was imposed from outside. For the most part there was no commitment by government managers to hire such persons and no preparation of regular staff to accept them as part of the workforce. Secondly, there was no system to monitor the training and to ensure that persons completing their training were, in fact, employed.

This program did assist in integrating a small number of persons, some of whom were Aboriginal, into the government labour force. This program was eventually transferred to the Public Service Commission to administer. It was discontinued after the Conservative government came to power in 1982. There are no statistics about the numbers of persons actually appointed to government jobs through this program which are easily accessible.

d) Government Contract Quotas

The Indian and Metis department also had convinced the government in the late 1960s to place a clause in all contracts awarded by the government for construction projects, such as roads and bridges, setting a quota as to the number of Aboriginal employees a contractor was required to hire. This provision did open some employment opportunities for some Aboriginal persons, depending on the degree to which particular contractors observed the terms of their contracts. There was some minimal supervision of the contract provisions but no monitoring to ensure that the contract quotas for Aboriginal employees were met. This program was not continued after the Indian and Metis department was disbanded.

e) A New Strategy

HRDA approached the issue of integrating disadvantaged people into the private sector labour force by entering into service contracts with organizations representing the various groups

of handicapped persons. These contracts provided for the organizations to deliver the following services to their membership:

- approach prospective employers to interpret the contributions which handicapped persons could make in the workforce and to identify special needs that would have to be accommodated by the employer;
- identify job openings and get employer commitments to employing handicapped persons;
- recruit suitable candidates for available employment from their membership and group, provide career counselling and refer them to employers; and
- provide follow-up support services to both the employee and the employer to assist with their integration into the labour force of that employer.

Some program statistics were kept but this information is not easily accessible at this time.

5. Business Development Programming

Although the federal government took the position that Metis were a provincial government responsibility, it did become involved in programming in areas directly dealing with or related to economic development. This included the housing programs of Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, industrial training initiatives and special economic initiatives provided for through the Agricultural Redevelopment Act and the Industrial Development Act (Federal programming will be examined in more detail later in this section of the report). Most of the federal initiatives were jointly delivered with the provinces. In this section we will briefly examine economic development initiatives of the province.

The Indian and Metis Department introduced several programs to assist in the development

or expansion of small businesses by Aboriginal persons. They were available to Aboriginal persons regardless of where they resided and could be used in conjunction with federal government assistance, or private capital or as stand alone assistance. There was a provision enabling the department to provide grants of up to \$5,000 to enable Aboriginal persons to expand, upgrade or start a new business. The business proposal had to establish that the project was viable and feasible and project proposers had to have a minimum of 10% equity. As well, loan guarantees of up to \$10,000 were provided for such projects. Loans had to be negotiated with a private lender. The department took no security for these loans. Since the grants and loans were small, this assistance in most instances was limited to small, one or two owner business ventures. The business had to create jobs for Aboriginals.

This program was assumed by HRDA in the southern part of the province (in the North DNS developed different program criteria and assistance levels). HRDA expanded the program to make the assistance available to all disadvantaged persons. In addition it prepared and had approved regulations to enable it to provide assistance to larger projects operated on a community basis. The projects eventually approved under this new provision were all operated by co-operatives. The usual criteria of project feasibility and viability applied to all of these projects. There were no equity requirements for projects operated by co-operatives. The assistance from HRDA, which could be as high as \$50,000, in essence became the groups equity.

Although, Metis in Regina could in theory access this assistance in actual practice, only a few small business proposals were approved in Regina. No larger projects were ever proposed for Regina. The provincial government was concerned that if such projects were funded in urban areas such as Regina, there would be negative feedback from existing businesses with whom they would be in competition. The assistance to larger projects was discontinued after several years.

The small business assistance program was continued with some modifications by agencies which succeeded HRDA, namely the Social Planning Secretariat, and after 1982 the Saskatchewan Indian and Metis Affairs Secretariat (SIMAS). Under SIMAS, the loan guarantee program was discontinued and the maximum grant was increased to \$10,000 which is the current level of assistance available (it should be noted that given the level of inflation between 1968 and 1993, \$10,000 is considerably less in purchasing power than \$5,000 was in 1968). This program is now targeted specifically at Metis entrepreneurs.

There are no comprehensive statistics regarding the success of businesses established through these programs. It is generally believed that the success rate of such businesses compared, favourably with small businesses funded by private financial institutions where failure rates for new businesses run as high as 75% after 5 years. Although small businesses are necessary to the successful operation of the economy, they cannot be depended on to be a major employer of Aboriginal people. Nor can they be a major generator of capital for new economic development in Aboriginal communities.

6. Federal Government and Joint Initiatives with the Provinces

a) 1960s Federal Initiatives

In the early 1960s the federal government enacted two pieces of legislation which were designed to stimulate economies in under-developed regions and communities. For rural areas, the Agricultural Redevelopment Act (ARDA) was legislated and for urban areas, the Industrial Development Act was introduced. The definition of a rural area initially was any community or region that was 30 miles or more from a centre of more than 3000 population. The Industrial Development Act was focused primarily on secondary manufacturing and the infrastructure

required for such industries. The objective was to promote such development in what were identified as growth communities and to create employment in these centres for persons being displaced as a result of technological advances particularly in agriculture and forestry.

At about the same time, pressure began to build for economic initiatives designed to promote economic development in Aboriginal communities. In theory, Aboriginal communities could have utilized programs provided under the two pieces of legislation identified above. In practice, only a few Metis were involved in agriculture and only small numbers were employed in forestry. Also for reasons of limited experience, equity, and capital, Aboriginal people and communities were not able to compete for resources under these programs with well established and sophisticated businesses.

In Regina, development grants generally went to established industries which wanted to expand or add new lines of production. Examples of a few Industries operating in Regina which received grants under the industrial development initiatives include: Ipsco (steel production), Degelman Industries (short line agriculture equipment), and Sweeprite (short line industrial equipment). It is known that a few Aboriginal people obtained work in these establishments. Data as to numbers of Aboriginal employees is not available.

As a result of advocacy by Aboriginal organizations a variation of the ARDA program referred to as Special ARDA was developed. It was jointly funded by the province and the federal government. The largest portion of the funds were federal funds. The criteria as to what constituted a rural area always excluded Regina. In response to political pressure from Aboriginal groups and recommendations arising from studies of the program, a number of changes were made to the program over the years. In particular, the definition of what constituted a rural community was gradually relaxed until, in Saskatchewan only Regina and

Saskatoon were excluded.

It was possible for a person living in Regina to circumvent this restriction by having the head office of their business registered in places such as Fort Qu'Appelle, Indian Head or Moose Jaw. However, as far as can be determined, this program was not utilized by Metis in Regina. The federal and provincial governments over the years entered into a number of Special Development Agreements to promote economic development in specific regions of the province. None of these were applicable to Regina.

Barriers to the successful use of economic development programs by Aboriginal people included:

- inadequate equity;
- a lack of organizational and management skills;
- no marketing experience or skills;
- problems in raising required loan capital;
- requirements for Aboriginal ownership and control; and
- the project having to be either the expansion of an existing business owned by the project sponsor or having to be a new business.

The rationale for some of the program criteria was that these programs were designed to create jobs and not to take over businesses and existing jobs.

b) Native Economic Development Program

Pressures had built over the years from Aboriginal organizations for a more comprehensive program which would provide a broader range of assistance for Aboriginal economic development. Aboriginal people also requested some meaningful input into the development of

program policy and into the decision making processes for project approval. During the 1979 election campaign the Liberal Party had promised a development fund of \$375 million for the promotion of Aboriginal economic development in the west. When the decision was made to proceed with the program it was approved as a comprehensive program available to all Aboriginal people in Canada regardless of where they lived.

An advisory board appointed by the government was made up of representatives from the business and the Aboriginal communities. The board had a role in developing programs and program policies. As well, the board reviewed and recommended projects for approval under the various program provisions. Final decisions were made by senior bureaucrats or the minister depending on the amount of funding required for the project. The board appointed by the government, although made up primarily of Aboriginal persons, also had some well known business appointees to provide business expertise and experience. The two most prominent of the business persons were Maurice Strong and Murray Koffler.

A separate bureaucracy, which reported to the Deputy Minister of the Department of Regional Industrial Expansion (DRIE) was established which was headquartered in Winnipeg. Originally, the Native Economic Development staff were all located in Winnipeg.

The types of projects which were eligible for funding under the NEDP program included:

- research and development projects;
- training projects;
- feasibility studies;
- small businesses;
- corporate businesses; and
- native owned and controlled financial institutions.

The eligibility criteria varied for the different program components. Research and Development, feasibility studies, training projects and financial institutions could be funded up to 100%. Projects required detailed project proposals and had to be Aboriginal owned and controlled and be deemed to be both feasible and viable.

Business proposals either small or corporate had to meet the test of a minimum of 51% Aboriginal ownership and control. Equity requirements were 10% of capital needs and the project proponents had to be able to raise the required loan capital. NEDP generally limited its maximum funding for such projects to a forgivable contribution of 40% of the required capital but the regulations did provide for some discretionary approval of forgivable contributions above that limit.

The NEDP program was the first significant funding program which was available to potential Metis entrepreneurs and to Metis businesses in Regina. One of the limitations of the program was the requirement that funding was for new businesses or for the expansion of an existing Metis business. Existing mainstream businesses could only be purchased if the business was a failing business. In this instance, it was necessary for the project proponents to demonstrate that the failing business could be turned into a successful business and could create jobs for the Aboriginal owners and other Aboriginal persons. The NEDP program had an established term of five years during which it was to use its resources to build a base for Aboriginal economic development. The program began during the fiscal year 1982-83 and lasted through fiscal year 1988-89. According to information provided by ISTC staff, a small number of Metis projects in Regina, approximately ten (10), were funded under the program. Three additional projects which were Metis financial and economic development institutions were funded.

1) Interim SNEDCO

The Association of Metis and Non-Status Indians (AMNSIS) decided to utilize the NEDP program to build a permanent financial institution with a sustainable capital base. A non-profit corporation known as the Saskatchewan Native Economic Development Corporation was established with a board appointed by AMNSIS. Interim SNEDCO, as it became known, proposed and had approved a research project to develop the concept and the details of the Metis economic development and financial institutions. The interim SNEDCO board consisted of four Metis plus three persons from the Saskatchewan business community.

2) MEDFO

A cornerstone of the business plan developed by Interim SNEDCO was a developmental agency. Its mandate was to actively promote business development in the Metis community, to search out and identify potential businesses, to assist Metis entrepreneurs to put together their business proposals, and to assist them to identify and access various funding sources. Follow-up aftercare support services were also to be provided to such businesses. This component of the proposal was approved and funded for a 4 year period. A non-profit corporation was established known as the Saskatchewan Metis Economic Development Foundation (MEDFO) to deliver these services. The head office of MEDFO was located in Regina. MEDFO had its own board which was appointed by AMNSIS. This program continued until 1990 when the funding contract expired. The business development services then lapsed.

3) Sasknative Economic Development Corporation (SNEDCO)

A small business loans corporation was proposed which was to provide both equity and capital loans to Metis businesses which met the NEDP funding criteria. A capital fund of \$5

million was approved by NEDP. SNEDCO was incorporated as a private corporation under the Province's Business Corporations Act as Sasknative Economic Development Corporation. The shares in the business were owned by MEDFO. To ensure that policies and decisions on projects would be based on economic criteria rather than political criteria, the funding agreement provided for MEDFO to put its shares into a Trust. The shares were then administered by the Trustees who were appointed by MEDFO. The agreement called for an equal number of Trustees representing the Metis community and the community at large. The SNEDCO board was appointed by the Trustees. It included a mix of persons from the business community and from the Metis community. The SNEDCO Corporation still carries on its operation as provided for in the original funding agreement, except that it has established a Business Advisory Service (BAS). It also administers a \$1.95 million Equity Enhancement fund. Its head office is located in Regina. When SNEDCO assumed the business advisory function, the main office for the BAS was located in Saskatoon.

4) Banking and Strategic Investment Fund

The original proposal requested funding for two additional components. These components were the purchase of a trust company and the establishment of a strategic investment fund. A joint venture corporation was to be established to manage this fund.

The interim SNEDCO board recognized the limitations of a small business loans institution which functioned as a capital source of last resort for potential Metis businesses. This, in effect, would expose the loans corporation to very high risk projects in a lending area where established financial institutions reported a failure rate of 75% of new businesses within five years of start up. Therefore, it identified the need for a Metis financial institution which could generate profits

to offset losses on high risk loans. It could introduce Metis to the regular use of a banking institution and could increase the pool of available capital for investment in low risk or no risks investments. Examples of low risk investments are consumer loans and home mortgages. No risk investments could include government bonds and guaranteed investment certificates. A trust company was proposed as part of the project. Because of regulations governing the operation of trust companies, such an institution could not invest in businesses. However, it had the capacity to lever its equity capital and to produce profits. The small business loans corporation had no leverage capacity. Unless it had a very large capital base, it would have problems generating enough income to cover administration costs and loan losses.

The board recognized that small businesses were not for everyone and would not produce significant numbers of new jobs. It was reasoned that there should be provision for SNEDCO to establish a subsidiary corporation whose sole purpose would be to seek out and enter into joint business ventures with large, well established and successful corporations. It was proposed that this Corporation have a \$10 million strategic investment fund to invest in such joint ventures. These joint ventures could include expansion of existing businesses, partial ownership of existing businesses or new business ventures. The Joint Venture Corporation could have contributed capital in return for jobs for Metis and the other joint venture partner could contribute management, marketing and other similar business expertise. The joint venture corporation could also generate some profits. Some of these could have been returned as dividends to SNEDCO, increasing its viability. Some of the profits could also have been added to the capital base of the joint venture corporation thereby expanding its influence in the market place.

5) Funding Approval

NEDP indicated early in the assessment of the original proposal that it would not provide funds to purchase a financial institution. It was, however, prepared to give further consideration to a strategic investment fund if the idea of a trust company was dropped from the proposal. There was a long delay in dealing with SNEDCO's revised proposal. When a decision was finally reached, funding was provided for MEDFO and the Small Business Loans Corporation. The capital base for SNEDCO was set at \$5 million with the capital to be paid out over three years. The Chairman of the interim SNEDCO board believed that the Federal Government had agreed to the strategic investments fund proposal and that a funding agreement to provide for this would be considered after the other two components of the project were operating. However, the joint venture component of the program was never approved nor did the federal government ever commit its alleged promise to paper.

6) After NEDP

The NEDP program and the agency which delivered it, were integrated into the Department of Regional Industrial Expansion (DRIE) in 1989 and became part of a more comprehensive strategy known as the Canadian Aboriginal Economic Development Program (CAEDS). This strategy called for joint planning and a common training-economic development strategy for Aboriginal people. DRIE, CEIC and DIAND (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs) participated in the development of this strategy. The economic development components of the strategy are as follows:

- Research focusing on identifying and evaluating commercial opportunities.
- Business ventures which include direct forgivable contributions to Aboriginal owned and

controlled businesses up to \$100,000. Over that amount interest free contributions are available but these contributions are repayable.

- Loan insurance - the program pays premiums on loans by private financial institutions, into a fund from which loan defaults are paid. The fund covers 85% of the defaulted loan balance.
- Business planning, training and post start-up establishment services more commonly known as business advisory services.
- Pre-commercial and infrastructure development.
- Micro enterprise development.
- Venture capital funding.
- Aftercare funding for established projects.

The training component of the CAEDS strategy is to be provided by CEIC (the Pathways program will be dealt with later in this report).

The revised program has both regional boards and a national board. These boards are composed of Aboriginal persons and persons from the business community.

At the present time, the program focuses on business opportunities which are considered as having high potential for success. Under the aftercare program Industry, Science and Technology (ISTC) can provide funding to assist operational businesses with specific needs in areas such as financial administration, business management advice, introducing and/or upgrading business management systems and marketing initiatives.

In 1989, DRIE undertook a comprehensive study of the NEDP program. Current changes in the program reflect recommendations of this study. There is only limited data available on

projects specifically funded in Regina under the program. According to the ISTC staff the activity in Regina in recent years has been aftercare to NEDP funded projects. It was indicated that no new Regina based small business projects had been funded since the program was assumed by DRIE and currently ISTC.

7) Aboriginal Employment Initiatives

The federal government through CEIC is also active in supporting Aboriginal economic development through training and employment service initiatives. The first native employment center in Regina dates back to 1982. These centers were not specifically designed to serve Metis but to provide employment related services to all Aboriginal people living in Regina. A non-profit corporation was established to operate the center. The Regina native employment center operated through the fiscal year 1991 - 1992. The center provided the following services:

- employment and career counselling and guidance;
- job finding and job placement services;
- follow-up support services on the job;
- referrals of persons requiring training to enable them to compete in the job market; and
- liaison with employers in relation to job openings and to assist in the integration of persons placed into jobs through the centers.

Data of both a statistical nature and assessments of these programs is not readily available at this time. CEIC also funded a second native employment center in Regina operated by the Native Women's Center. With the recent introduction of what is known as the Pathways Program to Success, funding for employment services has been directed to the corporations carrying out education/training initiatives under that program. Funding for the original native

employment centers has been terminated.

