

SOCIAL ENTERPRISE SCOPING STUDY

*Indigenous Food Needs and Opportunities
in Northern Manitoba*



A report commissioned by the:



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Cover Photo: Peguis Agricultural Project, featuring Carl McCorrister & Ernie Stranger



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Executive Summary

The following report is the result of an effort to research and understand current and potential methods of supporting, developing or promoting food-focused social enterprises in Northern Manitoba. The report was commissioned by the Northern Manitoba Food, Culture and Community Collaborative (NMFCCC), with special support from NMFCCC member, the J.W. McConnell Family Foundation. The report focuses primarily on social enterprise development issues related to Indigenous food systems. The research thus engages with a number of intersecting areas of community economic development policy, with the objective of beginning, rather than concluding, a journey toward improved community food self-determination.



Robert Duncan and Carol Sanoffsky, greenhouse planning in Leaf Rapids

This report begins by describing the research project's origins and rationale (Project Description). A section describing the Methodology adopted for this research intervention follows the initial overview. This research is the result of primary research engaging with 19 key informants and stakeholders in the Manitoba social economy. The primary research tools, processes and analysis were further informed by secondary research in the form of a Literature Review, which for reporting purposes immediately follows the Methodology.

In the course of secondary research, the author engages with the following topics: Indigeneity and decolonizing social enterprise and the social economy; describing the field of social enterprise development in Manitoba; food systems interventions and opportunities in the social economy of Northern Manitoba. The secondary research findings are summarized as follows:

- Rural Manitoba social enterprises return more profits as a percentage of revenue than urban social enterprises, and rural social enterprises (SE) are less likely to receive outside funding.
- Manitoba's Social Enterprise Strategy to date is focused on non-profit enterprising activities related to workforce development and integration, primarily in urban areas.
- Northern and remote Manitoba Indigenous communities need workforce development and training opportunities, but this need must be contextualized within a prevailing environment of food insecurity and lack of employment opportunities generally for remote areas.



- Northern Manitoba Indigenous contemporary food insecurity is the direct result of Canada's colonial history.
- The ability to revitalize traditional land-based food sources in remote Manitoba is dependent on environmental factors and resources at least as much as upon the availability of human resources or market demand.
- Despite little evidence of food-focused social enterprise activity currently in remote and Northern Indigenous communities, program interventions focusing on nutrition and healing through food literacy, gardening, and traditional practices are establishing themselves.
- By its broadest definition, social enterprise values and practices have been used to good effect in many jurisdictions by Indigenous people and other Canadians to support food access and other important social values
- In remote Indigenous communities, there is a need for increased resources for the earliest stages of SE development, in advance of determining the basis upon which a 'business plan' may be developed. Food access must begin with self-determination, and be rooted in the lived realities of each community.

Following the literature review, this report includes a thematic analysis of primary research data gleaned from 17 interviews engaging 19 individuals from 16 distinct organizations or local food initiatives. The analysis uses direct quotations from respondents to summarize the following themes:

- There is a lack of certainty regarding social enterprise in Northern Manitoba
- Communities determine the sustainability of food access interventions
- Money is less important than food access
- Attitudes toward 'enterprise' are complicated
- Resource needs are specific to activity and place
- Food access initiatives are not simply planned as businesses
- There is a scale mismatch between funding and need
- There are problems with 'business as usual'
- People have good local food knowledge

Following the secondary and primary research analysis, the author provides a discussion which may be summarized as follows:

- Increased community food access in remote communities means reducing local consumer costs for food.
- Increasing community food access is a social good that may, if self-determined and delivered by communities, create additional positive social outcomes.
- Self-determination creates sustainability at both an individual and community level.
- Self-determination is only possible in the presence of real choice, and real knowledge.



In light of this discussion, and the analysis of primary and secondary research, the following Recommendations for policy and/or funding directions for food-based social enterprises in Northern Manitoba are provided:

- 1: Broaden models to broaden markets.*
- 2: Provide early, low-risk, flexible, and open supports.*
- 3. Invest in community-engaged education for emerging Indigenous social enterprise practitioners and leaders that incorporates and honours traditional teachings and the knowledge of Elders.*
- 4: Recognize the distinctiveness of local histories, cultures, and social economies, and the need for self-determination, truth and reconciliation.*
- 5: Regional and local intermediaries have a role to play.*
- 6. Align SE policy and funding toward community self-determination.*

Project Description

The NMFCCC commissioned this research project in October 2016. NMFCCC issued a Request for Proposals (RFP), stating its “objective of understanding how to promote, develop and support social enterprises in Northern Manitoba, with a particular interest in food-related social enterprise that operates on-reserve, in small northern communities and larger northern centres, and Indigenous-led projects.”

The RFP also stated that NMFCCC’s definition of social enterprise for the purposes of this study “is broad. It refers to organizations of any juridical form that 1) have primarily social objectives - including economic development - rather than being driven only by the need to maximize profit for shareholders or owners and 2) are or envision to become financially autonomous.”

NMFCCC was thus interested in research to identify the characteristics, needs, and barriers typical of social enterprise development within the context of Northern Manitoba, and with special attention to Indigenous food systems. This included a desire to document and assess “existing initiatives providing support to social enterprises”, up to and including the identification of “gaps in support and services to answer the needs and barriers.” Altogether, the aims of the project were to:

- Identify typical characteristics and needs/barriers of social enterprises.
- Identify and assess existing initiatives that are providing support to social enterprises in Northern Manitoba, including support that is tailored to Indigenous Northern communities and food-focused social enterprise.
- Identify the strengths and weaknesses of these initiatives.
- Identify existing social enterprises; assess gaps in support and services to answer the needs and barriers.

Through a competitive bidding process, Eko Nomos was awarded the contract for the research. Eko Nomos is a registered, private-sector research and program development consultancy that was founded in 1995. From its recent work with the Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN 2016), Eko Nomos began



its work on this project from an understanding of local Indigenous food systems that recognized three guiding principles:

- The priorities and agendas for food security interventions should be locally constructed.
- The intimate link between food and culture should be recognized in policy at all levels.
- Food knowledge, infrastructure and networks should be created and maintained through sustained support in place (NAN 2016: 5).

Beginning from these principles, Eko Nomos sought to “rapidly and precisely assess the current environment and outlook of Northern Manitoba food-focused Indigenous and Indigenous-serving social enterprises.” It was further Eko Nomos’ intention to make its research “specific, clear, and helpful to social entrepreneurs, policy makers and other stakeholders across Manitoba.”

Methodology

This research was conducted using a combination of primary and secondary research techniques. In the opening phases of research design, a literature scan was performed in order to establish the context of Indigenous food systems in northern Manitoba. This secondary research was accomplished using a combination of mainstream and academic internet search engines. Search engine results were scanned and articles and resources selected based on their relevance to the objectives of the study. Articles and resources were reviewed, compared and analyzed. Preliminary research findings were drafted based on the secondary review.

Concurrently with the initial secondary research, the lead researcher drafted primary research tools including: a letter of invitation for key informants and a series of interview guides to be used by three (3) different potential types of key informants.

In consultation with NMFCCC, the following key stakeholder groups were confirmed to be of interest to the research goals: ‘social enterprises or entrepreneurs’, ‘social enterprise funders,’ and ‘social enterprise stakeholders’. This last category was to include anyone who might be participating in or affected by the social economy, and for whom Indigenous food systems was a significant part of professional or voluntary work. The researcher and NMFCCC worked together to list stakeholders from across the social economy, including non-profit, for-profit and co-operative social enterprises. Potential informants were also selected from among local, provincial, and national-level stakeholders or funders.

As key informant interviews were sought, and the interview guides were shared with prospective informants, we found that potential ‘funders’ or ‘social enterprises’ did not view themselves as such. This resulted in the majority of interviews being delivered using the ‘stakeholder’ guide. During interview analysis, the set of respondents was eventually divided up in a different manner to simply distinguish three broader groups: ‘local food innovators,’ ‘social lenders and regional capacity developers,’ and ‘social enterprise and local food funders and supporters’.