The purpose of integrating CEIC initiatives under one delivery system is to ensure that labour market needs are the basis for planning and delivering training programs. Trainees are also provided with ongoing counselling regarding employment opportunities, assistance in accessing these opportunities and with follow-up support services when placed in specific jobs. In Regina, this employment service is provided by a corporation known as the Cypress Development Corporation.

8) Education and Training

The Metis community recognized that success in participating in the mainstream economy was dependent upon having the necessary knowledge and skills to compete for available employment opportunities and to pursue potential business opportunities. The NEDP program had a component to provide funding for such training.

AMNSIS developed a separate proposal for a scholarship fund to enable deserving Metis students to pursue training related to business and economic development. The project involved a capital grant to endow the scholarship fund. A grant of \$750,000 was approved for this purpose on condition that only the interest would be used to cover administrative expenses and to make scholarship awards. The principal of the fund was to be kept intact. A special foundation was established to hold the fund and a board was established to oversee the investment of the fund and the awarding of scholarships.

The foundation is known as the Napoleon LaFontaine Scholarship Fund. The board is appointed by the Gabriel Dumont Institute (GDI). Administration services for the fund are provided by GDI. The fund has been in place since 1985. In the early years, the demand on the

fund for scholarships was not sufficient to use available funds. As a result, the principle sum of the fund has increased to approximately \$1 million. For the fiscal year 1992 - 1993, all of the available funds were awarded for scholarships.

Since the contract covering this program has now expired, the foundation board could broaden the criteria for the use of the fund to include training other than that specifically related to economic development.

c) CEIC Initiatives

Although the federal government does not have jurisdiction in the field of education, as part of its labour force and employment jurisdiction, it has funded industry based or related training initiatives. Since the early 1960s when the modern Manpower strategy was adopted, several types of training have been funded. These include:

- industrial on-the-job training
- trades, vocational and technical training in public or private institutions
- capital grants for the building and equipping of vocational/technical training facilities in high schools and for post high school institutions
- capital and operating grants for certain university based training

Because education constitutionally is a provincial jurisdiction, funding assistance was generally channelled through or into provincial agencies and institutions. The exceptions were the industrial training programs where CEIC entered into direct training agreements with business establishments for such training. Although it channelled most of its funding through the province, the federal government controlled the kinds of training for which its funding was available. In theory, Metis, like all other provincial residents, could benefit from such programs

and funding. In practice, Metis for a variety of social and economic reasons, were not able to participate in or gain entrance into such training programs on other than a token basis.

In the mid 1980s, CEIC decided to change how its resources were being utilized for training purposes. This was to link training it funded to the labour market and to labour market needs. The decision was made to discontinue funding for Adult Basic Education (ABE) programs and to direct all funding to programs designed to assist trainees to obtain training to prepare them for specific labour market occupations. Since ABE programs were designed to prepare persons to pursue training at a number of levels, such training was a provincial government responsibility. Under this strategy, CEIC was prepared to purchase training from any public or private sector training institution which could provide the best quality of training at the least cost. A good deal of this training was purchased from existing provincial institutions such as SIAST. However, Manpower, through its training agreements determined what training would be purchased and had approval over the general content of such training. Funding was available to cover both instructional costs and student living allowances. The allowances were considerably more generous than those received by students in the ABE programs funded by the province.

GDI had a membership mandate to develop a role in Adult training. This included both Adult Basic Upgrading and Employment Specific Training. GDI made a proposal to Manpower for a three year training program known as the Saskatchewan Training and Education Program or STEP. When this training agreement expired, GDI established what was known as the third party coordinating group through which it continued to contract training programs with Manpower.

Three years ago, CEIC came up with a new program proposal to fund Adult training for Aboriginal people. This was their contribution to the CAEDS strategy (ISTC staff indicated that there was limited joint planning in the development of the strategy or integration of this strategy

with the ABDP strategy). Originally the proposal was for a delivery structure which would include both Indians and Metis. However, the FSIN refused to participate in a joint structure and program. Therefore, separate delivery systems have been established for Indians and Metis.

The structure for the Metis community was to be made up of six local corporations each with their own board. There is a regional (provincial) corporation with a board consisting of the presidents of the local corporations. The Local Area Management board is known as the LAMB. The Regional Aboriginal Management Boards are known as RAMBS. CEIC provides funding for the organizational infrastructure at both the local and regional levels. These corporations employ a manager plus some staff to do research, counselling and program identification and initiation. Funds are also provided for the purchase of training programs by each LAMB. As well, some funding is available to enable the RAMB to deliver training programs provincial in Scale. The total annual Pathways fund earmarked for Saskatchewan is \$19 million of which \$7 million is allocated for Metis training in the 1993 - 1994 fiscal year. CEIC has proposed to decrease the Metis share to 30% or approximately \$5.7 million for the 1994 - 1995 fiscal year.

The mandate of the LAMB's is as follows:

- to identify and quantify labour market needs in the local area;
- to determine the training needs of Metis in the local area to prepare them for labour market opportunities;
- to recommend training programs for approval by CEIC;
- to identify where training is available and to negotiate the purchase and delivery of that training;
- to provide support services to students in training; and
- to provide follow-up employment placement and support service to Metis students

utilizing the program.

Training can be purchased from a variety of sources which could include:

- Gabriel Dumont Institute (GDI)
- Dumont Technical Institute (DTI)
- A Regional College
- SIAST
- A private training institution

As indicated, the Pathways Corporations were to cover two MSS political areas. The Cypress Development Corporation which has its headquarters in Regina covers the area from Fort Qu'Appelle to the Alberta border. It serves all Metis locals in that region. However, a large majority of the Metis in the area are located in Regina. This current structure is apparently in the process of revision and each MSS political area is establishing its own board and administrative structure.

d) Initiatives by Metis Owned and Controlled Institutions

Over the decades of the 70s and 80s, there were a number of initiatives by AMNSIS and more recently by the MSS designed to improve the economic circumstances of Metis. Institutions established and their current status are as follows:

- Provincial Metis Housing Corporation - is still operational.
- Local Housing groups - in Regina there are three such groups, Gabriel Housing, Namerind Housing and Silver Sage Housing. None of these groups are formally affiliated with the Metis political organization. However, two have been staffed primarily by Metis and have served the low income housing needs of Metis families. All of these

organizations are still operating.

- Saskatchewan Metis Employment Services - this program was funded for several years by the province in the early 1980s but was phased out approximately 10 years ago.
- Metis Economic Development Foundation which has been described above and which was phased out at the completion of the original funding agreement.
- Sasknative Economic Development Corporation which was described earlier and is still operating with the addition of the Business Advisory Service.
- Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research established in 1980 and which continues in operation.
- Dumont Technical Institute which was incorporated in 1992 and which plans to begin delivering training programs effective January 1, 1994.
- The Regional Aboriginal Management Corporation and the Local Management Corporations (RAMB and LAMB's).

This network of MSS affiliated organizations has some importance as an employer of Metis. This employer role, however, has limitations. Not all available positions can be filled with Metis. There are not potential Metis employees available with the training or experience required to fill all positions particularly at senior management levels. Examples are chief librarian at GDI or the loans and project assessment functions at SNEDCO.

Provincial laws regarding labour relations give existing employees of SIAST the right to positions which will be created in Dumont Technical Institute training programs where DTI takes over funding previously used for program delivery by SIAST. If SIAST employees are laid-off as a result of this program transfer employees will also have transfer rights. This further limits

job opportunities for Metis. As well, Metis institutions are very vulnerable to changes in government policies and programs, which change how particular services are delivered.

Metis affiliated institutions employ significantly fewer Metis in total than they did during the mid to late 1980s. In part, this has been the result of proportionately larger cuts in funding for existing Metis institutions over the past 5 years than cuts in funding to government agencies. A brief review of the Metis institutions is provided below for those institutions not previously dealt with in this report.

1) Housing

At one point in the late 1970s and early 1980s, housing was a major component of the Metis economic development strategy. Most of the political areas of AMNSIS had established corporations to build houses under the Native and Rural Housing provisions of the Canada Mortgage and Housing Act. A considerable number of homes were built in the rural areas of the province. However, these provisions for building new housing did not apply in urban areas like Regina. All of these housing corporations eventually failed due to a combination of factors which included:

- management problems including problems in financial administration;
- the limitations placed on the maximum mortgage levels for such housing; and
- problems in organizing construction schedules to ensure the efficient use of the workforce.

In Regina, the legislation only provided for the purchase of homes by non-profit corporations and the renting or sale of these homes to native families qualifying for subsidies as low income families. The housing corporations operating these programs are responsible for:

- renting or sale where homes are being purchased
- collecting rent and/or mortgage payments
- the upkeep and maintenance of the homes
- counselling and social adjustments services to families to assist them to make the best use of their homes
- identification, pricing and arranging for the purchase of additional homes as provided for by CMHC.

These corporations provide employment for a small core of staff involved in carrying out the above functions. As well, the funding from CMHC provides for maintenance and repairs, decorating and general maintenance of heating systems. This work may be contracted out to small independent Metis businesses.

2) Education and Training Institutions

The other sector related to economic development is the education/training sector. The lack of education and training and the lack of employment experience have traditionally been identified as barriers to Metis entering the labour force or becoming owners of businesses. As a result, there have been some significant initiatives in regard to Metis Adult Education. These initiatives have in part been possible because governments have been more prepared to provide funding for education and training than for other program initiatives. Because of the recognized failure of the public school system to provide a relevant and high quality education for Metis students, it has been accepted that a catch up strategy is needed for Metis Adult Education. This is recognized as necessary both to assist Metis to enter the labour force and to enable them to take advantage of opportunities for advanced training and professional education.

(a) Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research (GDI)

The first of these initiatives took form in the late 1970's and resulted in the establishment of GDI. The following is a brief description of GDI and its program operations since that time:

- GDI negotiated a funding agreement with the province in 1980 which provided the following mandate:
 - Research and Development including cultural and historical research to support the development of curriculum and curriculum support material with an Aboriginal focus;
 - Library Resource Unit which provided for the acquisition and distribution of materials related to the culture and history of Aboriginal people not readily available from other sources; and
 - the development of curriculum and curriculum support materials for the K-12 system.

Successive funding agreements with the province since 1980 have broadened the mandate in the above three areas. They have not dealt with a fourth mandate area which the Metis community has mandated GDI to pursue, that being Community Adult Education.

As indicated previously in this report, when CEIC changed its' policy regarding the utilization of its training resources to direct purchase arrangements, GDI decided to take advantage of this change. It sought training agreements with CEIC to deliver a variety of training programs as part of CEIC labour force strategy. As indicated above, GDI prepared a proposal titled Saskatchewan Training Employment Program or STEP. The initial agreement which was a three year program covered the period 1984 through 1987. A variety of vocational, trades and

technical training were delivered to communities throughout the province. Specific programs delivered in Regina included the following:

- The Metis Management Studies Program
- Recreation Technology Program
- Pre-Nursing Program
- Pre-Health Careers Program
- Adult Basic Education

The province would not provide funding to GDI to enable it to deliver ABE Programs and CEIC would not fund such programs. Therefore, GDI had to build upgrading components into most of the training programs it delivered. This resulted in such programs being of longer duration and, therefore, more costly than similar programs delivered by SIAST or the Universities. Canada Manpower would not fund training leading to a professional degree, but it did agree to fund university level training leading to a diploma or certificate. All arrangements for certification of training offered by GDI were negotiated with SIAST or one of the universities.

When the STEP agreement expired, GDI incorporated a separate organization known as the Third Party Co-ordinating group. Through this arrangement GDI continued to contract with CEIC for the delivery of training programs identified as priorities by the Metis community. This arrangement continued until 1991 when CEIC introduced the Pathways to Success Program. Phase out provisions were negotiated to continue funding for long term training programs already contracted until the training is completed.

(b) SUNTEP

In 1980 when the GDI funding agreement was being negotiated parallel discussions were under way between AMNSIS and the department of Education to establish a teacher training program. This program was to be known as the Southern Urban Native Teacher Education program or SUNTEP. It was decided to locate SUNTEP within GDI rather than create a separate organization. There has always been a separate funding agreement for SUNTEP. SUNTEP also initially had a separate committee to oversee the Management and program delivery. The Provincial Administration Unit was originally located in Regina. Also one of three teaching units was located in Regina. The others were located in Saskatoon and Prince Albert.

SUNTEP is a four year university accredited program delivered under agreements with the two provincial Universities. In the first two years an enriched curriculum is used for all training delivered at the SUNTEP centers. Students are in classes for 10 months of the year during the first two years. In the third year classes are split between the SUNTEP Centers and the Universities. In the fourth year the students are enrolled in the regular university program. Since its inception the Regina SUNTEP Unit has graduated 62 students with their Bachelor of Education. Of these graduates, 63% are employed in the public school system, 9% by reserve schools, 3% are involved in graduate studies, 11% are employed by post-secondary institutions and 5% are unemployed. The status of the remaining 9% is unknown.

(c) Dumont Technical Institute (DTI)

In regard to Adult Education and training the province in 1990 decided it should address the question of provincial support for a Metis controlled technical institution. A SIAST review committee which reviewed vocational/technical/trades training in the province in its report

submitted in 1990, recommended that the Minister set up a process to develop a Metis controlled institution to deliver vocational and technical training to Metis in the province. The committee established by the Minister in response to this recommendation reported in 1991. It recommended that a new institution, Dumont Technical Institute (DTI) be established to deliver Adult Education and training programs to Metis in the province.

Since the Committee tabled its report in 1991 the following steps have been taken:

- The Metis Society and the Province negotiated a master agreement which provides DTI with a mandate to deliver Adult Basic Education and Vocational/Technical training programs through a federation agreement with SIAST.
- A federation agreement has been concluded with SIAST but has not yet been formally signed. The execution of the agreement is held up pending agreement on transfer rights of SIAST employees who may be laid off due to a transfer of programs to DTI.
- An operating protocol has also been concluded with SIAST but has not been signed pending resolution of the employee transfer rights.
- An operating protocol has been concluded with the Regional Colleges and this awaits ratification by the DTI board and has been ratified by the Regional College boards.
- DTI has been incorporated, the board has been appointed and first staff began employment September 1, 1993.
- DTI had planned to begin offering training programs effective September 1, 1993. However, because of the employee transfer issue and indecision by the province in setting a funding allocation for DTI the start up operation has been delayed to January 1, 1994.

(d) Pathways Corporation

The other Metis initiative in the training field has been briefly dealt with above. This is the establishment of the LAMBs and the RAMB under the agreement with CEIC through the Pathways program. The decisions on what training to deliver, where to deliver it and from whom the training will be purchased is to be made by the LAMBs. As indicated these boards have some staff capacity to do training needs assessments of Metis in their area, to do labour market needs assessments and to provide some support services. If the present structure is to work DTI will need to develop a strong linkage with LAMBs so there is a harmonious working relationship and so the DTI/LAMB structures can function as an integrated network. This will ensure the most efficient use of available resources.

(e) A New GDI Role

With GDI relinquishing a major part of its Adult Education programming to DTI and the LAMBS, GDI has decided to focus its efforts in the area of university based professional training. Discussions have been initiated with the University of Saskatchewan regarding a formal relationship between the two institutions. The University has proposed that an affiliation agreement be concluded and has prepared a draft agreement for consideration by GDI. If this agreement is consummated it would give GDI a similar status at the U of S to that enjoyed by other affiliated colleges.

PART VII

THE CURRENT SITUATION OF REGINA METIS

1. Demographic Data

Information on Regina Metis has been gleaned from several sources including the 1991 Stats Canada Census, the Aboriginal Peoples Survey done by Stats Canada following the Census, the survey of 43 Metis carried out as part of this research and a study done for CEIC in 1991.

Some data from the 1991 Census is available for Regina Metis. In other instances, it is available only for all Aboriginal people. The Aboriginal People's Survey (APS) data is based on a sample of 10% of the respondents who identified themselves as Metis in the 1991 Census. General information which is available includes: numbers of Metis, age distribution, education, employment, life styles and labour market data.

The study done for CEIC in 1991 was a self-selected sample of 300 Metis from Regina. Open meetings to which Metis were invited were held. The purpose of the questionnaire was explained and the questionnaires were distributed to those prepared to participate. This data, therefore, is not based on a random sample of Metis and deviates from other data in several categories such as employment and labour force participation.

The survey of 43 Metis carried out as part of this research study included a randomly selected sample of Metis who are members of the two MSS locals in Regina. This sample also deviates on some demographic characteristics from other data sources used in this report. Some of the data cannot be compared to Census data because the census and APS did not use the same categories for gathering and reporting data for some demographic characteristics. This survey data is reported in a separate section of this report.