In total, 19 individuals were interviewed representing 16 organizations or local food initiatives. Seven individuals from five distinct local food organizations, programs, and businesses were interviewed. Each of these respondents is classified as a ‘local food innovator.’ Six individuals representing six regional lending, capacity-building, or economic development organizations were interviewed. Finally, six individuals representing two provincial food programs, a national network, a national funder and a postsecondary educational institution were interviewed. Taken together these last respondents are grouped as ‘social enterprise and local food funders and supporters’.



In order to reflect the relative consistency of responses from these three groups, key quotes were selected from all interviews. Focusing on these initial quotations, the interviewer developed a number of themes upon which community food innovators and those who support them agreed. The quotes were sorted into thematic areas, and a draft analysis discussed with NMFCCC. The identities of interview respondents were known to NMFCCC, but no individual quotation was ever directly attributed to any individual by the researcher.

As a final step for analysis, the interview themes and quotes were compared to the initial literature review findings to draft the Discussion and Recommendations for Northern Manitoba Community Food Social Enterprise.

Literature Review

Indigeneity and Decolonizing the Social Economy and Social Enterprise

Social enterprise is not static. As part of a broader social economy, and in the contemporary Canadian political, economic and social environment, social enterprise is a simple concept that must accommodate complex realities. It is also a term that may be applied 'after the fact' in some cases, to describe hybrid corporate forms that are neither strictly 'for profit', nor 'not for profit'. Social Enterprise then may be understood as an emergent class of practices or strategies being broadly pursued from within the 'social economy' that includes non-profits, co-operatives, charities, and as well as municipalities, First Nations, provincial, or federal government programs.

In an investigation of the social economy in La Ronge, Saskatchewan, Brown, Dobrohoczki and Findlay (2011) discuss the impacts of the social economy, finding them most significant in terms of their capacity to limit economic leakage and develop economies and/or voluntary service organizations. The social economy can also be critical in providing education and skill development opportunities; health and safety services; recreational opportunities; maintaining cultural assets; and encouraging social inclusion among diverse populations (Ibid.). In sum, the social economy may be used as both a lever for social innovation or positive change, and as a foundation for sustaining social cohesion.

For Indigenous peoples in remote Manitoba, a 'social economy' may appear far less formal than it might look in an urban setting, or even in a larger rural town. While it might be argued that food sharing practices, for instance, amount to a kind of social economy, "the relationship between Indigenous communities and social enterprise within the broader social economy is an under-researched area" (Sengupta, Vieta and McMurtry 2015). This relationship is inflected of course by local characteristics and histories. Co-operative development in Canada in some cases assisted in the colonization and economic exclusion of First Nations people: "In Southern First Nations communities, European farmer-based cooperatives were utilized as a tool of colonization by solidifying European settlement over traditional First Nations land, simultaneously excluding First Nations people from involvement in these cooperatives." (Ibid: 105, citing Fairbairn 2004). In the North, cooperatives "were not established as bottom-up European settler-based organizations, but were top-down, government-initiated structures utilized for creating dependent classes and effectively limiting the movement of traditional communities" (Ibid. 105-106, citing Mitchell 1996).

Nevertheless, Sengupta, Vieta, and McMurtry (2015) claim that "the communitarian value system that sustained Indigenous communities for a long period of time can be seen reflected in Indigenous



organizations, including social enterprises” (Ibid: 110). They go on to remark that “Indigenous communities cannot be limited to the two socio-economic alternatives discussed or assumed most often in the neoclassical or liberal literature, i.e., a full-scale integration of Indigenous communities within the dominant neoliberal paradigm or a return to pre-colonial societies” (Ibid, 112). As an example Sengupta, Vieta and McMurtry describe how Friendship Centres play a key role as self-determined social economic actors (112). They thus provide a conceptual analysis of ‘Indigenous Social Enterprises’ that may assist in the current study.

The authors begin with a discussion of Indigenous Entrepreneurship which has “multiple goals in addition to economic self-sufficiency, including protecting land ownership and use, strengthening socio-economic circumstances, and revitalizing traditional culture.” (Ibid: 113, citing Anderson 2011). This ‘cultural turn’, or the inclusion of culture “as an integral dimension” may serve to distinguish ‘Indigenous Entrepreneurship’ from more general ‘Social Entrepreneurship’ (Ibid). Turning to Kuokannen (2011), the argument is made against “purely capitalist-based economic development” on the grounds that “economic development that is not based on social and cultural values has not had a substantially positive or lasting effect on the greatest issues affecting Indigenous communities and, disproportionately, Indigenous women, including domestic violence and lack of adequate housing and social services” (Ibid: 113, citing Kuokannen 2011). The authors thus define ‘quadruple bottom-line organizations’ as those which seek to include cultural goals among social, environmental and economic ones (Ibid, 114).

Social Enterprise in Manitoba: Describing the Field

Manitoba, uniquely among Canadian provinces, has recently co-constructed a social enterprise policy framework with social economy stakeholders. The Canadian Community Economic Development Network of Manitoba (CCEDNet Manitoba) worked closely with the Province of Manitoba to develop their framework. The province now has a “roadmap for sector development,” disposed toward “creating employment opportunities for people who face barriers to employment” (CCEDNet 2015: 3). The “strong foundation” of social enterprises in Manitoba is tied to the All Aboard strategy, “Manitoba’s poverty reduction and social inclusion strategy” (Ibid.: 6). The Manitoba SE strategy is guided by the Six Pillars of Social Enterprise Development developed in 2008 by the Social Enterprise Council of Canada. The vision of the strategy is “the creation and support of strong and growing employment-focused social enterprises that provide training and employment opportunities for those who need it most” (Ibid.: 7). The purpose of the strategy is to “collaboratively create an inventory of concrete and relevant proposals to help accomplish this vision” (Ibid.: 7). With a change in government in 2016, forthcoming changes to the SE strategy are expected, but none have been communicated to the public.

The strategy document presents a series of illustrations, examples and explanations of government and other initiatives related to each of the Six Pillars. These are further attached to specific recommendations in pursuit of the vision of the strategy. A 2012 study in Manitoba found that two thirds of social enterprises operate outside major urban areas (O’Connor et al 2012: 36). It includes remarks on some of the important differences between urban and rural social enterprises:

- *Gross revenues are higher for urban social enterprises, while rural social enterprises return profits that are three times greater than their urban counterparts when profits are calculated as a percentage of their total revenue (6% in Winnipeg and 19% outside of Winnipeg) (Ibid, p. 46); and*
- *Rural social enterprises are less likely to receive outside funding when compared to urban based social enterprises (Ibid, p. 59).*



From their primary research into the types and successes of Manitoba-based social enterprises, O'Connor et al. conclude, "It is financially feasible to operate a business while providing valuable employment or training opportunities and addressing complex issues like poverty and environmental sustainability" (Ibid.: 53). This statement confirms not only the possibilities inherent in the social enterprise model, but also captures the potential sustainability of this type of initiative and its ability to make significant improvements to social and environmental outcomes within communities.

The sheer number of stakeholders and supporters in the social enterprise field suggests that the sources of potential social enterprise success are likewise diverse. During the Social Enterprise World Forum in Calgary in 2013, social enterprise leaders, practitioners, researchers, and supporters identified key components of the ecosystem that can effectively support social enterprise development:



Social Enterprise Council of Canada, 2013

This diagram speaks to the diversity of interests, opportunities, outcomes, and needs of the social enterprise sector. Although these factors are similar in rural and urban contexts, there is a need for specific rural and remote knowledge and policy to ensure that, as the sector develops, rural and remote communities and social enterprises continue to be included and appropriately supported.

There are clearly different kinds of social enterprises (Alter 2007: 23-50). These differences may lie in the extent to which market activity is related to the 'social impact mission' and to the degree to which the social impact is integrated directly into the revenue generating activities (Ibid: 23, 26 respectively). Currently, Manitoba emphasizes workforce integration social enterprises (WISEs) (CCEDNet: personal communication 2017). The social objectives of WISEs are directed to creating more flexible jobs for people who experience barriers to mainstream employment, and in acting as, or connecting employees to, 'labour market intermediaries' (LMIs) (CCPA 2016: 36). In this sense, they use an 'employment model' (Alter 2007: 35). For example, a WISE might operate a business to employ self-identified survivors of mental illness who require accommodation in work scheduling. People with disabilities,



chronic conditions, or those who are simply acculturating to Canadian life may find rewards, dignity and education in practical learning through paid labour. WISEs thus assist their employees in gaining skills and confidence, social assets, and other basic needs. In some cases, WISE objectives are to link people to mainstream employment and in others they create long term accommodating jobs.