The age distribution as shown in Table 3 below indicates that the numbers of persons 14

and under in the Metis community is almost double the 14 and under group in the general population. Given equal labour force participation rates in the future, proportionately twice as many Metis as persons who are non-aboriginal will enter the labour force in the next 15 years. The number of Metis currently in the prime employment age range is marginally smaller, than for the non-aboriginal population. The number of Metis in the potential retirement category is approximately 3% compared to 10% for the non-aboriginal population.

a) Age

Table 3

Age Distribution of Regina Metis Compared to the Non-Aboriginal Population (percentages)

Age Category	Metis (1)	Non-Aboriginal (1)
14 & under	40	21
15 - 54	54	59
55+	6	20
Total	100	100

Note 1 - Data taken from 1991 Census Canada reports

The data in Table 3 also indicates that proportionately twice as many Metis will enter the school system in the next 15 years compared to the non-aboriginal population. This has implications for those who are planning educational programming. These implications are dealt with in Section VIII of this report.

b) Education and Training

Data regarding education and training is summarized in Table 4 below:

Table 4

Educational Attainment of Metis 15 and Over (percentages)

Education Level	Metis (1)	Metis (2)	Metis (3)	Non-Aboriginal (4)
Grade 8 or Less	24	24	25	15
Grade 9 > Grade 12	44	29	36	42
Some Post Secondary	14	29	27	6
Certificate or Diploma	15	15	10	17
Degree	3	3	2	20
Total	100	100	100	100

Note 1 - Taken from 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey Reports

Note 2 - Taken from Project Survey of 43 families

Note 3 - Taken from study done for CEIC

Note 4 - Taken from 1991 Census Canada reports

Education data indicates the proportion of Metis with Grade 8 or less education is 60% higher than for the non-aboriginal population. The numbers with some or complete high school only is equivalent to the non-aboriginal population. However, it is likely that significantly fewer Metis have completed high school as compared to non-aboriginals. At least twice as many Metis have only some post-secondary education compared to non-aboriginals. Slightly less Metis have only a certificate or diploma. The largest discrepancy is at the level of those with degrees, where proportionately there are at least seven non-metis with a degree for every Metis person who passes a University degree.

Considering that with a Grade 12 diploma, one qualifies primarily for low skill jobs, the employment and career potential of Regina Metis is low when compared to the non-aboriginal population. This is particularly so in the present depressed economy where there is a large

surplus of low skill manpower.

The employment potential of Metis in Regina can only improve significantly when some education/training equity is achieved with the general population. This is particularly important as economies become more high tech and complex and, therefore, require a more highly trained workforce. The highly trained also provide most of the management and leadership in communities.

c) Employment

Data obtained regarding the current employment status of adult Metis is summarized below:

Table 5
Employment Opportunities of Persons 19 - 64
(Total Populations Numbers With Percentages In Brackets)

Employment Characteristics	Regina Metis (1)	Regina Non-Aboriginal (2)
Total Population	3,720 (2.0)	185,300 (93.7)
Total Potential Labour Force	2,100 (1.7)	126,500 (95.0)
Number in Labour Force	1,200 (1.3)	100,630 (96.0)
Number Employed	900 (1.0)	41,100 (96.8)
Number Unemployed	300 (4.7)	6,400 (84.0)
Unemployment Rate	33%	6.8%
Labour Force Participation Rate	57%	72%

Note Sources:

Note 1 - From the 1992 APS Reports

Note 2 - From the 1991 Canada Census Reports

The labour force data indicates that the labour force participation rate of Metis is approximately 79% of that for the non-aboriginal population. This is consistent with other studies which indicate that as job opportunities increase so does the labour force participation rate. When job opportunities are minimal, fewer women enter the labour force and those on

more or less permanent social assistance do not show up in labour force participation data.

The unemployment rate among Metis workers is almost eight times as high as for the non-aboriginal population.

Data in Table 6 below indicates the type of employment held by those Metis who were employed.

Table 6
Nature of Employment (percentages)

Category	Metis (1)	Metis (2)	Non-Aboriginal (3)
Low Skill	54	65	35
Trades & Technical	38	27	41
Professional	8	8	24
Total	100	100	100

Note Sources:

Note 1 - APS 1991 Survey Reports

Note 2 - CEIC Study

Note 3 - 1991 Canada Census Reports

50% more Metis held employment in low skill jobs compared to the non-aboriginal population. The portion of Metis with professional occupations is 33% of that of the non-aboriginal population. Although the two Metis samples show variations between portions of Metis holding low skill and trades/technical employment, the overall skill levels of Metis in both surveys are significantly lower as compared to the non-aboriginal population.

d) Income Data

Table 7

Income Data For Adults 15 + (percentages)

Income Categories	Metis (1)	Non-Aboriginal (2)
\$0 - 9,999	44	19
\$10,000 - 19,999	23	19
\$20,000 - 39,999	25	35
\$40,000 +	8	27
Total	100	100

Note Sources:

Note 1 - From 1991 APS Reports

Note 2 - From 1991 Canada Census Reports

The 1991 Census indicates that the average per capita income for Regina was \$23,800 compared to the average per capita income for Metis in Regina of approximately \$10,000. The CEIC study plus data collected in 1986 during the Tripartite Aboriginal Constitutional discussions indicated that Saskatchewan Metis have incomes which are less than 50% of the incomes of the non-aboriginal population.

Table 7 indicates that twice as many Metis had incomes of less than \$10,000 compared to the non-aboriginal population. Also 3.5 times as many persons in the non-aboriginal population had incomes over \$40,000 as compared to Metis. The disparity is not quite as dramatic in the middle income group of \$10,000 to \$39,999, but even at this level, the portion of Metis falling in the middle income bracket is only 48% as compared to 54% for the non-aboriginal population.

The Stats Canada data indicates that only 42.5% of the personal income of Metis was from employment earnings. No similar data is available from the 1991 census for non-aboriginals.

e) Business Ownership

According to data from the APS Survey a total of 240 Metis in Regina had at one time owned or currently owned and or operated a business. For the province as a whole the comparable figure for Metis is 1445. According to the APS approximately 20% of Saskatchewan Metis live in Regina. Therefore, on a proportional basis one would expect at least 290 Regina respondents reporting they had or currently owned or operated a business. It is possible that because employment prospects are better for Metis in Regina than for the province as a whole, fewer Metis in Regina establish businesses as a means of supporting themselves. Another factor affecting the number of Metis businesses in Regina, is the lack of business support funding for Aboriginal businesses prior to 1980.

f) Mobility

The APS data indicates a fair degree of stability in terms of length of residence among Regina Metis. 23% of respondents said they had never moved and another 31% have not moved since 1985. The remaining 46% had moved in the period 1986 to 1991. There is no mobility data for the non-aboriginal population. The data suggests that the Metis community in Regina is not particularly mobile and is quite stable.

2. Analysis of Data from the Sample Survey plus Other Interviews

a) Persons Interviewed

As outlined in the introductory section of the report, a small sample of Metis who are members of the two MSS locals in Regina were interviewed (see questionnaire - Appendix 1).

The numbers of interviews conducted and the quality of interviews did not meet our

expectations. There were a number of problems experienced with the process which were inherent in the research assignment itself. These included the following:

- In selecting a sample of Metis for the questionnaire interviews, because of the time frame, the researchers were limited to selecting persons from the membership lists of Metis locals. We had no way of determining how representative the Local's membership is of Metis living in Regina. As well, the timing of the research (summer months) meant that many people selected were not available or could not be contacted.
- As indicated by data provided, the demographics of the sample we interviewed showed this sample was older, had a better education, less unemployment and higher incomes than self-identified Metis enumerated in the Stats Canada Census. In discussions with the presidents of the Metis locals, they observed that better educated Metis and those with higher incomes, who were eligible for some special benefits designed for Metis, were joining the locals in significant numbers to establish their credentials as "Metis". It is also possible that this segment of the membership were more inclined to agree to be interviewed.
- Membership lists of the locals were not current and many addresses were incorrect or people had moved.
- There was a great deal of suspicion, hostility or outright indifference on the part of some Metis who refused interviews because of what they perceive as an endless series of studies with no concrete results. There was also suspicion regarding how data would be used. Some believed we would share their comments with Metis politicians and bureaucrats and feared reprisals in some form. We had to replace many of our original and subsequent selections with further randomly selected persons from the

membership lists. In the end we were only able to interview 43 persons rather than the 50 we planned to interview as we did not have the time to do further interviews if we were to meet project deadlines.

- People in the Metis community (politicians, staff and business persons) were also reluctant to be interviewed. Considerable hostility toward SNEDCO was expressed and often given as a reason for not agreeing to be interviewed. As well, some persons were not available in the short time frame during which interviews were conducted.
- In terms of selecting persons from the business community for interviews, we had to depend on persons suggested to us by the Regina Chamber of Commerce representative and the REDA representative on the Advisory Committee. Some of these persons when contacted were suspicious of how information would be used. Others were reluctant to discuss their companies policies. Those persons who did agree to be interviewed were generally co-operative.
- The best response and co-operation was experienced in our interviewing of government officials. All who were contacted, with the exception of several persons who were on holidays, agreed to be interviewed and were generally open in sharing views, ideas and their suggestions.

Persons interviewed in government included persons from the following program areas:

- business and economic development
- education and training
- child care services
- SIMAS

The following is a summary of our findings:

b) Sample Survey

First, it should be noted that our interviews were conducted with adults, 15 years of age and over. Although the numbers of dependents were obtained, no data on the under 15 dependents was obtained. Because of the problems experienced in attempting to identify and interview a representative sample of Metis findings are somewhat unique when compared to other studies and to census data. The findings of the survey were as follows:

- 1) Sex - the sample consisted of 48% males and 52% females. In this regard, the data from the sample is consistent with other data from Stats Canada for both the Metis and the general population.
- 2) Age Range - the sample was selected from a mature age group, 84% of the sample were 25 and over. In the Stats Canada data, Metis adults 15 and over, comprised only 58% of the Metis population. The MSS locals tend to draw their membership from a somewhat older segment of the population. Some are persons who have been members for many years; others are more recent recruits who have joined to establish their Metis credentials. It appears that fewer younger members of the Metis population are joining the MSS locals. We, however, recognize that the result may be a statistical anomaly resulting from problems we experienced in obtaining a truly representative sample of Regina Metis.

3) Self Identity and Discrimination

In regard to questions dealing with identity and discrimination persons interviewed responded as follows:

- 88% said they identified themselves as Metis to the community at large.

- 67% said the community at large identified them as Metis.
- 79% were of the view that discrimination based on ethnicity was a barrier for Metis in the education system, in obtaining employment and when establishing a business.

In regard to how to overcome discrimination views were as follows:

- cross cultural programming 45%
- changes in education training methods 20%
- changes in hiring practices 36%
- affirmative action 11%
- All of the above 40%

Almost half of the respondents were of the view that some combination of the above strategies is essential. Of interest is the fact that only 3 persons out of 43 identified affirmative action as their only proposed strategy for overcoming discrimination.

4) Family Status

Table 8

Family Status (percentages)

Category	Metis (1)	Metis (2)	Non-Aboriginal (3)
Single	21	43	28
Married	58	43	57
Divorced, Separated, Common-Law	14	14	15
No Dependents	45	NA	NA

Note Sources:

Note 1 - Research Survey

Note 2 - APS 1991 Reports

Note 3 - 1991 Canada Census Reports

The Stats Canada data for both the Metis and the non-aboriginal population reflects the

demographic differences in the age composition of the two populations. None of the data supports the notion that Metis families in general are more unstable than families in the non-aboriginal population.

5) Employment

Table 9
Employment Data (Research Survey Only Percent)

Employed	65
Unemployed	16
Students	12
Retired Or Not In Labour Force	17
Total	100
Unemployment as % Of Labour Force	20

Labour force participation in this sample was 81%, which is extremely high compared to other data. However, the unemployment rate of 20% is more than three times that for non-Aboriginals in the city of Regina.

Of those employed, 13% were in business for themselves, 39 percent worked in private sector jobs, 29 percent worked in the public sector and 19 percent worked for a Metis organization. The largest number of Metis work in the private sector and only 1 in 5 Metis are employed by a Metis organization.

Table 10

Employment Held By Occupation (percentages)

Category	Metis (1)	Metis (2)	Non-Aboriginal (3)
Professional	47	8	24
High Skill	23	38	41
Low Skill	30	54	35

Note Sources:

Note 1 - Project Survey

Note 2 - APS 1991 Reports

Note 3 - 1991 Canada Census Reports

The nature of employment for the research sample varies significantly from the Stats Canada data and also from data for the non-aboriginal population. The high proportion of persons reporting work as professionals may reflect their assessment of what they do rather than the numbers who are actually engaged in what would normally be defined as professional occupations. As well, it is not consistent with education data since only 16% reported they hold a University degree. In most professions a university degree is a minimum requirement for professional membership.

The Research Survey data indicates that for Metis who were employed 66% had been employed in their present occupation for 3 years or more. This suggests a substantial degree of employment stability in this group. Comparative data from Stats Canada is not available but the CEIC study indicated more than 75% of persons who were employed had held their current occupation less than 3 years.

6) Income Data

The research sample reported income levels as follows:

Table 11

Income (percentages)

Under \$15,000	46
\$15,000 - 30,000	12
Over \$30,000	42

Although the categories we used were not the same as the income categories used by Stats Canada, the stats indicate that the income of this research sample is significantly higher than for self-identified Regina Metis as reported by Stats Canada in both the 1991 Census and the 1991 APS.

The income, education and employment data in this survey are consistent with data from other sources, in that the data demonstrates that education levels affect employability, the nature of employment and the income levels of the population. Metis in the research sample have a higher level of education, a lower level of unemployment and a higher portion of high skill occupations which is reflected in higher incomes. The other factor which will also influence income levels is employment stability, which is higher in the research sample.

7) Business and Business Development Data

There were an unusually high number of persons in the sample who were or had been in business for themselves. 17 persons or 40% had been in business. Only 4 of these persons were still operating a business at the time of the interview. Also four additional Metis currently in business were interviewed. The province provided us with a list of eight Metis businesses in Regina they considered as being successful, seven of whom were still in business. Most of these

persons had used the province's business advisory services. Some in addition received grants from the provincial Metis Business Development Program.

As indicated previously, the NEDP program in a six year period provided forgivable contributions to approximately 10 Metis businesses in Regina. Of these, seven have closed down, two were sold to non-aboriginal persons as successful operating businesses and one is still owned and operated by Metis. Two of the three financial institutions funded by NEDP are still operational. According to information provided by ITSC staff, project activity in Regina under ABDP has been limited to providing aftercare services to projects approved under the NEDP program. The experience of SNEDCO will be dealt with later in this section of the report.

The survey sample obtained other data regarding Metis businesses. Of the 17 persons in the sample who had been in business, 62% had businesses in the construction and services sectors. The remaining 38% of the sample were in professional or High Tech businesses. 64% of the research sample rated their businesses as successful or very successful and 29% rated their businesses as average. Only 1 of the 17 persons in the sample reported their business as a failure. Our data did not identify the status of the businesses of the persons no longer in business. Of those who businesses which failed, a lack of management and marketing skills were most often cited as reasons for failure.

Persons in the research survey were asked what factors they considered important to the success of a private Metis business. The factors from which they could select and the results are shown in table 12 below:

Table 12
Factors Important To Business Success (percentages)

Hard Work and Long Hours	30
Organizing, Management & Marketing Skills	26
Personal Stability and Dependability	67
Customer Relations	16
All Of The Above	67

The personal knowledge, skills and the value characteristics identified by Metis as important for business operation and success are consistent with what society has traditionally identified as characteristics and values important for business success. They include hard work, good administration and money management skills, good marketing skills and good customer relations.

Of the 17 persons in the survey sample who had been or were still in business only 6 or 35% had received assistance from a government agency and one business person had received a loan from SNEDCO. Most of the assistance was in the form of grants from the province. The province provided outright grants to 4 persons and 1 person received a conditional contribution from NEDP. The grants were all \$10,000 or less. The conditional contribution was in the \$30,000 range. Three of the respondents were of the view that the assistance, was important to their success. The remainder did not believe the assistance was important to their success.

This data indicates that 65%, almost 2 in 3, started up their business without any financial help from a government agency. Although our data did not indicate this, it can be assumed that

they used a combination of their own, the resources of other family members, and money borrowed from traditional financial institutions. Business advisory services were used by only two persons who said they found these services adequate.

In regard to why respondents felt that businesses failed, Table 13 lists the categories from which they could select and shows their response:

Table 13
Reasons For Business Failures (percentages)

Inadequate Management Skills	37
Lack of Marketing Skills	33
Problems Relating To Employees and Customers	17
Insufficient Equity and Too Much Debt	37
Discrimination	17
Political Interference	17
All Of The Above	28

In the opinion of the respondents, lack of management skills, lack of marketing skills, too little equity and too much debt are identified as the factors most associated with the failure of Metis businesses. This is consistent with the experience of financial institutions who lend to small businesses and is also consistent with the experience of SNEDCO with its loan portfolio clients.

8) The Role of Metis Political Organizations

In assessing this issue we used data from the research survey, from interviews with Metis politicians and bureaucrats and from the workshop with Metis locals. Persons responding to the questionnaire were of the view that the role of Metis politicians and political organizations in relation to Metis economic development should be the following:

Table 14
Political Role in Economic Development (percentages)

Develop An Information System To Support Private Metis Businesses	14
To Lobby For Business Support Services	14
To Help Private Metis Businesses Develop A Networking System	12
To Advocate Policies Necessary To Business Success	7
To Interpret The Needs Of Metis Businesses To the Community At Large	5
To Negotiate Program Assistance Details	0
To Lobby For The Awarding Of A Portion Of Contracts To Metis Entrepreneurs	0
All Of The Above	28

The respondents identified support services, lobbying and networking as the most important role for Metis political organizations and their politicians. Of note, is the fact that no one selected the negotiation of funding programs and government contracts alone as an important role for Metis politicians. However, 28% of the sample were of the view that all of the factors listed were important roles for the political organization. There was also agreement that Metis politicians should not interfere politically in the bureaucratic decision making process regarding the provision of financial and other assistance to prospective or active Metis entrepreneurs.

Metis politicians and bureaucrats interviewed as well as participants in the workshops, were unanimous in their view that the Metis community needed to separate the political functions and activities from program delivery functions. They were further unanimous that economic

decisions should be based on economic factors not on politics. There was also agreement that the role of the political organizations and politicians should be limited to those functions identified in Table 14 above.

9) Metis Women

To determine if there were any significant differences between the economic role of Metis women and Metis men, we did a separate tabulation of all of the data for Metis women. Our findings were as follows:

- Metis women in this sample were on average, several years younger than the males.
- Metis women were slightly more inclined to identify themselves as Metis to the community at large and hence to be recognized by that community as Metis.
- Significantly fewer Metis women reported their status as married, 35% compared to 80% for the men and more women reported as single, separated or divorced, 46% compared to 19% for the men.
- More Metis women reported no dependents, 46% compared to 38% for the men.
- A marginally higher number of Metis women than men were employed.
- More Metis women worked for a Metis organization and few were self employed.
- The incomes of Metis women on average were slightly lower than the incomes of the men.
- More Metis women had some university training, 41% compared to 24% for men.
- Women had a significantly shorter period of experience in their present occupations than men.
- Fewer Metis women were students, 9% compared to 14% for men.
- Fewer Metis women than men had been or were involved in business.

- More Metis women than men operated a service industry business, 14% compared to 9% for Metis men.
- There was no significant difference between Metis men and women in how they rated the success of their business.
- In regard to personal characteristics and values seen as important to business success, women did not differ from the men in regard to their responses.
- Metis women also agreed with men in regard to factors that were important to business success.
- Only one Metis woman had received any funding assistance with her business and that was a loan from SNEDCO.
- Metis women were in substantial agreement with men in terms of factors which led to business failure.
- Women and men were in agreement on what should be the role of politicians and political organizations in Metis economic development.
- Metis women were less certain than men about the need for a Metis financial institution, however, 68% did favour such an institution.
- Metis women had a significantly more positive attitude toward SNEDCO than men (12 as compared to 6 thought SNEDCO was the right model).
- Fewer Metis women than men had savings (13 compared to 16).
- Metis women were less inclined than men to keep their savings in a bank account (9 compared to 15).
- Fewer Metis women than men had retirement savings (9 compared to 13).
- Metis women were slightly less inclined than men to be of the view that Metis were ready

to save as a means of creating economic development capital.

- Metis women had a somewhat lower level of education overall but more women held certificates, diplomas or degrees than men with the major difference being the High school certificate category (13 women compared to 7 men). On the other hand no women had any training in the trades whereas 5 men reported training in trades.
- There was no difference in the views of Metis women and men in regard to training considered important to support business and economic success.
- Metis women were less inclined than men to select a Metis institution as the vehicle for the training of Metis for occupations (8 as compared to 12).
- Metis women were less inclined than men to place the major responsibility for motivating children to stay in school on the home (10 compared to 15) and more inclined to place more responsibility on the school (11 compared to 8).
- Metis women were more inclined than men to identify discrimination as a factor in the education system (19 as compared to 15) and were more inclined to select cross cultural programming as the solution to discrimination (8 as compared to 4).
- Although a separate report will be prepared on child care issues, it is important to note that neither women nor men identified the lack of child care as preventing them from pursuing employment and/or training.

10) Barriers To Employment

The main barrier to employment identified by Metis is the limited education and training of Metis which translates into low skill employment. The other major barrier to employment is identified as systemic discrimination in matters such as job classification and in hiring practices.

As well, Metis are of the view that some overt discrimination exists in the school system and in some employment situations.

3. Data From Other Research Processes

Open ended interviews were conducted with selected Metis to get feedback, ideas and proposals from persons directly involved in various programming which in some way impacts on Metis. Also, a small group of persons from the general community were interviewed. The groups and numbers of persons interviewed included the following:

- Metis Business Persons	4
- Metis Politicians	5
- Metis Institutional Staff	5
- Government Officials	12
- Persons concerned with Child Care (includes some gov't staff)	6
- Persons from General Business Community including Finance	10

Since some persons refused interviews unless guaranteed anonymity, we have not included a list of persons interviewed in the Appendices to this report. The following is a summary of our finding.

a) Metis Business Persons and Politicians

Many Metis presently in business and who have been in business expressed hostility toward SNEDCO. There is a gap between expectations Metis have of SNEDCO and the actual mandate of SNEDCO. The expectation is that SNEDCO should give them grants and should not ask a lot of questions.

Since the late 1960s Metis wanting to get involved in business could access grant money as a portion of their project cost. Currently the province provides grants. ABDP provides contributions which are forgivable subject to conditions in funding agreements. The provincial contribution is limited to a maximum of \$10,000. Because of limited provincial funds available, not everyone applying who qualifies can get funded. Therefore, Metis entrepreneurs do not understand why their own economic development institution cannot give them grants.

Other significant points raised by Metis business persons included the following:

- Metis going into business need training. SNEDCO should be the vehicle to provide this training.
- The Metis community should develop a mentor program where successful Metis business persons can provide advice and support to Metis entrepreneurs who want to or are getting established in businesses.
- People who are selected to sit on the boards of agencies like SNEDCO should be qualified and/or trained to make business decisions based on economic considerations.
- Politics and nepotism should be kept out of the decision making process.
- The bureaucratic requirements for applications need to be simplified and the time frame for decision making needs to be reduced.
- Funding should be provided on the merits of each case and each applicant should have to meet all the tests for sound business projects.
- A networking system needs to be developed among Metis businesses so they can share decision making experiences and so they can advise and support each other.
- If SNEDCO is to be only a loans agency it needs to change its name to reflect its function.

The current name suggests an institution with a much broader mandate.

- SNEDCO needs to do more interpretation about its mandate and role to the Metis community in Regina in particular where it has not held any information workshops.

b) Other Metis Institutions

As indicated previously there are a number of Metis institutions affiliated with the MSS. Persons from the following institutions were interviewed and the following was their general response:

1) Educational Institutions

The one current operating institution, Gabriel Dumont Institute (GDI), pointed to the success it has had in training Metis particularly in programs such as SUNTEP and the Metis Business Management Program. This data was reported earlier in this report. With restructuring of the Institutional system itself by the creation of Dumont Technical Institute (DTI), the role of GDI as an education institution is changed. DTI will take over all of the community level training which is identified as Adult Basic Education and vocational/technical training. This leaves GDI with only its original mandate which includes:

- the operation of the SUNTEP program;
- the cultural curriculum development role;
- the operation of the library resource center;
- historical and cultural research.

To provide a continuing role in the direct education of Metis, GDI has applied for affiliation with the University of Saskatchewan. The details of such an agreement are currently being negotiated.

The changes in federal government programming identified earlier and the creation of DTI

threaten the financial viability and stability of GDI. GDI receives a grant for core operations of approximately \$750,000 to fund all core functions identified above other than the SUNTEP program.

As GDI became increasingly involved in delivering community based and certified programs to the Metis of the province, it out of necessity had to expand its core staff to support these initiatives. A major portion of the GDI core cost was being recaptured from charges against the education/training programs being delivered. With a significant portion of these programs transferred to DTI and with CEIC through the LAMB's purchasing some programs from other sources, the program dollars available to GDI have decreased significantly. This has also resulted in a decrease in income to support core operations. Therefore, GDI is faced with a financial crisis and has had to significantly reduce staff and as a consequence limit core programs.

GDI would like to deliver a general university entry level program. This would prepare Metis students to access a number of different professional training opportunities in addition to teacher training and business training now being offered. However, to implement such a program, GDI would have to have a substantial increase in either its core grant from the province or a new funding agreement specifically providing for this type of university programming. Education programs which are designed as part of a university program cannot be funded by CEIC (exceptions have been made for business administration since certificates and diplomas provided to successful graduates are considered the equivalent of the certificates granted by SIAST).

In the case of DTI the province has allocated a small core grant of \$343,000 which covers some of the administrative costs of the new institute. The remaining costs are to be recovered from training programs to be delivered by DTI. DTI is to obtain a training allocation from

several provincial funds for Adult basic education. However, the funding level for the academic 1993-94 year for DTI has not yet been announced.

There are two provincial funds from which ABE programs are funded. These are the NSIM fund from which instructional costs and minimal living allowances are paid. This fund can only be used for Metis and Non Status Indians. There is the Saskatchewan Skill Development fund administered by The Department of Social Services. This fund can be used to cover instructional costs for persons on social assistance who are enrolled in ABE programs. Their social assistance continues while they are in training. In addition, persons on Unemployment Insurance (UI) can be approved for training. UI covers instructional costs and the trainee continues to receive UI benefits until his/her benefits expire.

In regard to technical/vocational training DTI will be dependent primarily on federal funding channelled through the LAMB's and the RAMB unless the present delivery system is altered. At the present time this strategy puts DTI in competition with GDI, SIAST, and the Regional Colleges who are also negotiating with the LAMB's to access pathway funds. Because the provincial institutions have more adequate core funding than the Metis institutions they can often underbid Metis institutions. There is also a Saskatchewan Skills Extension Fund used for vocational and technical training delivered by the Regional Colleges. It covers instructional costs only and is open to aboriginal persons who fit the program criteria. DTI may be able to receive an allocation from this fund as well. Also UI is a funding source for persons receiving UI who enrol in technical/vocational training as described above.

2) Native Advisory Committees

The other component of the education/training system are the Native Advisory Committees

(NAC's). When the NSIM funding criteria changed so that only Adult Basic Education could be funded from this fund, these resources were allocated entirely to the SIAST campuses and the Regional Colleges. A condition of these allocations was the establishment by each institution of a NAC committee, appointed by the institution. In theory these appointments are made on advice from the native community. However, Metis locals, areas boards and the Provincial MSS Council have consistently claimed that they are not consulted and that these committees do not represent the Metis community.

3) Duplication and Confusion

The whole area of Metis education and training is currently in a state of flux and some confusion. There is no one central education/training strategy. There, in fact, are a number of strategies which are all competing with each other for the available dollars. The current situation makes little rational sense when one considers that the Metis community is a small community probably in the range of 4 to 5% of the provincial population. The present structures are, as well, very costly in terms of administrative costs. There are more than two dozen committees and boards involved in formulating Metis Adult education policy and in making program delivery decisions. They are as follows:

- Regional colleges – 9 NAC committees
- SIAST campus – 4 " "
- LAMB board – 12 boards as all local areas are now in the process of setting up separate boards on the basis of MSS political areas. Each LAMB has two or three staff.
- RAMB – made up of the presidents of the LAMBS with a core staff
- DTI – with a dozen board members

- GDI – with 28 board members
- Northern Labor Market Committee

Each of these structures spend funds on per-diems and travel. As well, except for Regional colleges and SIAST, each have some staff whose role it is to advise boards and to carry out board decisions. Although NAC's do not have a bureaucracy they do hold a three day annual conference on Native Education. This is so even though GDI, as a condition of its core contract, is required to hold an annual Metis education conference.

There is a massive duplication of effort and a large duplication of administrative costs. We do not have access to all of the financial data so it has not been possible to quantify precisely the extent of the duplication of costs. However, from data available the total funding allocated to post high school education for Metis is approximately \$10 million for the academic year 1993-94. Budget information which is available indicates that approximately 50% of these funds are used to cover administrative and staff support costs including student support services. If some of this money were used to augment GDI and DTI budgets it would enable these Institutions to take on a co-ordinated and effective leadership role in Metis education. The remaining funds could be used to increase the program and course offerings available to Metis.

The above estimate of costs does not include the staff and administrative costs of the federal and provincial governments in maintaining and operating this system. It is little wonder that government bureaucrats claim to be getting conflicting signals from the Metis community. The current structure is a ready made formula for causing dissent and division in the Metis community. Everyone involved fights to protect their territory, ie. their small piece of the pie.

Another result is that Metis themselves are extremely frustrated because the real decisions

on the utilization of resources lies with the government bureaucrats. All of the Metis organizations have a role mandated for them by government in funding contracts or in some instances they can only advise.

Provincial politicians and bureaucrats, federal politicians and bureaucrats and Metis politicians all have to take some responsibility to resolve this duplication of effort and programming (specific proposals for solutions will be dealt with under the recommendation section of this report). If solutions are to be realized then there must be a willingness on the part of all parties to get together to formulate one Adult Education Strategy for Metis in the province. This strategy should provide for an integrated system for the delivery of the programs needed by Metis.

4) Housing Programs

As mentioned in an earlier section of this report, AMNSIS had at one point based its economic strategy on a housing strategy. For reasons outlined above this effort in the end failed both as an economic and a housing strategy. More recently the Provincial Metis Housing Corporation (PMHC) has been providing a variety of services to Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) by way of a contractual fee for service agreement. The services provided under CMHC provisions are for rural and native housing. Services included taking, and processing the applications and providing advice, counselling and follow up support services to persons in receipt of housing under this program. Fees were set so as to allow PMHC to make a profit. (PMHC is not currently involved in housing construction.) This arrangement, however, is now in jeopardy since Saskatchewan Housing Corporation (SHC), one of the partners in the agreement with PMHC, has withdrawn from the arrangement and has decided to deliver its own

programming where it has jurisdiction. PMHC has been negotiating with SHC for a housing role but the negotiations have not been finalized. Currently PMHC has a contract with CMHC to continue to deliver the emergency repair and maintenance programs to Metis families living in substandard housing.

As previously mentioned there are several Aboriginal housing corporations in the major urban centers. There are three such corporations in Regina, which between them own and administer in excess of 800 housing units. They lease to Aboriginal families with rents based on income. They employ an administrative staff, some clerical staff, some counsellors and, as well, contract out repair and maintenance services including decorating. Aboriginal contractors are given a preference but contracts are let on the basis of a bidding process which does not guarantee the work to Aboriginal business persons.

The chief executive officers of two of these Corporations have identified some specific areas of additional need such as student housing and housing for Aboriginal seniors. Senior's housing could include self contained housing, as well as, special care homes.

5) Metis Addictions Council of Saskatchewan Inc. (MACSI)

This is a provincially incorporated non-profit corporation affiliated with the MSS. It operates in- house treatment services in Regina, Saskatoon, and Prince Albert and offers some aftercare services to persons who have been discharged from these centers. Its head office is located in Regina. It also provides some outreach services to youth in these three localities. Its funding is provided through agreements with the Saskatchewan Alcohol and Drug Abuse Commission (SADAC). Funding is a combination of a base core budget plus fee for service per diems.

This is a social institution and as such is not directly concerned with economic development. However, social institutions employ staff and consume a variety of services provided by both the public and private sectors. Therefore, they offer potential employment for Metis in a variety of jobs including professional jobs. In addition successful follow up to in-patient treatment generally needs to involve stable employment and income for patients on discharge. The centers also provide potential opportunities for Metis business persons who can provide them with a variety of services which the centers consume.

6) Other Social Institutions

The province has promoted the concept of the devolution of a variety of social service functions to community agencies. These could include preventive health services, family services, child care including foster homes, institutional care, and some justice system and correctional services. Examples of operational programs are the community training residence for women offenders in Saskatoon, the Alex Bishop home in Green Lake and the Metis Justice and Family Institute which is headquartered in Saskatoon. The latter non-profit corporation has carried out several pilot projects and has recently been given funding and a role in Metis family services and in the Justice system.

The Metis community in Regina experiences many of the problems which are common to Metis in all parts of the province. The development of an overall health/social services strategy could provide some employment for Metis professionals and some employment in management, administrative and maintenance functions. As well, services consumed would provide potential business for Metis entrepreneurs.

7) The Metis Society of Saskatchewan

As identified in the historical background section of this report, the Metis political organization has undergone various transformations over the years. The one constant, however, is the fact that it has retained a consistent organizational model. The original SMS was established as a charitable organization under legislation which existed at the time for incorporating charities. This legislation was later replaced by the Societies Act which was designed primarily to accommodate churches, social clubs, private charities and non-profit social service agencies. This Act in turn was succeeded by the Non-Profit Corporations Act in the late 1970s. Although the current Act provides for the incorporation of other types of organizations it is not designed to accommodate political organizations which want to function in a self-governing role. Such organizations, if they are to operate in a democratic way, need their own legislation which specifically spells out the governing structures, the processes and the principles under which self-government will operate.