CCEDNet Manitoba and its partners demonstrate the value of WISE work in urban areas. They are nevertheless aware that WISE is not the only conceivable SE model (CCEDNet: personal communication 2017). Nor is it CCEDNet's position that WISE should be the best model for all social objectives (Ibid.).

Indigenous Social Enterprise in Manitoba: Food Systems Interventions and Opportunities

Recent scholarship on social enterprise and the social economy in Western Canadian Indigenous territories and communities is connected to the co-operative movement (Pattison and Findlay 2010), to human and social services sectors (Brown et al. 2011), and to cultural and ecological revitalization and decolonization (Weinberg 2015a). Indeed, these studies contribute to academic knowledge about 'community economic development' (Weinberg 2015b, 10).

However, increased resource extraction and road construction are perceived as threatening to traditional provisioning opportunities, in no small part due to significant ecological damage related to hydroelectric projects over the last few decades (Weinberg 2015a; Campbell et al 1997). In urban Manitoba, food initiatives may provide increased security, but not necessarily sovereignty. Community garden projects may have significant social impact on food literacy, but cannot alone solve the food crisis (Cidro and Martens 2015). Even in urban contexts, scale is hard to achieve, and social cohesion and highly trusted actors are vital to success (Novak and Nichols 2010).



Rene Linklater, Ithinto Mechisowin Program Chair, South Indian Lake

In framing issues relevant to food systems in Manitoba's more remote Indigenous communities, it is helpful to begin with the observation that for many communities there is an important 'third source' of nutrition that is not customarily included in broad provincial or national-scale food systems planning. Specifically, traditional land-based sources of food are a critical part of Indigenous nutritional and cultural practice. In the Nishnawbe Aski Nation's Food Strategy traditional practices, local production, and imported foods are each framed as separate pillars, with 'nutritional practice', 'research and knowledge transfer', and 'planning, policy and advocacy' (NAN 2014) to support them. This demonstrates the continued importance and relevance of traditional food sources for many Indigenous Peoples in Canada, even as these food sources have been significantly diminished since colonial contact. Other food sources have become equally important in terms of daily nutrition and access, but



food from the land, whether hunted, harvested or grown, remains an important value, and an important opportunity for Truth and Reconciliation.

Indeed, the history of colonization in Manitoba has threatened many of these practices. This threat extends to the wholesale, if unintentional, destruction of the very geographic and ecological fabric upon which these practices were based (Campbell et al 1997; FMM 2014; Rudolph and McLachlan 2013; Kamal et al. 2015). The current situation for northern Indigenous communities is thus at once to be deprived of the historical assets upon which they relied, and to be served only partially, or poorly, by the prevailing or mainstream food system (Epp 2009, Veerarghavan et al 2016; Genius et al 2014). As a result, we may frame Indigenous food practices and cultures as 'alternatives' to the mainstream, in much the same way as other food values movements (e.g. social movements to promote organic food, GMO-free food, local food, food security and/or food sovereignty).

Whereas at one time the 'food system of Manitoba' would have included only Indigenous practices, now its Indigenous communities and their cultural values surrounding food and provisioning have been substantially colonized, and marginalized (Campbell et al 1997; FMM 2014). These values may be described then as emergent, in addition to being traditional. Even as they are traditional in cleaving to closely held beliefs about the nature of community and sustenance, they remain as much aspirations and memories as lived practices and traditions. The generational rupture and trauma of residential schools (FMM 2014), the collapse of fur markets (Pattison and Findlay 2010), the destruction-by-damming of hunting grounds (Campbell et al 1997; Rudolph and McLachlan 2013), the general lack of resolution or true recognition of treaty obligations (Weinberg 2015a, 2015b), and the failures of large-scale subsidy programs (Galloway 2014, Auditor General 2014) have left many, if not most, local Indigenous Northern Manitoba food systems in crisis.

The Manitoba SE Funding and Investment Context

During the course of this research, the diversity of funding and development sources available or potentially available to Northern Manitoba food social enterprises was reviewed. Beginning with the findings of Berge et al (n.d.), and CCEDNet (2016), it is immediately clear that numerous Provincial and Federal funding and investment programs may be leveraged for use in Northern and Indigenous social enterprises. For the purposes of the present study, a further review of available funding and investment sources was undertaken with specific attention paid to food interventions, and to Indigenous-focused initiatives. The results of this review are available in Appendix C.

The research team identified that it would be helpful to provide an illustration of this funding and investment context. We focused on 'what exists', but also what could be added to the context to create a more sustainable SE development context. The illustration (See below) has been provided in the form of a Medicine Wheel. This illustration relies on descriptions of the Medicine Wheel from ACIC (n.d.) and Bell (2014).¹

¹ The author hopes that using the Medicine Wheel will be helpful for the intended audiences of this report. The author acknowledges that he is not Indigenous, and intends no appropriation of the Medicine Wheel. It is the author's wish to provide here a basis for reconciliation and solidarity between settlers and Indigenous people, using holistic and cyclical frameworks instead of rigid and linear ones.

• FROM CREATING TO CONTINUING

- History and tradition of social food economy
- Credit Unions and other co-operatives or social funders have matured in Manitoba
- All levels of Canadian government have a stake in the resilience of remote food systems, and the prosperity of Indigenous people
- All adult Canadians are responsible for an agenda of Truth and Reconciliation

Creating

- Mature enterprise with:
- Knowledge and Capacity
- Sustainable Enterprise and Livelihoods
- Capitalized facility
- Reciprocal Partners

Continuing

- Legacy organizations/funders with:
- Institutional wisdom
- Material abundance
- A mandate for giving
- A desire to teach a new generation

Questioning

- Nascent or informal networks with:
- Awareness of local issues and community
- Aspiration and commitment to change
- Knowledge of opportunities to pursue of leverage

Discovering

- 'Start-up' enterprise with:
- understanding of desired impact
- Community agreement on methods/solutions
- core operating grants
- consistent revenue
- Capital for facility/infrastructure

• FROM CONTINUING TO QUESTIONING

- High availability of capital for enterprises having completed 'Discovery'
- Significant availability of short term or purely charitable education or basic needs program grants
- Low commitment to high level 'purchasing' or funding of social outcomes to bring people from 'questioning' what kind of social impact to pursue through 'discovery' of models

• FROM DISCOVERING TO CREATING

- Moving from 'business plan' to 'business'
- There are few sources of reliable 'core funding' of food access SEs who could offer critical, culturally appropriate opportunities for healing and traditional knowledge transfer
- Provincial and Federal governments have a mandate to materially protect Indigenous Canadians' human rights according to the UNDRIP

• FROM QUESTIONING TO DISCOVERING

- Most stakeholders are aware of a need for change
- Social Enterprise is not well understood, and its institutional supports are few
- There are very few resources available to directly assist in community processes of discovery



Review Analysis: Key Findings

- Rural Manitoba social enterprises return more profits as a percentage of revenue than urban social enterprises, and rural SEs are less likely to receive outside funding.
- Manitoba's Social Enterprise Strategy to date is focused on non-profit enterprising activities related to workforce development and integration, primarily in urban areas.
- Northern and remote Manitoba Indigenous communities need workforce development and training opportunities, but this need must be contextualized within a prevailing environment of food insecurity and lack of employment opportunities generally for remote areas.
- Northern Manitoba Indigenous contemporary food insecurity is the direct result of Canada's colonial history.
- The ability to revitalize traditional land-based food sources in remote Manitoba is dependent on environmental factors and resources at least as much as upon the availability of human resources or market demand.
- Despite little evidence of food-focused social enterprise activity currently in remote and Northern Indigenous communities, program interventions focusing on nutrition and healing through food literacy, gardening, and traditional practices are establishing themselves.
- By its broadest definition, social enterprise values and practices have been used to good effect in other jurisdictions by Indigenous people and other Canadians to support food access and other important social values.
- In remote Indigenous communities there is a need for increased resources for the earliest stages of SE development, in advance of determining the basis upon which a 'business plan' may be developed. Food access must begin with self-determination, and must be rooted in the lived realities of each community.