The provincial organization has developed bylaws which provide an operating basis for its political operations. Because it is incorporated as a non-profit corporation, governments do not relate to the organization as if it were a self-government organization. As well the structure has been developed in a way which divides up the interests of Metis on a geographic basis. This means it is difficult for the organization to develop a uniform, integrated and comprehensive strategy in many areas of programming of concern to Metis.

The organization lacks a central power base and a bureaucracy without which there can be no self-government or governing initiatives. Not only does the structure fracture the Metis community but certain government agencies relate to that community in ways which consolidate power in regional politicians. CEIC, for example, by establishing the six local area management

boards and by investing most of its Metis earmarked resources in these boards, consolidates control over Pathways programming in the regional politicians. Some individual Metis indicated they were prevented from accessing the programs or services they need due to decisions made on the basis of political rather than program criteria.

In terms of developing provincial policy, the president and the other two executive officers have no real power since they control no program resources. Program resources are funnelled to the regional areas or to independently incorporated organizations.

Except for funding being provided for the Tri-Partite process, the provincial association has few resources to hire bureaucrats and advisors to assist it to develop and prepare comprehensive strategies and policies or to give direction to and to supervise operational programs. Consequently, strong boards and program heads have tended to go in their own direction building their own empires. The provincial association is attempting to reorganize and develop new structures for the political organization and the affiliated institutions. The object is to more closely integrate these independently incorporated institutions as part of a Metis self-government system which is responsible and accountable to the membership. The MSS is frustrated in these efforts by the fact that it has no say about the details of agreements by which funds are delivered for programming. These are determined by governments who have their own agendas which are often in conflict with the aspirations of the Metis community.

The issue of a reformed Metis political organization will be dealt with in more detail in the conclusion and recommendation section of this report.

8) SNEDCO

Sasknative Economic Development Corporation by virtue of its funding mandate, is

limited to being a Class B loans corporation. Since its inception its lending activities can be summed up as follows:

	<u>Total</u>
Total loan applications received	416
Total loans approved	246
Total loans made	215
Value of loans made	6.5 Million
Loans written off or in arrears	1.034 Million
Total loan losses to date	.922 Million
Current loans in arrears	133,000
Money currently on loan	2.5 Million
Money invested in other assets	2.5 Million

All of the above figures are approximations.

The original funding level for SNEDCO approved by NEDP was \$5 million. At the point at which NEDP was phased out only \$3.5 million of that had been paid out. Since the operation could not sustain itself at that level of funding Industry, Science and Technology Canada has topped up the fund with an additional \$1.5 million capital contribution. As well a \$500,000 operating contribution was provided to sustain SNEDCO in the initial years until its capital base was fully funded.

When MEDFO was phased out, negotiations for a business advisory service (BAS) between SNEDCO and ISTC resulted in an agreement which runs until March 31, 1995. This has enabled SNEDCO to put in place the BAS. This service is provided to potential entrepreneurs to assist them where indicated to develop business plans for their project proposals. Follow up advisory services have also been provided. ISTC provides most of the funding for this service with approximately 18% of the funds received from charges to the clientele. The ISTC funding for a 3 year period is \$1.05 million.

To date, the BAS has received over 700 requests for assistance. It has, either through its own staff or outside consultants, provided advisory services to and assisted 139 prospective entrepreneurs to prepare business plans and financial proposals. Of these proposals, 94 have resulted in approved or pending loans to operational projects. Eight proposals have been rejected. Several other projects are under consideration by ABDP or the provincial Metis Business Development Program and, therefore, SNEDCO's decision on these applications are being held in obeyance until the other funding sources make their decisions on funding requests.

SNEDCO does not keep separate statistics for Regina. Therefore, all data quoted above is provincial. To have SNEDCO go through all of its files since its inception and identify projects located in Regina was not feasible at this time.

Where entrepreneurs are seeking assistance from the provincial or federal programs they are assisted to prepare business plans and funding requests to present to these agencies. The provincial program is now administered by the Department of Economic Development.

As indicated previously ISTC provides non-interest bearing contributions up to \$100,000 which are forgivable. Over that amount, ISTC is still a potential source of repayable contributions which bear no interest.

The BAS is funded on condition that after its completion either SNEDCO will be able to generate enough income to cover this additional cost and/or the cost of service will be covered from charges to clientele. The manager of the BAS indicated that this was not a realistic assumption since only 1/5 of the Funding required to provide the service could be raised through fees. Given SNEDCO's limited capital base it will not be able to make a contribution to keep the service operational. Therefore, additional government funding must be provided if the service is to continue.

In February of 1992, SNEDCO signed an agreement with ISTC for a \$1.95 million fund to provide equity loans to Metis Entrepreneurs. Equity loans can be provided for up to 50% of the required equity for a project. Interest on equity loans is 1% higher than interest on SNEDCO capital loans. It is anticipated that due to loan losses, this fund will last from three to five years. The cost of administering this program is also recovered from this fund.

In its present form and with its funding mandate still controlled by the federal government, SNEDCO will not be able to sustain itself in the long term. The theory behind SNEDCO is that it acts as a lending institution of last resort for Metis entrepreneurs who cannot obtain loans from private sector lending institutions. This puts it in the same lending position as the provincial agency SEDCO. However, SEDCO which is a provincial crown corporation gets its capital base from the province. The province can maintain that base by an ongoing infusion of additional capital from the province's general operating account. SNEDCO has no such capacity to replace its loan losses.

As indicated earlier in this report, private lending institutions indicate that 75% of all new small businesses fail within five years of start up. The actual loan losses on such defaulted loans is approximately 50% of loans made. When the loans to successful businesses are included, the private institutional losses on loans to small business are approximately 40% of loans made. These lending institutions, because they are able to lever their capital base with various forms of deposits, have a built in process for renewing their capital base. Also because they are able to invest the bulk of their capital in loans which are profitable (such as consumer loans, mortgages, government bonds, shares, money swaps, etc.) they are able to absorb these losses without any threat to their financial stability and profitability.

Because SNEDCO provides a higher risk loan, it might expect higher losses than the

private sector institutions. To date the combined loan losses plus arrears amount to approximately 40% of disbursed loans.

If SNEDCO had half of its capital base as surplus and invested it in high yield financial instruments and if it charged 14% interest on its loans it could cover its administration expenses and absorb loan losses without eroding its capital base. However, 14% interest is not realistic in the present financial market and even the current interest on capital loans of 10% charged by SNEDCO is probably too high. If the amount of money loaned increases substantially, SNEDCO will in a short period of time erode its capital base and cease to be a viable operation. This process has already begun as SNEDCO's operating costs in the current fiscal year will exceed its income. How long the erosion may take is speculative but in the longer term SNEDCO cannot be viable unless it changes its role and its methods of operation or unless it can increase its capital pool to approximately \$8 million.

To counteract the inherent problems in its role SNEDCO tries to reduce its loan losses by being restrictive in its lending practices. It selects projects for loan assistance which appear to have a good potential for success. When loans are in default it must take appropriate steps to reduce its losses by realizing on collateral or personal guarantees. The role of SNEDCO has and is earning it a lot of negative publicity in the Metis community. Hostility in the Metis community is directed at the SNEDCO staff, its board, and Metis politicians. The current situation is essentially a no win proposition for the Metis community.

The other major criticism of SNEDCO is that it takes far too long to make decisions on loan requests to the detriment of potential and/or operating businesses. The time frame for SNEDCO decision making is inherent in how the institution has to operate under guidelines set by its funding agreements with the federal government. The factors which contribute to the

lengthy decision making process included the following:

- Because SNEDCO tries to limit its potential exposure to loan losses, it goes through a thorough process of having comprehensive business plans prepared, in-depth assessment of these business plans and the preparation of detailed recommendations to the Board of SNEDCO. The length of time required for this process varies depending on the complexity of the project but it certainly precludes decisions on loans being made in a matter of a few weeks.
- SNEDCO does not have a prior relationship with most of its first time applicants which provides it with the banking and credit record of its prospective loan clients. Most financial institutions provide loans to businesses which have accounts in their institutions and with whom they have a relationship. This provides them with key information they require in their decision making process. SNEDCO, not being a bank, does not have regular customers and, therefore, needs more time to gather information about potential clients and to check their credit worthiness.
- SNEDCO operates from one central office and therefore has no networks at the community level to help it assess the strengths and weaknesses of applicants. This central operation prevents intensive contacts with most applicants and therefore it is difficult to develop a working relationship with applicants. This also means that interpreting the nature of SNEDCO service and assistance to the communities is difficult. As well it is difficult to develop working relationships with community leaders who can assist with the assessment of project applicants.
- SNEDCO loan decisions over \$25,000 are made by the SNEDCO board. The Board only meets once a month and does not necessarily render a decision on a loan application

the first time it is presented. This further stretches out time for processing loan applications. A "yes" decision on an application generally requires approximately a minimum of three months. Decisions which are "no" can, be made more quickly but still take longer than when an applicant is dealing with a bank. The other factor which affects the time required for a decision to be rendered relates to the fact that several other agencies may as well be involved in providing financing for a project. A given project may be dependent for approval on receiving a grant from the province, plus loan funding from a bank or a contribution from ABDP. The decision on the SNEDCO loan, therefore, of necessity is delayed pending decisions by other bureaucratic agencies.

- SNEDCO is not seen as a legitimate Metis institution by the Metis community. The board members have been appointed by the Trust. Half of the board is not Metis. The political organization and the community generally don't know the Non-Native board members. They view the SNEDCO structure and operating procedures as something forced upon them by outside interests and the government. SNEDCO is viewed as a kind of "Indian Affairs Agency" for Metis.

Legitimate questions to raise are, "how much money would banks lend if they had to go through a similar process used by SNEDCO? how long would decisions take if banks had to submit all loan applications to their boards or to a loans committee?". It is safe to assume they would not lend nearly as much money as they currently do to small businesses and that they would take much longer to make decisions. They would also likely experience much of the same dissatisfaction and hostility on the part of clients currently directed at SNEDCO.

Hostility also arises from the fact that would-be Metis entrepreneurs appear to have unrealistic expectations of SNEDCO. These expectations include the following:

- SNEDCO should give outright grants;
- SNEDCO should provide loans without asking a lot of questions;
- SNEDCO should not charge interest rates which are higher than those of other lending institutions;
- SNEDCO should not attempt to collect on defaulted loans.

The reasons for these expectations relate to a variety of factors which include the following:

- Metis politicians in the past have fostered unrealistic expectations of government funded programs;
- many potential Metis entrepreneurs have no or little equity and, therefore, need grant money if their business proposal has any potential for viability;
- a long history of being marginalized has fostered attitudes on the part of some Metis that they should continue to receive resources without having to be accountable for the use of these resources; and
- people do not understand the process that SNEDCO must go through if it is to survive.

In its original funding agreement SNEDCO was given a very limited mode of operation and mandate. It was tied to this mandate for a period of 4 years following the receipt of its last funding. This agreement should have expired by this time but with the topping up of the fund and the funding of the BAS and the Equity Loan fund, the agreement has been extended.

The MSS recently petitioned the federal government to eliminate the Trust and allow the MSS to have direct control over board appointments and over the operation of SNEDCO. An

agreement to this effect has been signed. This agreement ties SNEDCO to the current funding conditions to the year 2000.

SNEDCO could expand its mandate and role in promoting and supporting Metis economic development by seeking approval for new programs and resources from the federal and provincial governments. However, SNEDCO's ultimate owner, the MSS, has decided that SNEDCO should for now, limit its activities to its present mandate. In the meantime, the MSS is developing a proposed strategy for another economic development structure more closely tied to the political organization. The structure provides for regional economic development authorities known as Saskatchewan Metis Economic Development Authorities (SMEDAS). They would assume the responsibility for a broadly based economic development strategy. SNEDCO would continue in its present form as a class B loans institution (this is one of the objectives being pursued through the Tri-partite discussions as part of the MSS goal of achieving self government).

4. The Tri-partite Process

During the last round of constitutional negotiations substantial agreement had been reached by Canada's eleven governments and the Metis National Council on recognition of Metis as Aboriginal people under section 91-24 of the British North American Act. This section vests responsibility for Aboriginal people with the Government of Canada. In addition, the general outline of self-government and of land rights for the Metis were included in a protocol agreement which had been accepted by all of the government representatives and the Metis representatives. This was to be the basis for negotiating the details of self-government. There had also been agreement on proceeding with Tri-partite discussions and negotiations. These were to be aimed

at working out the details of Metis self-government jurisdiction, programming and delivery structures and processes.

With the rejection of the Constitutional Accord by the Canadian electorate, these agreements have in effect died with the rest of the Accord. The one exception is the Tri-partite process which was begun under the previous round of Aboriginal constitutional discussions and which in several provinces had continued through the period between the two constitutional rounds.

In Saskatchewan, the process had been discontinued but both levels of government indicated that they were prepared to start up the process again. However, there has been insistence from the province, that these negotiations not be characterized as negotiations leading to self-government. It is the provincial government's position that with the failure of the constitutional Accord, the legal framework for Metis self-government does not exist. Therefore, current discussions from the Province's perspective are designed to develop proposals for the devolution of programs and services.

This devolution would likely take place under program and service delivery agreements and funding agreements similar to those for G.D.I. and SNEDCO. The Metis would not have their own resource base. The province would still be able to dictate how financial resources are used and the details of programs to be delivered. As well, the Metis organizations would continue to be accountable to the government agency providing resources rather than to their own community. One of the jurisdictions being examined for devolution is that of economic development programming. Discussions are slow and there has been no substantial agreement on devolution details to date.

In regard to economic programming, the plan proposed by the MSS would retain SNEDCO

to provide economic planning, Business Development and Business Advisory Services, to administer loans and to provide aftercare services. SNEDCO would be part of the Metis self-government structure. It would be related to a Metis government in a fashion similar to how SEDCO, is related to the provincial government. If the MSS agreed, SNEDCO could enlarge its role to become a full fledged financial institution with deposit taking powers. It could also be given the mandate of investing in the broader range of investment instruments employed by other financial institutions.

It does not seem feasible for Regina Metis to have a strategy for economic development separate from a provincial Metis strategy. The community (based on self identification) is small, approximately 1.9% of the Regina population. Even if only half of the Metis have self identified and the figure is 3.8 or even 5% of the population of Regina, the community is still not large enough to be able to sustain its own separate institutions. Therefore, its best strategy for economic development is to be part of a larger provincial system for the Metis community.

As mentioned above, land and resources are key issues in the Tri-partite negotiations. These would also have to be key provisions in any Metis self-government strategy. There can be no meaningful self-government where elected representatives are not accountable to their own people and unless the elected government has some control over its own resource base. Land and resources are important to economic development in a number of ways. They provide access to raw materials important to both primary and secondary economic development. They also potentially provide income which can be used to meet operating costs and for capital investment purposes. There are other instruments for providing resources such as tax agreements, provision of Trust Funds (such as have been negotiated with some Indian and Inuit communities) and equalization agreements to name a few. However these resources are provided, they will be

necessary, if there is to be a system in place to promote, to develop, to deliver and to sustain economic opportunities for Metis.

5. Current Government Programs

At the municipal government level there are no economic development programs specifically targeted to the Aboriginal community. REDA does research, development and promotion of economic opportunities in Regina. Metis could access these services but REDA does not provide the type of immediate concrete help and/or potential financial resources required by prospective or active Metis entrepreneurs. REDA has an Aboriginal committee which could play a role in business development if its membership were made up of Aboriginal business persons from the Regina community. The current membership is heavily weighted with Aboriginal persons drawn from government agencies and from Aboriginal institutions. A committee of business persons could develop policy proposals for consideration by REDA and other stakeholders involved with Metis. Such policies could be business specific rather than the generalized policies which tend to be the guidelines for government agency programming. Such a Metis business group could also identify business niches for prospective Metis entrepreneurs and as well identify economic sectors where further research and or development work is needed.

The city has an employment equity policy but does not meet its equity targets. It has no policy for identifying or earmarking a portion of its contracts for Aboriginal or more specifically Metis contractors.

The province provides Business Advisory Services which Metis entrepreneurs can access. According to the province, a substantial number do access these services. As detailed above, the province also administers the Metis Business Development program. This fund for Metis is

\$450,000 for the current fiscal year. The province provides research, development, promotion and related services to all entrepreneurs. It has a specific program which targets the tourism sector and which can provide some funding for marketing activities. It does not provide capital funding for tourist businesses. Metis entrepreneurs can access some assistance through these programs.

The Saskatchewan Economic Development Corporation (SEDCO) provides capital loans, participating loans and a range of business advisory services. Saskpower Corporation also has a small program from which it can fund certain types of Northern businesses which will engage in business operations in the Northern administration district. This fund is available to Metis entrepreneurs. We were not able to determine if Metis use this fund or the extent of their use of the fund.

In regard to employment of Metis, the province has an employment equity program for Aboriginal persons. Targets are rarely met and jobs are generally at entry level positions. Metis, due to limited education and a lack of appropriate training have problems accessing job openings at other levels in the public service. Also union contracts favour incumbents where positions are in scope. In the present job climate where public service jobs are being reduced few opportunities for Metis entrants to the provincial government labour force are available.

The federal government programs, are currently provided through ISTC. The various aspects of the strategy have been described in a previous section of the report. Assistance to small aboriginal businesses is provided through one element of the program, the Aboriginal Business Development Program (ABDP). In all cases the applicant must bear 10% of the cost of such initiatives. Also ABDP will now consider joint venture projects, and the purchase of economically viable businesses. ISTC will only consider assisting projects which have a high

probability of being successful and profitable.

There is also a provision to make contributions for what are referred to as aftercare projects. This assistance is in the form of forgivable contributions. The activities for which contributions can be approved include: follow-up advisory services, management training, systems improvements and marketing. The contributions are generally 75% of actual aftercare costs, but in some projects ABDP has funded 100% of the costs.

The other federal government program which is in theory available to Metis is the Western Diversification fund. This program is limited to providing repayable contributions and focuses on high tech, innovative and export oriented projects. As far as can be determined no Metis person has ever applied for or received funding from this source.

The federal government as well funds an independent advisory service known as Canadian Executive Services Organization. It matches up retired persons with business expertise, with entrepreneurs who need their expertise. SNEDCO indicated that at present it does not use this program.

The federal government has an employment equity program for Aboriginal people within the federal public service. Quotas are not generally met and job openings in the federal public service are limited at this time due to funding cutbacks and staff reductions. The federal government does not have a separate quota for Metis.

It should be noted that job opportunities in good paying jobs or opportunities for profitable businesses are better in Regina than in most other centers in the province both in the public and private sectors. The reason for this potential is that Regina has a larger mass of public and quasi public sector jobs than any other center in Saskatchewan. As well, many private sector businesses with provincial, national or international interests, tend to have their provincial head

offices in Regina. Regina also has the largest concentration of Metis institutions and, therefore, more job opportunities for Metis in these Institutions. This will in part account for some of the difference in our research survey findings in regard to employment and income as noted between the Metis population in Regina and the Metis population in the province at large.

The array of government agencies delivering economic development services which the Metis community can access is somewhat confusing, inefficient and with some of the same duplication of functions we noted in the education training jurisdiction. The province has developed a one window approach to servicing the needs of small businesses. Their one window consists of consolidating all of their services in one government agency, namely the Department of Economic Development. As far as can be determined neither the federal, provincial or municipal governments have shown an interest in working with the Metis community to develop one single window (Agency) for delivering economic development services to the Metis which is operated by the Metis community.

6. Private Sector Support

There is no private sector Metis organization made up of Metis business persons. The need for such an organization was identified. However, there were no suggestions as to how such an organization could be initiated. It is also not clear whether there is a sufficient interest in the Metis business community to establish and maintain such an organization.

The Regina Chamber of Commerce has a Aboriginal committee. The Chairman of the committee is a non-Aboriginal. He had agreed to an interview but although several attempts were made to contact him, we were not successful in arranging an interview. Therefore, we did not obtain information on the makeup of the committee or its function. The Chamber could play

a role in mobilizing resource persons in the Metis business community. This potential role will be dealt with in more detail in Part IX of the report.

PART VIII

ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION OF FINDINGS

The following are conclusions we have reached based on the analysis of the information gathered through this project.

1. How Many Metis?

One of the crucial issues in attempting to propose initiatives and solutions to the underdevelopment of the Metis community relates to the fact that it is not known who the Regina Metis are or the potential numbers of Metis for whom programming must be developed. Figures range from a low of 3,800 (1.9%) who self-identified in the Stats Canada 1991 census, to a high of a 20,000 claimed by some Metis leaders. We could speculate what the actual number is, but that would not solve the problem. What is urgently needed in Regina and provincially is an enumeration of Metis, the establishment of a register of Metis and the maintenance of that register. This needs to be done in the same manner as the register of Status Indians which has been created and is maintained by the bands and the Department of Indian Affairs. There are some Metis who oppose an enumeration as they believe it will create a low figure because many Metis will not register unless there is some benefit for them to register. It is recognized that this may happen initially but provisions for late registration can be built into the system. The enumeration data would provide a minimum starting point for planning.

It is ironic that in 1946, the then Premier Tommy Douglas called a meeting of Metis leaders to consider the urgent development needs of Metis. One of two key requests made by Metis leaders was that the province must undertake an enumeration to get an accurate count of Metis in the province. This, the leaders believed, was necessary if meaningful initiatives to deal

with Metis underdevelopment were to take place. Almost 50 years later there still is no accurate count nor is there as yet a firm plan in place to do such an enumeration.

2. Metis Goals and Objectives

To the degree that Regina Metis have goals and objectives they are the same as those of the provincial association. There is general agreement that the paramount goals are:

- the recognition of self-governing rights and the development of self-governing institutions
- the acquisition of a resource base to fund self-government.

The resource base could be in the form of land, natural resources or some current, new or innovative tax sharing arrangement.

People in the sample survey questioned whether the existing provincial non-profit association can be the self-government vehicle for Metis. There was general agreement that for Metis government to be seen as legitimate by Metis, there must be a legal basis for such self-government and that legislation should provide for a democratic organization which is accountable to the Metis community.

In regard to self sufficiency goals which could be identified more specifically with economic development, Regina Metis strive for:

- more and better education opportunities;
- more and better job access and opportunities; and,
- improved assistance and opportunities for Metis wishing to enter business.

3. Community Unity

The Metis community has not traditionally been and is not at present a unified community. There are factions in the community which compete for power and influence. Therefore, governments hear not one, but many Metis voices vying for their attention. It must, however, be recognized that the Regina, Saskatchewan or Canadian community is hardly a unified community. Any politician is aware that in his/her constituency, in the province, and nationally, there are many voices competing for attention, power and influence. This is after all, a natural characteristic of democratic societies. There are and always will be many interests vying for attention and lobbying their interests.

The reasons for the lack of unity in the Metis community is based in part on history (there were two distinct groups in the Metis population "the halfbreeds" and the "Bois Brule"). In addition, members of marginal communities as they emerge from their marginal circumstances fight for the few crumbs that are offered to them. There are obvious winners and losers in this process. This creates resentment and jealousy, as well as suspicion about the fairness of the process by which the winners become winners.

However, because of the unique circumstances of underdevelopment of the Metis community, the Metis interviewed identified a greater need for unity in purpose, goals and objectives for Metis than generally exists in society at large. What is currently required is a legislative base for institutional structures and strong leadership around which the community can coalesce.

4. Age Characteristics

As indicated earlier in this report, the data available from the last two census and from

collateral sources establish that the average age of Metis who self-identified is much lower than for the general population. Data indicates that the proportion of Metis in the under 15 age group is double that for the general population. This means potentially the number of Metis who are now entering and who will enter the labour force in the next decade will be double that for the general population. Therefore, in planning programs and allocating resources for Metis this fact must be taken into consideration.

5. The Historic Metis Community in Regina

For the most part, Metis are late comers to Regina. There was not a historic Metis community with its own economic and social systems in place, prior to the settlement of Europeans at the present city site. Metis were marginalized throughout the prairie region in communities where they traditionally lived. Those who migrated to Regina came as a people who had already lived on the margins of society for one to three generations. They settled in the marginal neighbourhoods in Regina bringing with them the problems that are common to marginalized communities. They had few personal resources, low education/training/knowledge and skills, limited job experience and limited job prospects. The majority of the members of a marginal social group find great difficulty in moving out of their socio-economic situation particularly when they have been deliberately marginalized as a matter of public policy.

Attempts to assist the Metis community to overcome their marginal status must be based on a public acknowledgement of this fact and of the biases which are still built into public systems as vestiges of this policy. There must be a public commitment by government to root out these biases and to provide Metis with the tools they need to address their current circumstances.

6. Metis Economy

There is not currently, nor has there been historically something which could be identified as a Metis economy in Regina. Some Metis have found a place for themselves in the general economy and the community at large. It is probably not possible to create a business in Regina which caters exclusively or primarily to the Metis community, as happens in ethnic ghettos in larger cities. Therefore an economic strategy based primarily on a "Metis economy" in our view, will not work in Regina.

As stated previously, an economic strategy for Regina Metis must be part of a provincial economic strategy for Metis. The strategy must also recognize that job creation, accessing employment opportunities and building successful businesses must take place within the larger Regina community and must serve that community. That is not to suggest that there will not be some job opportunities for Metis, within Metis institutions, some of which will serve primarily Metis. This should be only part of the strategy. Before Metis institutions can become a more meaningful part of the strategy they must be nurtured and strengthened and new institutions must be created to serve the needs of the Metis. The majority of job opportunities for Metis must be created in the existing public and private sectors. The employers identified in Part V, section 3, offer the best potential for job prospects for Metis workers. As well, existing and future Metis businesses must cater to the community at large.

7. Education and Training

Because of the marginal economic circumstances of the Metis community there traditionally was limited incentive for children to stay in school beyond either grade 8 or school leaving age (16) or to complete high school. A few individuals with exceptional inner

motivation and abilities have risen above their marginal situation as is normal in most such communities. However, for the greater majority of the populace, education and training were not priorities to occupational success. In families living on marginal incomes there are seldom enough resources to pay for the cost of educating children. As well, there are economic pressures, often created in the home, for able-bodied youth to work to help augment a low level of family income or at least to create enough income so they can be self-sufficient and not a financial burden on the family.

As the proportion of Metis students in the K to 12 system increases, the need for culturally sensitive curriculum becomes more acute. Likewise, the need to develop programming to meet the needs of Metis children and the need for support services to assist students to adjust, remain in school and succeed in school becomes more acute. If these facts are ignored or not dealt with adequately an additional large percentage of Metis will be added to the labour force with limited employment skills and will compete with an already large pool of unskilled workers. Persons responsible for employment programs must also plan for this large influx of Metis into the future labour force.

The fact that low educational levels and low occupational skills present a serious barrier to the integration of Metis into the labour force and the general economy of Regina, was already recognized in the 1960s. This provided the impetus for the creation of the NRIM (NSIM) program and later for G.D.I. The result has been the beginning of the creation of a professional and technically trained pool of Metis. Available data suggests, that at least in Regina, when Metis have the qualifications and skills needed to compete for jobs in the public and private sector they are successful in obtaining employment. In our consultations it was suggested that professionally trained Metis may currently have an advantage over other professional graduates

when competing for jobs. This is due to the fact that most public agencies and larger private employers have employment equity programs. As openings are available they strive to fill these positions with qualified Aboriginal candidates, to meet their equity quotas.

However, data available from the 1991 census and from other sources indicate that there is still a serious education/training deficit in the Metis community. This must be addressed if there is to be a significant improvement in the economic circumstances of Metis generally. Therefore, education/training policy and initiatives must be designed with a catch up strategy and a strategy to deal with the larger numbers of youth in the Metis community. This strategy will need to recognize that the strategies for the Adult older learner and the youth population may need to be different. The older population generally have significant financial responsibilities and commitments. Also they are more set in their ways and possess a different level of psycho-social maturity than youth. Therefore, training programs may need to accommodate these differences. In particular, entry and exist requirements for various training programs may need to be modified for the older learners. Also the kind and level of financial assistance which is provided for older learners may need to be adjusted to provide sufficient incentive for these learners to invest time in becoming better educated.

In allocating funds for core costs for post high school Metis institutions, the province must recognize that the Metis institutions on a proportional basis will have to plan, program and deliver more than double the volume of programming required of the general education system.

8. The Cultural Factor

It is a well known fact that one's self-image is a powerful motivating force if positive or a prison from which it is difficult to escape, if it is negative. Many Aboriginal people have a weak

or negative self-image as a result of their experience as a marginal population. Building a positive image of the culture is important to members of the culture so they can identify with this positive image. Positive self-image is also to some degree dependent upon how the larger society views us and our culture. In the case of the Metis, historical and cultural information has conveyed a negative view of the Metis. Therefore, the building of cultural strength must be pursued on two levels.

Firstly, changes need to be made in main stream curriculum which provide a more accurate account of Metis history and which highlight in a positive way, the cultural mores and cultural attributes of the Metis community. This strategy needs to be directed to the community at large.

Secondly, Metis education/training institutions need to be able to further develop their internal cultural strengthening program content to build from within positive cultural images. These institutions should also be given a role in making their Metis studies programs available and where feasible, delivering these programs to the community at large. This should be feasible in the post high school system and in some instances in the K to 12 system.

Part of building cultural strength is role modelling. By this we mean that successful Metis must become role models for their own community and in particular for the youth of the community. Successful Metis can also serve as examples to the community at large of what Metis can accomplish. Metis education/ training strategies must identify and present these success stories as part of their educational programming.

9. Post High School Metis Education/Training System

As indicated earlier in this report, the current system of resourcing and relating to the Metis community and the Metis education/training institutions is creating confusion and conflict within

the Metis community. One unsatisfactory aspect of the present situation is the diffusion of decision making in a way which makes program planning difficult for the Metis institutions and which play regions and institutions off against each other in a competition for program dollars. The other problem with current arrangements is the fact that approximately 50% of the funds earmarked for Metis education are used for the administration of programs, for support services and to fund the vast array of boards and committees. This situation is threatening the future viability of Metis education/training institutions.

It is urgent that the Federal and provincial government and the Metis political organization establish a forum to deal with current problems and to formulate one central comprehensive strategy to respond to the education/training needs of adult Metis. This forum should also address the issues related to the K to 12 system particularly as they relate to low achievement levels and high drop out rates of Metis children from the public school systems.

10. Family Strengthening

It is self-evident that economically strong and stable families produce offspring who are more successful educationally and economically than children who grow up in poverty. Unstable families often provide limited direction and encouragement to children in regard to the importance of education and the importance of career planning.

Data from the 1991 census indicates that there are fewer married people in the Metis population, more single persons and twice as many persons who fall in the separated(s), divorced(d) and common-law(cl) categories as compared to the general population. It is our assessment that the data reflects the differences in the age make up of the population rather than more family instability. If there are twice as many youth in the Metis population, the proportion

of single persons would be higher and the portion of married persons would be lower in the Metis community.

In our research survey, Metis family stability in Regina as reflected by marital status, is very similar to that for the general provincial population. This sample was, in most demographic characteristics more like the general population as reflected in Stats Canada reports, than like the Metis population for the province reflected in those same reports. Information obtained from persons directly involved in Metis education programming indicated that traditionally discussions regarding education and training and career choices did not as a general rule occur in Metis homes. Respondents in our local workshop agreed this had traditionally been the situation. However, they claim this has changed in recent years and many families now stress the importance of education and encourage and support their children to strive for more education.

Earlier in this report the values which supported the early socio-economic success of Metis were identified. In our sample survey we asked what characteristics people identified as important to business success. The respondents identified values which are very similar to those which supported the economy of the historic Metis community. It can be stated as a general proposition that these values are important to any kind of success whether it be in educational achievement, employment, business or social/recreation pursuits. In developing cultural program content, these values need to be identified and integrated into the learning processes both in the home and in the community institutions. However, the home is the most important teacher and conveyor of cultural values. Therefore, initiatives are needed to strengthen the ability of parents to perform this nurturing function. Such initiatives could be block organizations, community associations and parent-teacher groups. These groups could focus on education and the knowledge and skill parents need to be effective supporters of their children's education. Metis

institutions could also offer neighbourhood based workshops on parenting and parenting skill development.

11. Employment Factors

Employment in the Metis community is at unacceptably high levels. This situation continues to exist in spite of the fact that there are numerous employment equity programs. However, many public and private employers have difficulty finding qualified candidates when job openings arise. Available data suggests that the number who are unemployed in the Metis community is 3 times as high as for the general population. Even among Metis in our sample survey (which captured a sample of Metis with education levels which are not significantly different from those of the general Regina population) unemployment is at 20% of those who are in the labour force. This is three times more than the unemployment rate for non-aboriginals which is currently at approximately 7%.

Education/training is an important strategy for Metis adults to improve their economic circumstances. However, it is necessary to recognize that for a significant portion of those persons over 25 years of age, the pursuit of further education and training is not a viable option. The reasons will be varied but family circumstances, financial circumstances and motivation will be important factors. Therefore, a strategy of creating jobs and/or identifying existing occupations where people could be integrated into the labour force is essential. Part of this strategy needs to be the combining of jobs with informal and/or formal on the job training which assists persons slotted into these jobs to gain the skills needed to compete for or advance to higher job categories. There will be some for whom just having employment will be acceptable. This will meet their needs more satisfactorily than living on public transfer payments. The fact

that there is a bread winner and he/she is gainfully employed provides a powerful role model for children in determining their own future economic role in society.

12. Income Issues

According to Stats Canada, APS and the research survey data, the per capita incomes of Aboriginal people is significantly lower than that for the general population. The survey data indicated a larger \$30,000 plus income category for Regina Metis than for Metis provincially. The higher income of Regina Metis is a reflection of the better occupational and education status of Metis in Regina as compared to their provincial counterparts. Although the income level of Regina Metis is higher than for the total Metis in the province, it is lower when compared to the average income for all Regina families which is approximately \$45,000.