Interview Analysis

This section discusses the interview responses that were documented through this research. In total, 19 individuals were interviewed representing 16 organizations or local food initiatives. Seven individuals from five distinct local food organizations, programs and businesses were interviewed. Each of these respondents is quoted as a 'local food innovator'. Six individuals representing six regional lending, capacity building or economic development organizations were interviewed. Finally, six individuals representing two provincial food programs, a national network, a national funder, and a postsecondary educational institution were interviewed. Taken together these last respondents are grouped as 'social enterprise and local food funders and supporters'.

While each respondent group had something to say on each of these topics, it is clear that perspectives and depth of knowledge differed substantially. Thus, it will appear to the reader that in some cases the



themes are engaged with at a different level, or in a different manner by the different stakeholder groups. This is intentional: part of this research has been to try and assess not only how social enterprise is perceived, but how it is perceived differently by different people in northern Manitoba contexts.

Lack of Certainty about Social Enterprise in Northern Manitoba

Following an initial question asking about general perceptions or definitions of social enterprise, the interviewer offered a broad definition and appropriate examples from his experience. This more general discussion was deemed important as a method of creating space for a deeper consideration of the opportunities for social enterprise development, and going beyond customary interpretations of the term or concept.

As interviews progressed, it became clear to the interviewer that respondents had some difficulty connecting their local food practices and endeavors to social enterprise concepts and opportunities in Northern Manitoba. The reverse was also true: respondents engaged in strategy and policy relevant to business development and social entrepreneurship were uncertain as to any specific 'food social enterprise' practices being carried out in northern communities. Although certain stakeholders professed a potential mandate to support food social enterprises, they were unsure as to their most appropriate role in supporting new activities.

Community Food Innovators told us:

"My take on social enterprise is that it takes a number of people – a board and paperwork."

"I don't know whether it's a familiar term."

"it's never happened before... getting the people to fully understand what this will do or their community... people on council; some of them can see it; but everybody needs to understand."

Social Lenders and Capacity Builders told us:

"The fact that we, under our act, have been given the green light to work with non-share capital corporations... we can play a role in SEs... we would be able to provide financing as long as they show the sustainability of being able to repay... we have done a few loans for NFPs... not a lot of NFPs that apply; in most cases they try to find grants... or other forms of non-repayable funding."

"[We have a] low awareness of others [in this sector]."

"Our primary area for small business hasn't been to SE ventures."

"Awareness is huge; I don't know that people fully understand how SEs can work for communities."

"It's a great way to build your capacity, I think. You know, depending on your clients and who you want to work with, people who might have multiple barriers to employment. You can help them develop the skills they need to hold full-time jobs or advance in careers."



Other Social Enterprise and Local Food Funders and Supporters told us:

“When the big chunk of money ended up at the Province, I didn’t really know what it meant... there’s a lot of awareness that’s required.”

“[I see] a little piece of SE in a bunch of different departments... nobody really knows where anyone is right now.”

“The potential that SE plays in terms of revenues is often overstated... with the risk of SE being oversold.”

“[I see it as] keeping the money in the region or community [or] benefitting the various aspects of the community beyond the financial... or trying to be more cognizant of the social impact of any food enterprises... beyond nutrition.”

“I guess because it’s such a new concept, it takes a while to really understand it... and some trainings... sometimes it makes more sense in some instances... for a co-operative. They find because co-operatives have been in existence; they’re more familiar.”

“Just new language... for a tool to address community challenges that are community-led and community-owned.”

“I think it’s not a well-recognized term in the North. It might be seen as a Southern-based term... maybe in approaching Northern communities, consulting with people in Northern communities to find words that they might be familiar with, in their culture that would convey this concept in their own language... Cree or Oji-Cree, or Dene... so when trying to communicate this to people... to consult with elders in communities... to say ‘this is what we’re working on’... we could ask ‘How would you describe this in your language, your world view?’”

Communities Determine Sustainability

In almost every interview, respondents described how communities themselves would be the ultimate deciding factor when it comes to sustainability. Where food access interventions were discussed, the role of community volunteers was always critical to success. This was true up to and including in the process of securing outside funding to begin operations, and to administering those funds. Throughout the interviews, there was a clear sense that social enterprise should be framed as an opportunity for communities, not as a requirement for food systems interventions.

Community Food Innovators told us:

“[Our funding was] offered by Manitoba; we needed to get somebody from the community to apply for it and the timeline was running out. Our council... was very supportive the whole way through.”

“In no way should there be any imposition in the community.”

“That participation is key for successful social enterprise... or any project you develop.”

“The money we’re getting to get this thing going... for start-up, we haven’t decided on how to pay people to do this work... so we need an idea of how to pay our people.”



Social Lenders and regional Capacity Builders told us:

“One plan for the future would be to be able to have communities look at having their own local community economic development plan... to identify gaps in services where they could exploit for their own for-profit or even not-for-profit work.”

“When people actually have their hands on the work they’re doing... you get buy-in, and people get excited.”

“In [our community], in order for an entrepreneur to really thrive, they need to be part of the community. They can’t really just be a standalone business, they’ve got to have partnerships, they want to be tied into non-profit activities.”

Social Enterprise and Local Food Funders and Supporters told us:

“Sustainability and longevity is always a barrier... best assistance or grants work when there’s that additional personnel support... supporting communities to make it as thriving as it can be – taking steps to sustainability... [It’s mostly] saying ‘something needs to change here’, and supporting communities to determine what that change would look like.”

“Social Enterprise should be supported, it shouldn’t be forced.”

“When communities have no influence, [many times the policy] doesn’t match up with what’s important in communities.”

“In terms of community consultation? ... There was an awareness piece that was totally missing from the start.”

“[When a local champion of a food SE left, there was] no one to carry that fire and it was kind of running for another couple of years, but it just kind of withered away... it was an unfortunate thing; it was a strong and positive thing... people [here] look back on that wistfully.”

Money Is Less Important Than Food Access

When it came to discussing the reasoning behind food interventions, money or revenue was a far less important factor than simple food access. This is not to say that there was no evidence of ‘enterprising’. Rather, there were numerous instances of direct exchanges of food or food plants for labour. This direct exchange in some cases was viewed as being more authentic to the objectives of the respondents. Respondents indicated that where ‘social enterprise’ was concerned, the economic impacts in terms of ‘creating paying jobs,’ for instance, was less important than bringing people together to work to feed themselves and other people.

Community Food Innovators told us:

“Our main objective was for people to eat healthier. If we charged more, we could make more, but... we want people [to be able to] come and buy. ... We’ve traded plants for work.”

“I was interested in creating a program in the community to look at acquiring healthy foods from the land.”



“Just food – healthy food to stop diabetes.”

“We take the stance that food and nutrition is the best preventative medicine there is. We’ve given [people] food... for compensation.”

“I want [most of all] to demonstrate environment and sustainable goals. [We’ve had some people] labour in exchange for food.”

“We created a kind of working relationship with the fishery... to invest some funding to the fishery to train young fishers to learn about how the business works.”

“In return [for their work], we share some food; more like an exchange... they got some of the [food]. For them, bringing in a little bit of success through what they have is amazing... reviving that was a revival of the community... [and the] elders were happy... Part of our intention when the program initially started was to bring all kinds of people in... with any issues... mental health or family... take them on the land and try to heal... the healing part [in some cases] was damaged by the money part.”

“We should see where we can come back with some of the smaller ideas that can work for us and put food on our table.”

Social Lenders and Regional Capacity Builders told us:

“I recognize how hard that is... I think there’s a strong argument that a lot of consumable stuff... not trucks and cars etc.; like grocery... it doesn’t make sense for them if there’s a supply locally it makes sense to get it locally... especially with priority of healthy foods, you could make a good business case for it.”

“If I was in a community... I would think that there has to be some focus on helping smaller communities build capacity around food sustainability, and... chronic health issues... food security seems like it should be at the top of that list.”

“Communities need access to supports for community garden or kitchen... even looking at restoration of traditional food and harvesting... that would go a long way in the school system for instance.”