The significance of income data for public policy is self-evident:

- The majority of Metis including those in Regina still live on incomes which relegate them to a marginal economic position. This fact is also reflected in social factors such as health, housing, use of leisure time, diets, etc. The cost to society in social assistance, health services, social services, subsidized housing, lost taxes, to name a few of the obvious costs, must be substantial. However, no accurate data on the exact cost can be obtained. For an advanced industrial society with highly sophisticated economic and social service systems, to allow a particular community group to exist at a marginal level is not acceptable.
- When planning educational programming, governments must recognize that Metis families generally lack the financial resources to assist their children to obtain advanced education and training beyond the K to 12 system. For Metis youth, having to fund all their education with loans, is a major disincentive in deciding to pursue university

education. Some metis students indicated they had difficulty obtaining loans from private institutions. Also the prospects of beginning a professional career with \$40 to \$50 thousand debt is seen by many as being beyond their means. This is even more a problem when families have no resources to assist adult children with the additional cost of establishing themselves as an independent family unit. Therefore a program of funding assistance for metis students pursuing university education is required.

- Persons who come from families whose socio-economic position is marginal generally have not acquired the same level of, both life skills and learning skills, as students from higher income and higher social status families. Therefore, public policy and financing must provide for social adjustment and academic support services in the form of counselling, child care, family and income planning and where necessary tutorial services. Such support services are needed if equity in education and job opportunities is to be attained within a reasonable length of time. Allowing the present circumstances to continue presents the danger of the development of a permanent under class of marginal Metis which will be a major expense in terms of public programs.

In the longer term the income disparity must be addressed from the perspective of education and employment. However, if there is to be education/training and employment equity, then it is important for financial assistance to be available to assist low income families and persons to defray a major portion of their training costs. The issue to be resolved is whether such assistance for Metis should be available to all Metis, as is the case with Status Indians, or whether it should be based on need. The issue of having education costs paid for as a right is a matter to be settled by politicians through negotiation. However, as a minimum there should be a

financial assistance program based on need. This program should be structured so as to reward independence and self-sufficiency and to discourage unhealthy dependency.

13. Systemic Discrimination

Discrimination within the education system, in financial institutions and in some job sectors still exists. Most employers and institutional heads recognize this fact. They are attempting to integrate Aboriginal people, including Metis, into the labour force. However, attitudinal problems often exist at the supervisory level or at the level of fellow employees. These negative attitudes may be based on acquired values, misinformation, judging everyone by the record of a few or employees may feel that their jobs are threatened. The latter is particularly a problem in the present economic climate where jobs in both the government and private sector are being cut back. Therefore, job openings for Aboriginal people have to be created within existing workforce positions rather than by creating new positions. This raises the charge of reverse discrimination by some employees and some members of the public. More effort must be put in to sensitizing managers, supervisors, and fellow employees concerning Metis culture and the circumstances of Metis in particular.

One recurring problem for Metis when attempting to qualify for jobs above entry level positions is the lack of job experience. This is even a problem for them when they try for promotion from within, since the other employees they have to compete with have been employed longer. One large private sector Regina employer has addressed this problem by giving Aboriginal workers who come in at entry level positions credit for a minimum number of years experience when they start work. Experience gained on the job then is added to this credit. This has improved the potential for Aboriginal staff to apply for and receive promotions to

higher level positions with that employer. The employer recognizes that this generates complaints from other staff but for now is sticking to this policy. The employer has negotiated a provision in the collective agreement with the union providing for this unique way of improving the chances of Aboriginals for promotion within the workplace.

Collective agreements and Union rights as provided for under the Trade Union Act, present one of the most pervasive barriers and challenges to Aboriginal employment and to Metis employment. This even becomes an issue as to who can be employed by Metis organizations if they take over program functions previously delivered by another public sector institution. This issue is holding up the signing of the Federation Agreement between DTI and SIAST, as well as, the operating protocols which have been negotiated with SIAST and the Regional Colleges. DTI has applied for and received an exemption under the human rights legislation which permits it to discriminate in favour of Metis in its hiring practices. However, it would appear that the human rights legislation is superseded by the Trade Union Act and some compromise agreement will need to be struck between DTI and the other two institutions if agreements are to be concluded so DTI can begin delivering programs.

In the general workforce where collective agreements are in force Metis entering the workplace can only compete for entry level positions or out-of-scope positions. All positions which fall within the scope of a collective agreement must first be posted internally and are generally filled by Union members based on seniority. This issue needs to be addressed by the government and provisions need to be placed in collective agreements to overcome this problem.

One approach to overcoming systemic discrimination that has been tried in other jurisdictions (Great Britain being an example) is to legislate employment quotas for disadvantaged groups to which all employers must adhere. There is, little support for a legislated

job quota system in Saskatchewan even in the Metis community. All Metis we consulted including those in the survey sample, did not support the concept of legislated job quotas. There is substantial agreement that job appointments and promotions should be based on knowledge, skills and demonstrated competence. The Metis community is of the view that employers are not serious about their commitments to job equity. They believe employers could meet their voluntary quotas if they were more aggressive in recruiting Metis workers. There is agreement by all parties that an effective education and training strategy is the key to making affirmative action programs work.

14. Community Support Services

To achieve the goal of equity Metis recognize the importance of the provision of a broad range of support and remedial services to community members. The following are some of the major support services identified:

- for families:
 - income support where needed;
 - improved housing;
 - school/parent support groups;
 - services to deal with chemical abuse problems;
 - family counselling and mediation services;
- for persons in training:
 - career counselling and guidance;
 - financial assistance;
 - special preparatory programming (ABE or other forms of upgrading);

- tutorial service;
- student support groups;
- for those seeking employment:
 - job finding services;
 - job adjustment services;
- for Human Justice and Community needs:
 - indigenous counselling and remedial programs;
 - community based programs to address criminal and delinquent behaviour;
 - foster homes, child care homes and other child care services.

What is evident from the research is that a century of neglect and marginalization of Metis has resulted in community circumstances where a broad array of rather expensive programs is required to assist Metis to integrate into the mainstream economy. A catch up strategy demands such programming if it is to be effective in achieving equity objectives.

15. Metis Women

Our sample survey did not produce any unusual anomalies regarding the social circumstances and income levels of Metis women. As with the general population, Metis women have lower incomes, a lower rate of labour force participation and a higher incidence of dependence on public support payments when compared to the general population. The child care issue is dealt with in a separate report but women we interviewed did not see the lack of child care as an significant barrier to pursuing education, training or occupational careers.

It is known that there has been a serious problem of violence against women and children

in the Aboriginal community. As a result more children need care and more Aboriginal women need a variety of health, social and income support services than women generally. These issues all need to be addressed when developing a system of Metis-controlled and delivered services for the Metis community.

16. Business Development Issues

There is almost as much confusion and duplication of effort in business development services as there is in the Education/training field. The major difference is that there are not a series of Metis institutions delivering different pieces of the program and all competing for a share of the same funding. However, there is no comprehensive or co-ordinated Metis/government strategy to promote and support Metis business development and operating Metis businesses. It is urgent that the two levels of government and the Metis community collaborate to determine what programming is required and to develop one structure, preferably Metis owned and controlled, to be the delivery agent. If the two levels of government were to pool their resources, a great deal more could be done with the available resources. As well, additional resources could be levered by the expedient and innovative use of existing resources. The following are some conclusions we have reached:

- the Metis community needs its own financial institution;
- although a small business strategy is important it is not wise to depend on a single economic strategy;
- a strategic investment fund needs to be available to the Metis community to allow it to develop a strategy of joint ventures with existing businesses and with entrepreneurs in the larger business community. In particular, joint ventures are important because

they will enable Metis to gain business management knowledge and skills under the tutelage of experienced and successful managers. As well, jobs for Metis can be negotiated as a condition of the commitment of Metis capital. Such joint ventures could create significant numbers of jobs more quickly than can be created by the Metis small business sector;

- Metis are ready to consider putting their savings into a financial institution which will invest in Metis economic and business development. As income levels improve, the potential pool of savings will increase;
- Metis businesses need to support each other. Suggestions include developing a system of Metis mentors to assist new Metis entrepreneurs (established and successful business people advising other Metis entrepreneurs). Also proposed was the development of formal networking among Metis businesses for sharing information, ideas and experiences. The establishment of a Metis Business Association (a kind of Metis Chamber of Commerce) was also suggested.

Housing is an area that could be developed as part of a business development strategy. However, governments would have to agree to develop a housing policy for Metis in consultation with the MSS or PMHC. The present Regina non-profit housing corporations are wholly independent entities and do not limited themselves to serving only Metis. They, as well, serve both status and non-status Indians. They could continue to have a role in program delivery but since they do not represent the Metis community as such, they are not in a position to develop housing policy as part of an economic strategy for Metis.

17. Metis Political Institutions

Extensive research done in North American Aboriginal communities, particularly in the U.S.A., has established the following principles as paramount to successful community socio-economic development.

Firstly, there must be self-governing bodies which are in fact in control of the government resources and the decision making processes which affect the community. Essentially this means that Aboriginal communities must have a resource base which is uniquely theirs and for the utilization of which they are accountable to their electors.

Secondly, self-government structures must have legitimacy in the eyes of the people. Essentially this means governing structures which are created must be in keeping with the governing traditions and values of the community. People must be able to understand governing structures and participate in them from the perspective of their own culture; and

Finally, the institutions of government must be credible. Essentially this means the community has confidence in its institutions and their ability to deliver to them resources and services they require for successful socio-economic development. To be credible the rules under which their institutions operate must be seen to be made for the benefit of the whole Aboriginal populace (in this study the Metis Community). Therefore issues such as:

- Nepotism;
- Conflict of interest;
- Community participation;
- Openness, honesty, candour; and integrity; and,
- Accountability of officials responsible for these institutions;

all must be addressed from the perspective of the culture milieu in which they operate.

The MSS is currently engaged in two processes in which it would be appropriate to apply these principles.

The first exercise is the restructuring of the MSS and its affiliated institutions into a system which appears and functions more like a government. However, if the above principles and the ingredients which support those principles are not taken into account, the results may not be substantially better than the results achieved in the past or being achieved at the present time.

The second exercise is the Tri-partite negotiations which the Metis hope will lead to some form of self-government. It would be advisable to seek agreement at the political level that those discussions take place within the parameters of the three essential principles identified above. Unless there is a serious commitment by all of the parties to the current discussion/negotiation process, what results in the end may not facilitate self-governing institutions in ways which will produce the results desired.

The other major principle which was clearly identified in our interviews and the workshop was the need to separate the political system from the bureaucratic system when it comes to program implementation and delivery. "Keep the politics out of program decision making" was an often repeated theme. There was agreement that the role of the politicians should be:

- to legislate;
- to plan and promote development;
- to lobby and to be an advocate for their constituents; and
- to carry out all other political functions.

It was also agreed that program decisions should be made on need and the merit of a

particular proposal, particularly in regard to business development. Further it was agreed that programs and services should be delivered by persons who have demonstrated that they have the knowledge, skills and competence to be successful at their assigned tasks.

18. Self-Government Issues

To deal with economic development for Regina Metis it is necessary to address the broader issues affecting all Metis and in particular Metis in this province.

a) Constitutional Status

Although Metis were recognized as one of Canada's Aboriginal people in the 1983 amendments to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms this has not translated into any meaningful exercise of self-governing functions not already in place by that time. Before there can be a substantive exercise of self-government by Metis, constitutional rights of Metis have to be spelled out in the constitution and in companion documents. For Metis self-government to become legitimate in the eyes of the public and the various levels of government, the constitutional issue must be cleared up. The Royal Commission has already put out a report saying that Aboriginal peoples have always had the right to exercise self-government functions. In the case of the Metis, there is no legal structure or resource base at present which enables them to do that. It is important that the Government of Canada initiate a process with all concerned parties for the purpose of proceeding with the formal approval of provisions which were negotiated in the last round of Constitutional discussions and to seek the entrenchment of these agreements in the Constitution.

b) Legislative Statutes

Any constitutional provisions must be reflected in federal/provincial legislation which provides for the details of how constitutional provisions are to be implemented. Such legislation need not await constitutional agreement. Alberta has had a Metis Act since the 1930s. There is no reason why Saskatchewan could not put in place a Metis Act which would at a minimum deal with organizational matters, identify program areas in which Metis can operate and exercise self-determination, spell out the procedures for implementing programs and spell out the processes for initiating such programs.

The current Saskatchewan government promised the Metis that it would enact legislation during the fall 1991 election campaign. It is suggested that the Government of Saskatchewan in consultation with the Metis community, proceed to draft such legislation and to introduce it for action by the legislature at its next regular sitting in 1994. It is further suggested that the Act provide a framework outlining the essential principles on which Metis political and institutional structures must operate. This would enable the Metis community itself to determine the exact form of the organizational structures and the priority program initiatives with which they want to proceed. The basic prerequisites to success spelled out above must guide such actions.

c) Enumeration and Registration

The recurring question which comes up is who are the Metis? There is even some division in the Metis community on who should be eligible to be recognized as Metis under constitutional and legislative provisions for Metis. Therefore, there are widely varying estimates of numbers of Metis depending on who is doing the defining. The absence of a generally accepted definition of Metis and hence the identification of how many Metis there are in the province, makes it difficult

to come to grips with the needs of the Metis community or to plan programs and allocate resources to respond to those needs. It is suggested that the MSS formulate several potential definitions and through a consultation process with locals determine the wishes of the majority of the Metis community on this matter. This definition should then be incorporated into legislation.

It is also suggested that the federal government, the province and the MSS agree to move quickly to formulate a plan to carry out an enumeration and for the maintenance of a permanent register of Metis in Saskatchewan.

It is essential that this be done if there is to be a realistic basis for planning programming and resource allocation for Metis self-governing structures and programs. In the absence of such an enumeration the federal government at least, is using the self identification data from the 1991 census as the basis for allocating program resources available for education and training. In the Regina situation it is important to establish whether the number of Metis is 3800 as shown in the 1991 census or double or even triple that number as some Metis claim. For Regina Metis the feasibility of programming, the details of programs and the needed resource base is very different if the actual number of Metis is 11 - 12,000 as compared to 3800.

PART IX

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Metis Political Institutions

The current restructuring of Metis political and other institutions needs to be based on prerequisites for successful community institutions identified at the end of Section VIII of this report. Therefore, the following basic principles are recommended as the basis for Metis self-government:

- that there be a system of representative self government responsible for all governmental processes from planning and resourcing through program delivery;
- that this government structure and its institutions be sensitive to unique Metis cultural values;
- that the institutions be credible; and
- that institutions adhere to generally accepted practices, standards, and qualifications for professional staff.

The delivery processes must be seen by the Metis community as meeting their needs through an open and participatory system. Those responsible for program delivery and the use of resources must be accountable to the Metis community.

The Metis community dating back to the Red River has generally opted for democratic institutional models. Democratic government is based on the following principles:

- representative government by population;
- the secret ballot;
- regular cycle for seeking a renewed mandate;

- a party system (there must be an official opposition);
- a free press;
- a separation of the legislative (policy making) functions, the executive (the implementation) functions, and the judicial (monitoring and enforcement) functions of government; and
- a Metis government must also have a capacity to gather, analyze and evaluate data concerning the Metis community.

No government can make informed decisions if it lacks the data on which to base its decisions. One of the important function of government is regulation. This is particularly true in the field of finance. Therefore, if there are Metis financial institutions Metis government must have a regulatory body to regulate and monitor the operation of these institutions.

To determine if the operations of Metis government are achieving the desired results, the government must also have the capacity to monitor, analyze and evaluate the operations and results achieved by Metis institutions. This capacity needs to be independent of the operating institutions since self-analysis has a tendency to be self-serving.

2. Community Building

The Metis community is at present divided over some issues. This was the reason behind the formation of a second Metis local in Regina. Clearly, from feedback we received there is disagreement within the community between different groups of persons over some basic issues. There is also some distrust of Metis politicians and of bureaucrats in Metis institutions responsible for the implementation of programs. Because programming is seen as inadequate and at times confusing there also is a high level of frustration which is preventing unified action

by the Metis community. To bring about greater unity we recommend the following:

- that the MSS initiate a consultation process by which the Metis community comes together to formulate a common and unified set of principles regarding:
 - Metis identification;
 - Metis program needs;
 - Metis political and program institutions;
 - Resource needs and utilization; and
 - Program implementation procedures.

It is not suggested that there only be one MSS local in Regina. A political structure which is based on the principle of proportional representation by population, may need to provide for more than the number of locals which now exist in the major urban areas. However, such locals should each have a separate geographic area, should not be in competition for members and should collaborate to ensure common programs are available.

3. Education and Training

There is general agreement that one of the key ingredients required to assist Metis to improve their economic circumstances is improved education and training opportunities. In this regard the following is recommended:

- the two senior levels of government and the MSS immediately begin a process to determine the extent and nature of the adult education and training needs of Metis (including those in Regina) and to determine how and by whom these needs can best be met; and
- the two senior levels of government and the MSS meet and agree on one comprehensive

strategy and institutional structure to meet those needs and to formulate a joint plan for the delivery of their adult education resources through jointly agreed initiatives and a common program delivery system. This should include agreement on what portion of the resources will be devoted to administration, support services and training programs.