“We want more access to affordable, fresh food.”

Social Enterprise and Local Food Funders and Supporters told us:

“As long as it relates to food capacity and systems building [and as far as we can within our funded mandate], we fully support the development of SEs in terms of increasing food access.”

“Food access or security is a great opportunity; social enterprise can provide services and development where the traditional economy is unable to... with community ownership the community guides the activities.”

“We try to increase access to healthy food. On the land work is very important to a lot of communities, and with that comes inter-generational exchange... When it comes to social enterprise it doesn’t necessarily have to be a financial impact, so much as an impact on their



life... The economic effects... are not the greatest... on a health, or community level, it's greater."

"It puzzles me to think it's more difficult to fund these things when it requires a mind shift... when you think of the prices people pay... doesn't it make sense to get gov't support to grow things locally? That could be a Southern-based mindset... when people haven't travelled, haven't lived here, haven't been faced with outrageous prices."

Attitudes toward 'enterprise' are complicated

In addition to the idea that money was less important than food, there was a sense from a number of respondents that enterprise, in the sense of 'profit-making' or 'business', in the northern and Indigenous food sector, was complicated. This complication was felt with respect to relationships between people, their histories, their lands, and with large institutions or corporations. The interviewer heard how local conditions and personal experiences combined to create a diverse array of attitudes on the topic of business. This complexity often included an acknowledgement that applying customary 'business logic' to certain activities could be counter-productive, but also that applying over-strict 'social requirements' may get in the way of individual creativity, experimentation or entrepreneurialism.

Community Food Innovators told us:

"We're definitely not a social enterprise according to many definitions. I would rather focus my time on results [in my endeavour]."

"People feel that they have no training... or opportunities [in their communities]... no real development.... Or a camp or healing or cultural centres... no recreation."

"There needs to be some degree of flexibility... in any model – places can be completely different... many in this region would give away harvest, but the way the economy has changed their environment; they see the food as a way of gaining a livelihood. This land has been transformed; making a living is not the same as ten years ago; people were able to give away food... [but people also] need some form of income."

"Right now, there are no stores – have to travel to Thompson... we're not competing against anyone there... just trying for freshness."

"I think that idea only makes sense where there's a lack of interest in people doing things privately... the concept is new; the concept of business is not necessarily welcomed; there's a culture of sharing... they'd like to create employment, reduce poverty, and engage youth... It's [more] difficult where there's a product that's given away for free... if there was a social enterprise formed, it might be uncomfortable to make a change to doing it from no cost."

"We're competing with a major Crown corporation that has the men and women so busy in a certain time... but also the natural aspects... the flow could be so high or low [because of the dam]; if you try to harvest at a certain time it's hard because the water [fluctuates]."

"I do my evaluation; I report every year... I don't wanna start dependency on anything... whether it's an elder or anyone... We're all ready to work and produce this food."



“My Dad was farming and... for him to be able to sell his produce... he had to have some white farmer friends... sell it for him; doors weren’t open for him... if you went through the Indian agent... he could say no.”

Social Lenders and Regional Capacity Builders told us:

“Not just individual capacity, but how communities view businesses... and the SE advantage... might be that if an individual opens a business for their own wealth creation, there can be a lack of support at times because they see it as a ‘money going into my pocket’ sort of things... where it addresses a community need but the money goes back into the community, you could find a lot of support that way.”

“It’s a challenge to have non-profits or charities... to appreciate that a loan can help them. ... Mostly we’re wanting to see these enterprises go ahead [and they] have to have a business plan. We look at it without any social stuff attached [and] then lay social on top of that.”

“If it’s a business you’d need hundreds of pounds... communities try to emphasize the community piece, and that’s why they have [crop] diversity... but you almost need to have a specialty crop... to support a social enterprise.”

“I think it’s very rare that new businesses just start off and take off; entrepreneurs do the hard work, but they’re constantly trying new things. Over time they can move from being averse to risk, to thriving in it.”

Social Enterprise and Local Food Funders and Supporters told us:

“People need access to affordable food... and better competition; retail competition.”

“So much of this work is the external impact and value... operations of a food SE [create] value that comes out for EIA or health outcomes – there’s no mechanism in place that the SEs can receive the value that they’re generating... that’s a barrier faced by all preventative work... [yet for SEs still] There’s an obsession over ‘break even’.”

Resource needs are specific to activity and place

When it came to discussing things that would make their food interventions more successful, respondents provided a wide array of ideas. From basic community food literacy training to more or better equipment, to more general enterprise education, the development needs identified by food systems developers were quite diverse. In some instances there was a feeling that local knowledge, including from private businesses, could be sought out and used to great effect. In others, there was a sense that bridging between communities would be most useful. For others, specific pieces of equipment were desirable.

Community Food Innovators told us:

“4 communities involved; 5 possibly; [They’re] remote from one another... [so there’s still a] huge disconnect there.”



"I wouldn't mind some training myself – as much as I could! I've got Holidays and bank time... to take some interested people... [to a local plant nursery where the owner] knows a lot... If I could do that without Council's help."

"Gonna need a holding facility; when we get the groceries on Tuesday afternoon – from Tuesday afternoon till Wednesday morning – they could need to be divided and kept overnight."

"We need a better ventilation system... where we are, it's hard to get an electrician... we try with the fans and stuff... it would take a couple thousand, and we're trying to think of a few ideas."

"Our next step is to acquire assets; we'd be better mobilized in terms of spending less money on equipment rental."

"I see that there's a problem there in working together... when you understand where it's coming from.... Gotta get the people first, and training."

"I see more equipment [as a need] for sure... they're very expensive... no shortage of good people... I have 4-5 people that I really rely on."

"They organized a training... for the participants... so they all went into Thompson; that was very helpful... should be happening three times a year or something."

Social Lenders and Regional Capacity Builders told us:

"I have my CPA, MBA and experience in putting together business plans... and evaluating the potential of a profit-making endeavor... the problem is that there's not a lot of capacity like that – a bit of a damper for them to look at their potential."

"Even with many of the vegetables; people are not really familiar with some of the vegetables [such as] Swiss chard [which is] high in iron. In [one location there] were rows and rows of it, but nobody knew what it was. There's a need for education around the types of crops; preparation and preservation... or how to incorporate different types of squash for instance – people may have no idea what to do."

"I think people championing an existing one that's working... more awareness... maybe looking at the benefits to the communities."

"The general feeling was that managers would get trained first, and then it would 'trickle down' – or trying to plan training for the future... The main thing is the lack of training... in what I should do, or what anyone should do when they want to start a project."

"A problem for start-ups is being able to afford an instructor...and to identify demand... that's where food came in... there's a growing demographic of people requiring special foods."

"I see three markets that we encountered here: housing, there's a lot of old buildings and INAC has a long turnaround; communities don't have the journeypersons available. Second is eco-energy... communities are looking to be economically friendly, and reducing costs... third is healthy living; there's demand around here for reducing the costs you're paying in Northern Stores... if we can somehow meet that demand and reduce the cost of living for them... offering food and keep re-investing in that... we have to be able to do something here."



Social Enterprise and Local Food Funders and Supporters told us:

“I don’t know that the communities are quite ready – there’s technical support needed; [I see] a lot of opportunity.”

“I think it’s all about empowering people to take roles that they feel good about, that mean something to them... including people who have been excluded for one reason or another... that are ground-up things that are not imposed... [these things] will always be more powerful than something parachuted in.”

Food access activities not simply planned as ‘businesses’

In addition to the idea that money was less important than food, the respondents interviewed reported that the food access interventions they were involved in were not planned ‘as businesses’. In most cases respondents had few, if any, paid staff to work directly on local food systems. When it came to opportunities for further interventions to provide food access through a social enterprise model, respondents focused less on revenues for organizations or individuals and more on the potential impacts of introducing some blended approach that was neither a ‘simple program’ nor a ‘for-profit business’.

Community Food Innovators told us:

“Business plan? No; just added it on to community operations.”

“Overall, we’re trying to create a treatment centre [here instead of sending people] out to an urban centre. Or having probation referred to us [as well].”

“When I say I’m profit-motivated... I likely won’t make a profit in my lifetime... [I made a] political decision not to make an organization that would get in the way of experimentation... I had no support from anyone.”

“Trading is a really good idea, but within the current system... there are [many] everyday challenges... [including] water and housing.”

“Teach a man to fish.”

“No business plan.”

Social Lenders and Regional Capacity Builders told us:

“Even though I think demand will increase, compared to the States, there’s a lot of active foundations and access to grants... we’re far from being there... There’s more of a recognition of economic impact of SEs and charities. Hopefully that will come with increased resources.”

“Like ‘How to sell?’; ‘labeling?’; [some of participants became] involved with Manitoba honey producers’ co-op... asking how to build a co-op.”

“Our primary area for small business hasn’t been... social enterprise ventures.”



“Most SEs are starting with a deficit anyway... the folks they want to employ don’t have the skills [but] that’s why they want to be there... [so SEs are] ‘uncompetitive’ in that respect... the activity matching the individuals you want to employ is critical.”

Social Enterprise and Local Food Funders and Supporters told us:

“We have no paid staff coordinator [for that initiative, we have] community members volunteering. I see increasing self-esteem, and... [that they have a] feeling of contributing.”

“It’s about community-building, relationships and breaking down barriers.”

“The key part there is that they’ll contribute to the broader community in niche areas to accomplish a number of goals at once... as community service... where strictly profit motives have been unable to solve the problem... [SEs] engage with the problem using methods not possible through a ‘straight-up program’.”

“I also believe that there’s risk attached to the business side of it.”

“We’ve been encouraging faculty to look into this, as a research path, but you cannot tell faculty what to research... but rather we introduce them to general trends... that’s what’s been happening... institutionally, we introduced social innovation research as a focus in our academic plan... starting to think about these things in terms of embedding in planning frameworks; there’s the initiative with the CED program... which has been offered for many years.”

Scale mismatch of funding and needs

Respondents often perceived that funding sources for food social enterprises were scarce and uneven in their application to northern contexts. Many respondents commented that between the level of Provincial or Federal policy-making and funding activity and the level of community food organizing in communities there was a lack of deep connection. Most interviewees acknowledged that they lacked the capacity to leverage resources for social enterprise development that originated outside their community. This is to say that local food systems stakeholders did not feel that higher-level funders or contributors necessarily understood how to support their work. By the same token higher-level funders or stakeholders felt hampered by the customary imperative to find broad or indeed market-based solutions to local issues. In some cases, issues of distance and time were brought up, indicating a perception that more time and more travel will be needed for effective remote social enterprise development than is usually considered necessary in urban, peri-urban or even rural areas.

Community Food Innovators told us:

“From my perspective, it all depends on your definition... I’m not willing to jump through hoops to create a ‘social enterprise’, for me that’s a significant barrier.”

“Treaty One... it mentions agriculture. ... For some reason the government hasn’t been supporting that for a long time... I’d like to see agriculture recognized as a treaty right.”

“One Provincial organization was giving money for social enterprises... we kind of strategized our objectives, [and they] wanted to contribute to the SE by covering the salary of the interns... [For us] ‘trading’ that stays here [is] a model of sharing.”



“Applying for the funding... for the government... a lot of people in government, they’re not up North to see what’s going on... if they could show up at some of our meetings and see the excitement... we might be able to get things faster.”

“Money actually getting to the project takes a long time... because we had to find an eligible donee. ... Money couldn’t be deposited in the [Band government] accounts... until [another organization] helped us out.”

“I know when we have our meetings... it’s unreal... nobody’s ever approached our communities to help in any way – I think it will be a good thing for them.”

Social Lenders and Regional Capacity Builders told us:

“That’s a big challenge... another is that banks don’t want to provide loans to these smaller communities... we’ve approved micro-loans of up to 10k; smaller businesses... could be used for SEs... that access to capital can be a challenge at times... may not be able to access needed funds for equipment or inventory.”

“[As far as] eligibility and outputs... [large food and agriculture funders are] just not looking at a small community that’s looking to create 5 jobs... even though they might qualify, they won’t be selected... unless there are other criteria used.”

“People don’t have travel money, so a lot of it is people have to travel into the city... currently the Province has an NHFI travel freeze.”

“[I have] no money at all... to support SEs... On the other hand I assist communities in proposal and grant writing... to access funds... [and] sometimes it’s restrictive because many are not charitable organizations... they need that designation, and it can be restrictive... many groups are not formally recognized.”

“I think we need an emphasis on small agricultural projects... [and] access to supports for community gardens or kitchens... even looking at restoration of traditional food harvesting.”

“I’m really seeing a lot of people thinking that government procurement is the answer... I believe it is not... you gotta be rich to take on government contracts... follow through is not always there.”

“We don’t necessarily have any funding available, except some capacity building... for a community... What we offer is more entrepreneurial, and we gear toward that. [Sometimes we] can help an individual gather market research. ... There are small community support grants; up to five thousand per project.”

“Sometimes the funding requirements for those bigger pots of money look at more commercialized sorts of ventures, but smaller scale capacity is more appropriate maybe.”

Social Enterprise and Local Food Funders and Supporters told us:

“[Sometimes I feel that we’ll be] taking a step backward if we accept [a certain donation or amount of money]... I think we need to be more accountable for the kind of thing we’re accepting.”

“[We receive] no direct funding.”



“For us, having to meet the community members where their experience is at, and dealing with... government expectations and the reality... There’s a disconnect.”

“[There are] ideas and people willing to work on ideas, but more education and support at the beginning to get the ideas going... [before describing] ‘these are the funding streams’ for infrastructure etc.”

“[The Manitoba SE strategy offers] nothing Indigenous-specific... there’s an Indigenous advisory committee in development... and particularly for the Northern context, that’s somewhere we’re going into [more].”

“People need details of how to start.”

“There’s a pre-set framework for Social enterprise evaluation, and reporting required on the specific indicators... [Yet] when agreements are signed, it doesn’t necessarily match up.”

“I think the performance measurement framework is a bit of a barrier; the data they want is not necessarily aligned [to the North].”

“[I think] that successful development and implementation doesn’t align well with the 4 years of government mandates.”

“One difficulty is the capacity of groups, the capacity needed to put together applications and administrative... and reporting [tasks] – It can be pretty easy and not too onerous, but for a small organization with no dedicated time [it’s hard].”

Problems with ‘business as usual’

Respondents repeatedly commented on the significant liabilities implicit in current food systems. This includes difficulties in customary methods of organizational or program development and delivery. Some respondents wished to directly diminish the ‘dependence’ of local food systems on outside intervention. Others commented on the inconstancy of funding sources, or the fragility of voluntary work structures.

Community Food Innovators told us:

“For some people [that’s] a belief that food is not for profit... it should be bartered, traded or shared... [there’s] not an accurate understanding maybe... but I know we are not meeting demand... our stuff is pretty much gone by the time we set up.”

“It’s difficult to keep basically volunteers motivated over the long term... so with respect to the formal model... I’m not all that supportive or keen – in my personal outreach [with SEs], I’ve had mixed results.”

“The other one was noticing that there were no grocery stores; a few outlets just sold chips and drinks out of their own homes; we asked ‘why aren’t you selling... fruit and vegetables?’, [they said] “By the time we get them, they’re soft; people don’t want to pay.”



“Up to the 1950s, a change taking place in the generation coming out of that – values have changed a bit – it’s noticeable... I think there’s two sides to it... I really believe that one of the things that the government has done... is make us become dependent... the handouts that came with it... after so long that it’s been taking place... that has an effect on people’s lives for sure.”

Social Lenders and Regional Capacity Builders told us:

“If we had a whole bunch of communities come forward right now... we don’t have the capacity people-wise to address that need... but on a reactive piecemeal basis... picking out some pilots here or there... where we find the local leadership is keen... we would have the capacity... but not on a large scale.”

“Help comes but it doesn’t stick around... [SEs are] constantly trying to find new supporters... RBC or someone comes in... but 6 to 12, or 18 months later they’re gone.”

“We’re trying to get out of this siloed mentality... but we’re noticing that the gap that’s happening is the referral portion.”

Social Enterprise and Local Food Funders and Supporters told us:

“I think that the conventional food model that has moved into the communities over time has disabled communities to keep a strong connection to their country foods.”