We are of the view that this comprehensive program and structure should be managed, administered and delivered by a Metis institution(s). Since GDI and DTI are already in place, these are the logical institutions for the delivery of programming. If GDI spins off another College which affiliates with the university, GDI could continue to function as a cultural College. It could focus on the development of and where appropriate the delivery of historical and cultural curriculum. It could also create the required cultural teaching resources for use by the other two Metis institutions and where appropriate for use in the K-12 system.

- The separate legally incorporated institutions which make up the delivery system should come under the management of one board to ensure that the mandate and initiative of each institution fits into the comprehensive program plan and that the institutions complement each other rather than proceed in isolation from or at cross purposes to each other.
- Historical and cultural content should be part of the curriculum of all education/training programs delivered by Metis institution(s). This could include an agreement that the Native Studies program presently delivered by the University of Saskatchewan be delivered as Metis Studies by the Metis affiliated college.

Some Metis may argue that they do not want to participate in Metis Studies. The public

system is always there for those persons. However, a major argument for the delivery of education/training programs by Metis institutions is that Community building and the building of positive self-image by Metis students and people can most appropriately be achieved through Metis delivered programs. If these objectives are to be realized then the integration of cultural content into all education/training programs delivered by Metis institutions is essential.

The lack of family or personal finances or assets is a barrier for the majority of Metis who wish to pursue a university education. The prospect of having to borrow large sums of money to obtain a university degree is a major disincentive for someone who has grown up in poverty. On the other hand, our survey of Regina Metis indicates that there are some Metis families who can afford to finance their children's post high school education. As well, it is not desirable to provide education funding in ways which encourage unhealthy dependency, or which do not reward academic achievement. In this regard, we recommend the following:

- that the province and the MSS form a committee to develop proposed details of a constructive financial assistance program for Metis students seeking university training. The program should be based on need, should require some financial contributions from the student and should reward academic achievement by the student.

There is currently some provision for loan forgiveness under the NSIM program for Metis students taking education loans. A loan forgiveness strategy could work if it adheres to the above criteria.

The other key element in education and training is the K-12 school system. It is known from available statistics that Aboriginal students in the Regina school system have high dropout

rates before completing grade 12 and that Aboriginal students are underachievers. There are a variety of factors which contribute to this, of which cultural relevance of the learning environment is only one factor, but nevertheless an important factor.

A variety of approaches, such as employing Aboriginal teacher assistants to work with classroom teachers and, in particular to liaise with and provide support and counselling to families of Aboriginal students, have been in effect since the early 1980s. There is little evidence to indicate that these initiatives have been successful. Management of Metis schools by Metis is an option in the North where there are predominantly Metis communities. It is difficult to determine if a system of separate Metis schools could function in Regina given the relatively small Metis population. Although there is no accurate data on the numbers of Metis students in the Regina school system, there are several schools in the city where there are likely a sufficient number of Metis students whose families identify as such so that some experimentation with cultural programming delivered by a Metis institution could be undertaken.

The provincial Education Act has a provision allowing schools to use the last one half hour of each school day for the purpose of religious instruction. Therefore, we make the following recommendations:

- the MSS approach the province and request that regulations under this section of the Act be expanded and/or altered to allow for cultural training by any cultural community who desires to provide such training;
- that the MSS locals, the Department of Education and the Regina Public School Board collaborate to identify several potential schools for such an initiative and formulate the implementation procedures and processes for the implementation of such an

- initiative; and
- that the Department of Education earmark a portion of its funds for program experimentation and innovation for such an experimental program.

4. Employment Issues

Education and training must lead to meaningful employment if youth and adults are to be convinced that they should invest in their education. Also education and training offered should be in harmony with the needs of the job market. Therefore, the following are recommended:

- that labour market need form the basis for selecting adult training programs to be offered and this be the underlying principle in planning a comprehensive education/training strategy for Metis; and
- that training be offered in localities where the majority or where a critical mass of jobs related to a particular training initiative exist.

GDI has had a high rate of success in placing Metis teachers and Metis Business Management graduates in jobs in Regina. The employment success rate, is lower in Saskatoon and Prince Albert where there is less commitment to employing them in the public school system. The success in Cumberland House in placing Metis Business Management graduates in jobs has been limited. There are few businesses in Cumberland House and the only management or administrative level jobs available are with the municipal government, the community recreation board and the joint band/village operated Economic Development Authority. Therefore, the majority of the graduates would have to move outside of the community for employment. It would improve employment potential for local students who wish to pursue

management and business careers, to attend Business Management training programs where better linkage can be made between the training and job availability. Training programs to be delivered in a local community need to focus on the basic training needs of local people and the needs of the local job market both existing and future. If local residents wish to have training delivered locally, which opens up various professional training options to them, a one or two year general arts program would be more beneficial than a business administration program.

As indicated previously not everyone in the adult Metis population wants to, or can, participate in training. Therefore, we recommend the following:

- that the Native Employment Centre in Regina liaise with employers who have job equity programs and, in consultation with them, identify positions which could be filled with Metis who have limited formal training qualifications;
- that an inventory of low skill service sector jobs in Regina be developed and that Metis with limited work skills and experience be assisted to prepare for these jobs and be helped to access such jobs;
- that persons placed in such jobs be provided with job adjustment and support services where required to assist them to integrate into the labour force;
- for those with the training and ability to proceed to higher levels of employment, employers be urged to consider implementing an experience credit policy which would improve the employee opportunities for promotion within that workplace; and
- that for persons who have minimal employment qualifications and therefore who have difficulty integrating into the labour market, constructive job creation projects be put in place.

Some of these projects could be relatively short term and could focus on basic work skills required for entry to the regular job market. Others may need to be of a longer duration and be sheltered employment.

Finally the issue of barriers to Metis employment resulting from provisions in the Trade Union Act and in collective agreements need to be addressed. Therefore, it is recommended:

- That the province take the initiative to establish a forum involving Unions, the government and the MSS to identify barriers to Metis employment presented by the Act and by collective agreements and to seek solutions to these problems.

5. Business Development Issues

Government assistance for Metis business development more commonly referred to as Metis Economic Development, needs to be re-organized and restructured. The Metis community has no independent resources at present to do research, developmental work or to provide the support services most small Metis businesses require during the start up phase until management and marketing skills are acquired or strengthened.

In view of our findings we recommend the following:

- the two Senior levels of government and the MSS establish a forum to develop a comprehensive one window strategy for resourcing and delivering funds for Metis economic and business development. In keeping with principles set out in Section VIII of this report this should be a Metis owned and controlled institution(s);
- the comprehensive program must provide for the following:
 - o economic and business research;

- development activities focused on both small business and on potential larger joint venture businesses;
- an equity enhancement program which has a life span of at least 10 years;
- a fund to experiment with new or innovative approaches to economic development;
- a business advisory service to help potential Metis entrepreneurs identify and develop business ideas, secure funding, provide start-up support and aftercare assistance as required;
- all government programs require business plans. The requirement for business plans as a basis for selecting projects for funding should be modified.

Business plans as currently structured are designed to justify bureaucratic decisions and to protect bureaucrats. The business plan does not make a successful project, the individual entrepreneur(s) makes the project a success. We are not opposed to the idea of business plans.

- However, we recommend that business plans be designed to provide the entrepreneur with the details of administration, money management, marketing and personnel management which will be required during day to day operation.

In other words, the business plan should be a road map which shows the entrepreneur how to get from start up to a successful operational business.

We also recommend that:

- *SNEDCO should be transformed into a full fledged financial institution, preferably a credit union, and it should change its name to reflect its mandate.*

Such action is necessary if a Metis business loans program is to survive in the long term.

A Metis financial institution must have the ability to lever funds. Providing financial services to its own community could be the main focus of the institution but it should not limit its services to the Metis community. Such an initiative would create an institution which could respond to a variety of the financial needs of the Metis community. This would increase its viability and give it more credibility as people see the institution in a positive way through their experience in financial matters such as consumer lending, investment, registered pension plans, saving in guaranteed investment certificates, and personal savings plans. As well profits from its other investment activities could be used to defray losses from small business loans.

There are currently three types of financial institutions; banks, trust companies and credit unions. The most feasible approach for a Metis institution would likely be a Metis Credit Union. As well if the present resources of SNEDCO were utilized, the resource base is sufficient to satisfy the minimum asset requirements for the establishment of a credit union.

Another option which could be examined is the Investment Credit Union Corporation model which was established in Quebec over 20 years ago. This may be an appropriate organizational vehicle if it is decided that a Consumer oriented credit union would not be viable. The Investment Credit Union sells investment instruments. It does not offer consumer services such as savings or checking accounts, or provide consumer loans. The investors are the shareholders of the corporation and the principle of one member one vote is adhered to regardless of the amount any member may have invested in the credit union. The credit union invests its money in business loans, including small business loans. It also invests in the shares of other companies, enters joint ventures and invests surpluses in other investment vehicles available to other financial institutions. The Quebec Caisse den Trad Economique, for example, was a joint

venture partner in Quebec Air and the Mont Tremblant Ski resort. Both were profitable businesses at one time. Investors are guaranteed a fixed rate of return on their investment plus a share of dividends if there are dividends to be distributed.

To create capital, savings are required. A Metis financial institution should work with the Metis community to develop creative and innovative methods of accumulating savings.

There is a need to provide for better linkage between training and support services and existing and new businesses. A Metis entrepreneur who has little or no business experience needs support in key areas such as management and marketing. As well entrepreneurs need support which is specific to their businesses. There is a need to establish an appropriate setting where this linkage can be made. A model emerging in North America to assist new entrepreneurs is the Incubator Mall. One such mall is currently planned for Regina. We believe there is merit in examining a modified version of the concept which links formal training into the incubator mall concept to establish a business training center. Therefore, we recommend the following:

- that ISTC in cooperation with the MSS and the province research the concept and develop a pragmatic model for a business training center; and
- that a portion of the current AEP research and advocacy fund be committed for a period of five years to the establishment of a Metis Business Training center in Regina.

Such an experimental program might use some of the methods of existing incubator malls. It is suggested that a modification of the concept be considered and a prototype be developed which ties together some permanent anchor businesses with new businesses and with a Metis Business Management training program. It may be feasible to provide part time training programs for budding entrepreneurs. The model could introduce students to an entrepreneurial

environment. For those students whose career goal is to pursue a management career, it would assist them to gain first hand experience in managing a business. Stable permanent businesses and new business enterprises may require a different set of management skills. Such a concept could also integrate "fee for service" aftercare services to already established Metis business persons around the province.

There is a need for another strategy in addition to the small business strategy. This strategy should include joint ventures with existing business corporations with a track record of good management and profitability. Also, this provides another avenue for job creation for Metis. Therefore, we recommend the following:

- a strategic investment fund should be established to enable the Metis community to enter into joint ventures with other well established businesses; and
- that fund should preferably be managed and administered by a Metis financial institution.

Other management models could be considered, if because of the mandate of such an institution, that was not feasible or not seen as the most desirable approach.

One idea for establishing the investment fund is for governments to contribute from resource revenue a percentage of royalties to a resource fund which the Metis community could use for strategic investments. Part of the fund could be provided in the form of a land bank. The Metis community could sell land to raise capital as needed.

Complaints of political interference, conflict of interest and nepotism were voiced by a number of Metis who were interviewed. Therefore, we recommend the following:

- the operational organizations or institutions for business and economic development should be separated from political structures so as to ensure that decisions are made

for economic reasons rather than political reasons; and

Finally to generate and promote business opportunities, a community needs deal makers. These are the people who bring prospective entrepreneurs together with the seller or the innovator of ideas. These people may be your banker, accountant, a real estate agent or persons who are part of the business networks such as economic development authorities or Chambers of Commerce. The deal making capacity is to a large degree lacking in the Metis community at the present time. There are some Metis persons in the business world who could be the deal makers but the institutions and networks necessary to bring these persons together with prospective entrepreneurs do not yet exist.

6. Community Job Creation

It is popular at the present time to glorify the private sector as the engine of our economy and to down play the public sector. The public sector is depicted as a kind of parasitic structure feeding off of private industry. There is also a lot of discussion of "real jobs" vs "make work jobs". This dichotomy however, must be challenged. Jobs in the public sector are as real as jobs in the private sector. In reality in the modern world the private sector could not sustain itself without a strong public sector. We must strive for a dynamic balance between a strong private sector and a strong public sector.

We believe the Metis public sector can be a creator of jobs for Metis. Therefore, in the current Tri-partite negotiations; we recommend that the parties to the negotiations:

- identify the range of program service institutions which it will be feasible to put under Metis jurisdiction;

- identify the number of potential jobs and the nature of these jobs; and
- formulate a plan for the training of Metis to fill these jobs so that within an acceptable period of time there is a highly qualified and competent Metis bureaucracy.

7. Conclusion

Our research has identified that a lack of Metis self-determination and the marginalization of the Metis have worked to create excessive dependence on governments for the survival and development of the Metis community. The time has come for all levels of government in consultation with the Metis Community, to tackle these problems. Election promises, accords and tri-partite processes of themselves accomplish nothing unless there is a commitment to real change. It is recognized that more resources will be required by the Metis Community to implement the above recommendations. We, however, believe these resources can be found by re-organizing current confusing and overlapping government and Metis services and jurisdictions. Other funds can be transferred from public support programs. These programs tend to create, sustain and perpetuate unhealthy dependency. Some of these resources could be used to create jobs and economic opportunities which encourage self-sufficiency and independence.

There is currently a good deal of discussion regarding the need to eliminate duplication of services and increase the efficiency of government. Research has shown that self-determining communities with control over their resources make the best use of these resources to achieve social and economic improvement for their people. Research has not focused on the fact that support of self-governing initiatives also eliminates duplication of effort by various governmental authorities, clearly identifies who is responsible for decision making and reduces the numbers of

bureaucrats and the cost of administering government programs. It also becomes obvious to community members who they should hold responsible for the results achieved or the lack of results if there is mismanagement.

The other important argument favouring self-government is the need to achieve continuity and permanence in programming policies and implementation. As is evident from the review of various government initiatives over the past three decades frequent changes in government policies and programs have occurred. Some of these are motivated by the different governing philosophies of governments. Others seem to be motivated by the bureaucratic and political need to see instant results or at least impressive results which can be "trotted out" for the next election. When these results are not achieved the programs are changed. Manpower policies and programming, as an example, have gone through almost perpetual change since the introduction of the modern Manpower policies and programs in the early 1960s by the then Liberal government.

Aboriginal institutions and programs are very vulnerable to these arbitrary changes which make it difficult for strong and permanent institutions to develop. By allowing Aboriginal communities control over their public resource base they can determine which institutions and programs they desire. They are then in a position where more permanent and stable institutions and programs can be developed. This will enable community members to be more secure in the programs and services which they can expect from their institutions. Results can then be judged within the longer time frame which is required for meaningful social and economic changes to occur.

APPENDIX 1: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

SNEDCO

Questionnaire For Interviews of Metis Institutional Staff

1. What is the scope of responsibility of your particular job? of your institution?
2. How do the activities of your institution relate to economic development for Metis people?
3. Could the activities of your organization be expanded to generate more economic development for Metis people? How could this be done? What specific initiatives would be required?
4. What, in your opinion, are the specific barriers to Metis Economic Development and equitable participation of Metis people in mainstream development in regard to the following?
 - education/training
 - culture and values
 - racism and discrimination
 - systemic discrimination (hiring practices, qualification requirements, union rights, etc.)
 - political issues (Metis, federal, provincial, municipal)
 - infra-structure requirements
 - human resource needs
 - self-determination issues
 - policy questions
 - funding for economic development

- entrepreneurial issues
 - other
5. How can existing barriers in each of the above areas be overcome?
 6. What control should Metis people have over the decision making regarding resource use and delivery?
 7. Does the Metis community have a responsibility to mobilize some of its own resources?
What resources? How can this be done effectively? What should be the role of government in such mobilization?
 8. In regard to Metis business development, in your opinion, are resources currently available adequate? What are the resource problems? How can they be overcome?
 9. Are there other approaches or additional approaches to economic development other than the promotion of small business? What are some of these?
 10. What are your views regarding the following options for businesses?:
 - community owned businesses
 - co-operative businesses
 - non-profit businesses
 - business for profit
 - joint ventures with non-Aboriginals
 - investment in successful operating businesses
 11. What capital resources other than government funding are potentially available to Metis people? How can these be accessed?

12. What, in your view, should be the role of political organizations in Metis economic initiatives?
13. Do education/training initiatives by Metis need to be expanded? What kinds of training is required which is currently not available?
14. Are there other ways of delivering training programs not used at present?
15. Is the existing control of government funding a limiting factor in achieving economic development goals for Metis people?
16. To whom should Metis politicians and staff of Metis institutions be accountable for the use of funding resources? Would this require a different approach to how government funding is delivered? What are the options?
17. Given the need of government to account for the use of public tax monies, how can the need of the Metis for more decision making over use of resources be reconciled with the government need for accountability?
18. Is the government process of voting funds annually to be used in the fiscal year for which they are voted a problem? How should or could government change its method of providing funds?
19. Do you have other ideas and proposals for promoting and implementing economic development which you would like to share?