“For communities not receiving NNC... [I can see] no solid rationale.”

“Culturally appropriate Northern housing is always a big issue... rather than just plunking boxes onto the landscape... with no cultural resonance for people... There are great opportunities for collaboratively developing housing in communities.”

People have good local food knowledge

Respondents frequently commented on their perception that local food knowledge was a strong and growing resource. In terms of Indigenous knowledge and science related to food harvesting; in terms of knowledge of their community and its food needs; in experimental agriculture, or in terms of developing extended food networks between communities, respondents clearly took pride in their knowledge, their communities, and their food.

Community Food Innovators told us:

“Given the vastness of this area and the different wild food it produces; the knowledge of the people... such vast knowledge, and their own science and expertise; their knowledge of how seasonal animals move; knowledge of the seasonal way of life... [yet] they all are aware of the environmental effects of Hydro – which animals are healthy and not... and how water flows affect spawning.”

“It’s been phenomenal the last three years and the amount of participation... getting households to do their own gardens... they have equipment they can rent out, and people want to start their own gardens.”



“My idea, as time goes on, just like any other co-op; money comes from membership.”

“Here in our community, we have a community garden – because we’re funded by the government... we give away our produce. Maybe a garden project could be set up in each community.”

“We’re playing with the land to demonstrate environment and sustainable goals... A lot of people are doing this all over the place.”

“I think this has been a great thing for this community... when I go to different communities and greenhouses – what they sell for 7-8 dollars we sell at 1 or 2; it’s available if they want it.”

Social Lenders and Regional Capacity Builders told us:

“If you compare the type of services that these urban centres have... you know there’s a lot of potential for local enterprises... the opportunity is there, the capacity is not... these things could be created and self-sustaining.”

“I see this as building community, because you have knowledge holders [in communities]; to get them working with existing programs in schools [in a more] coordinated approach to figure out how to make it work for this community... educators; health workers... also anyone who can work together – to make a cultural gathering... we don’t do that enough.”

Social Enterprise and Local Food Funders and Supporters told us:

“There’s nothing... no more pride in their faces than when they’re sharing their food from the land... The second I walked into the door... the lady handed me a bag with two fresh partridges [and] seeing that type of connection... it’s still prevalent. It was so incredible to see... it brings them to a place of purpose, and that love emanating because of what she’s got in that bag.”

“We hadn’t met in a number of months, [and we] were thinking of the first time we met... [when] we were focusing on deficits... last week things were starting to come together, we spoke with the mayor... and people are pitching in... [there’s new] community-building, relationships and breaking down barriers and solidarity.”

Observations and Discussion

Taking the interview themes and the initial literature review findings into consideration, a number of topics emerge that may strengthen social economic food interventions in northern Manitoba:

- 1) Increased community food access in remote communities means reducing local consumer costs for food.

This point is simple: no ‘market-based’ solution will realize a true increase in food accessibility in remote communities if it does not take as a primary goal a reduction of the real cost of food for consumers. For social enterprises in rural and urban contexts, a more ‘mainstream’ business model is likely to be more viable because there is a higher total demand for food and a correspondingly greater demand for ‘socially responsible’ goods and services to which a ‘social



premium' is applied to the final consumer price. People in urban and many rural contexts are free to choose among many good options; remote communities rarely have that luxury. All this is to say that the potential revenue to be gained for small businesses in an open market is much higher in a city than it is in any small community that has, for example, no road access.

- 2) Increasing community food access is a social good that may, if self-determined and delivered by communities, create additional positive social outcomes.

While making food less expensive may be sufficient as a goal for food social enterprise development, the value of community food self-determination has great potential as a site of communal celebration, bonding and healing. In other settings, it is not likely that a single social enterprise will engage with an entire community. In a remote First Nation, it is not only likely that a successful social enterprise would touch the lives of the entire community, it might indeed be a basic mark of success.

- 3) Self-determination creates sustainability at both an individual and community level.

In Canada's colonial history individual and communal Indigenous rights to self-determination have been compromised and disregarded. Contemporary Indigenous researchers in many arenas attest to the value of, and the need for self-determined solutions (Ten Fingers: 2005). In the course of interviews conducted for this research, we saw individuals and groups self-determining their solutions, and finding ways to work within their communities, within bureaucracies, and on the land to create or remediate food access opportunities.

- 4) Self-determination is only possible in the presence of real choice and real knowledge.

Self-determination as an ideal is meaningless if people don't have a real choice, or accurate knowledge about food systems, or indeed foods themselves. The potential food sources are sufficiently diverse in remote communities that prioritizing local gardens over import aggregation, for instance, is not appropriate until local conditions are well understood. This extends to local food preferences, knowledge and stories, as well as the accessibility of mainstream food value chains or simple soil conditions. Thus, self-determination can be supported not simply by providing choices, but by creating opportunities for informed choices.

Recommendations

This research was performed in order to assess the current state of social enterprise development in Northern Manitoba, specifically with respect to the food sector and within Indigenous communities. Based on the primary and secondary research activities performed, the following recommendations may assist with strategic decision-making about the best ways of supporting community food enterprise toward sustainable economic and socially impactful work.

1: Broaden models to broaden markets

The uncertainty about social enterprise; what it is, how it works, what benefits and challenges it brings, and its potential uses in remote food access interventions can be substantially reduced by creating a more diverse array of social enterprise 'definitions' to be used in communicating about SE development opportunities, including funding. This should include the 'translation' of key social economy and social



enterprise terms into relevant Indigenous languages and the development of culturally appropriate community economic development curricula and funding initiatives (participant communication, 2017).

There is certainly a 'high demand for employment' and 'high demand for food access' on many remote First Nations. Unlike in larger urban areas, these demands are related to a basic geographic isolation of communities as much as to the complicated histories of colonization that Indigenous people continue to confront. Thus, a WISE theory of change based on the idea that employees would 'transition' to other employment, possible by way of a 'Labour Market Intermediary' (CCPA 2016: 36), must consider that employees would leave their community to access different employment or that the community itself would have to grow and there be new 'enterprises' for them to work in. A WISE employee in a remote community may find that there is 'nowhere else to go' in their own community once training is complete, or they have otherwise gained employment in a different context. A social enterprise wishing to reduce the local cost of food may find that it cannot use a strictly enterprise model to do so; volunteer labour, or labour which is not otherwise reflected in the price of the food for the consumer, may be needed in some places as a long-term solution for food access. Focusing social enterprise development on one 'model' for all of Manitoba is unsustainable if local characteristics and needs are considered. 'Employment Integration' can only work where there is already the presence of a local 'employment context' to be 'integrated to'. In a remote First Nations context, this may not be the case.

Clarifying Northern uncertainty regarding social enterprise should encompass a clarification around the role of 'enterprise', or simply 'revenue' in the equation. It should encompass a broader examination of 'enterprise' that is rooted in Indigenous knowledge of place, in Indigenous languages, and in relation to the knowledge of Elders. It should encompass an acknowledgement that social enterprise for Indigenous people must be Indigenous, and solve the real human needs of their remote communities.

We recommend that funders broaden the social impacts they will fund to include 'basic needs' such as housing and food. This entails a role for National and Provincial funders and agencies to clarify and broaden the variety of social impacts they will support for the long term beyond 'employment creation', or 'employment training.' Acknowledging that many vectors of positive social impact and change are rarely perceived as a straightforward byproduct of 'business', there is a need to define what social impacts there are going to be 'markets for' in each community. Individual consumers, investors, and governments may all be interested in creating social change in food systems as a first priority. Currently in Manitoba, the focus on WISEs risks a narrowing of expectation and effort on the part of large investors, supporters, and policy-makers, and by extension Northern and Indigenous local food innovators. If funders are interested in creating long-term social change, then making longer-term investment in a variety of social outcomes will produce a wider variety of social enterprises.

2: Provide early, low-risk, flexible and open supports

Community food systems are all unique. Communities, groups, and individuals each have their own momentum, visions, and goals, and will reach their own conclusions, and seek new inputs or knowledge in their own time. Thus, effective supports will acknowledge these differences, and engage local food innovators in their communities to determine development priorities over time. Providing access to small self-directed technical assistance supports for networking, education, equipment, capital, or other resources 'just in time' will enable existing work to become more stable, new opportunities to emerge, and new learning to happen.

Social innovation typically happens slowly, and it often starts small. Investment that does not place the vulnerable at greater financial risk is needed while communities determine priorities, and build aspirations in advance of business planning. As we have shown, there are considerable resources available for revenue-generating SEs with the capacity to create detailed and robust business plans



(See Appendix C, and page 16). However, Indigenous Entrepreneurship and Social Entrepreneurship are more complicated to develop than are conventional businesses: they must include, and honestly account for the externalities of their business practices on the land, on the people and the cultures that they engage. Therefore, the early inception and idea generation phases for Indigenous SEs are more complex, and more difficult to enact without resources for open and effective community learning and visioning processes.

Successful remote Indigenous SEs will rarely be the product of a single entrepreneur. Even where they are, effective social impact cannot be created in the long term by only single individuals. Enterprises relying on individual entrepreneurs will last only as long as the entrepreneur remains active and committed to the enterprise. While training and education of individuals is certainly still important, funders can also invest in community discussion, vision-creation and priority-setting so that prospective entrepreneurs can gain a better understanding of the changes their communities want in their food systems. With a better understanding of local food system aspirations, social entrepreneurs will be better positioned to approach funders or investors with a long-term vision. In sum, more attention to the earliest phases of idea generation and community discussion can potentially feed into a broader SE development movement.

3. Invest in community-engaged education for emerging Indigenous social enterprise practitioners and leaders that incorporates and honours traditional teachings and the knowledge of Elders

Emerging Indigenous practitioners need support and mentorship to develop their ideas within a de-colonized Indigenous framework. Place-based food systems innovation for community economic development can take many forms, and people new to the field will need time to investigate, test and develop their practices. The complex problems of local food systems will not be solved at a distance. They are unlikely to be solved by outside agents. Providing practical, community-based education means providing space to try new things, including things that may not be fully sustainable and self-sufficient in one year or in five.

A major trauma of colonialism in Canada was with respect to education (TRC 2015). It is incumbent upon all Canadians to thus insist that Indigenous education is decolonized. This agenda of decolonization may, and must extend beyond the classroom. It must further honour and protect the sacred knowledge of Indigenous people, their elders, and their ancestral territories.

4: Recognize the distinctiveness of local histories, cultures, and social economies, and the need for patient investment, self-determination, truth, and reconciliation

Indigenous communities are developing innovative approaches to CED and SE development based on their unique geographies and issues. This place-based work rarely enjoys significant ongoing investment, including capital investment. This may be due primarily to customary scale differences between the activities of large funders and investors, and the aspirations or capacity of individuals and groups in small, geographically isolated communities. Many of the innovators we spoke with would benefit from patient investment to strengthen their practice, and their sustainability.

The unique remote northern communities' contexts must be taken into account when drafting SE policy, and in determining the forms that effective investment might take. This can be achieved by ensuring



that truth and reconciliation is acknowledged as a mandate for all Canadians. It means acknowledging the truth of the failure of conventional food value chains to bring prosperity to Northern communities. It means reconciling the trauma of colonialism by giving Indigenous communities the resources needed to create their own place-based food institutions. This work begins with the acknowledgement that Indigenous people have a right to food, and a right to food self-determination.

5: Regional and local intermediaries have a role to play.

There is no unified entry point for social enterprise capacity building and supports in Northern Manitoba. What exists is a loose patchwork of SE, social economy and food access resources and supports, many of them delivered on an ad hoc basis by community members, community economic development agencies or other program workers. CCEDNet plays a role in broader Provincial and National-level efforts, but regional and local intermediaries have an important role to play in convening current and potential SE stakeholders to coordinate existing supports, identify specific and actionable community food systems gaps, and leverage or encourage new SE investment.

Organizations across the social economy can potentially integrate SE development opportunities within or in supplement to their entrepreneurial or other employment development initiatives. They can and should consider mission-centred social enterprise where there is a market desire. Indigenous institutions should be formed where they are needed, recognized where they succeed, and funded to sustain this work as a basic acknowledgement of the right to self-determination.

In some sense, the social enterprise context for northern and remote Indigenous communities is starting at a basic level. In other ways, Indigenous community provisioning activities are this continent's oldest expression of 'social enterprise'. Local and regional service organizations should be supported to learn, share, and include or acknowledge the potential of social enterprise strategies as they deliver mainstream business development and/or community economic development initiatives. Intermediaries with long histories of work administering provincial and federal CED programs can thus be resourced to educate their staff on social enterprise as a potential vehicle for food systems change in the North.

6. Align SE policy and funding toward community self-determination.

To create the context for self-determination, the indicators of 'enterprise success' should be set by the communities and individuals involved in them. Few remote Indigenous food SEs are accessing SE-specific funding. Further attention should be paid to alignment of policy and funding related to northern remote SEs in this regard. Streams of funding dedicated to Aboriginal or Northern Entrepreneurship (see Appendix A) and streams of funding related to local food access can and should be linked together in a more meaningful way. This will give all parties responsible for delivering these funding streams a mandate to build local food systems that are sustainable, profitable, and self-determined by communities.

All levels of government are influencing northern SE development, and there is a strong rationale for community-led food systems change in Northern Manitoba. Yet the SE policy agenda in Manitoba is quite narrowly focused on 'employment', which in itself contains colonial assumptions about the nature of labour and sustenance, and the community and economic contexts of individuals. Instead of local and regional actors 'making do' within their policy and funding contexts to cobble together funds from many sources, broadening or linking support further upstream makes better sense. This entails the creation of 'local freedom' to discuss priorities and build agendas of social change in advance of taking on significant financial risk. It entails long-term investment in building de-colonized institutions of food education and access that support traditional, innovative, and place-based solutions together.



Investment may be accessed if one has a thorough business plan, and there are numerous short-term grants for food education and self-sufficiency initiatives. There are grants for business planning. What is missing is a clear sense from high-level funders that new partnerships, innovative corporate structures, and new institutions could deliver food education and better food access if operated through blended revenue streams of core funding, patient investment, and public markets. There is evidence of patient investment and market opportunities for affordable food providers in Northern Manitoba. There is evidence of commitment to some core funding of 'employment and training' from social enterprises or local food initiatives. For food access SEs to operate successfully for the long term, we will need a re-thinking of what is meant by 'enterprise', and what social impacts our public agencies have a stake in creating for the long term.

If social enterprises are to be an effective vehicle for food systems change in the North, they will be rooted in local knowledge, local priorities, and local choices. But they will also rely on diverse revenue streams if they are to truly create positive and sustainable social impact. Simply put, core funding of food access and education, including education on the land, would create a context from which new institutions could grow. Policy and funding that supports processes to identify and build local solidarity around local food issues will thus create new opportunities for increasing food self-determination, and help communities and families feed themselves sustainably in their traditional territories.



Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Guides

1) SE Funder Interview Guide

Preamble:

Thanks for taking the time to participate in this interview. The Northern Manitoba Food, Culture, and Community Collaborative has commissioned this Scoping Study on Supports and Resources for Social Enterprises in Northern Manitoba. You were identified by our team as a potential key informant as a result of your innovative social enterprise practice. The main objectives of this research are to:

- *Document and analyze the systems of support available to and utilized by social entrepreneurs in Manitoba, especially those engaged in the food sector, and those operated by or serving Indigenous communities*
- *Document and analyze common barriers, or challenges related to SE development in the North, and again with a focus on food, and Indigenous communities*
- *Identify opportunities to strengthen the Northern SE sector through policy, funding or service systems change to improve Indigenous communities’ access to food in a manner that supports nutrition, culture and community prosperity.*
- *Document stories of Northern Manitoba SE development and innovation*

Document and analyze common barriers, or challenges related to SE development in the Given your role in your organization, we would like to hear about your experiences and knowledge in this field. The questions we have prepared are a guide only. Please feel free to comment on anything that should come to mind as we proceed. Your responses will be kept confidential: even if we should choose to quote you directly, there will be no way for our readers to know who you are. You will be cited simply as a “social enterprise funder.” When we have completed our study, our results will be made available to all participants. Finally, this call is being recorded for accuracy. Do you consent to being recorded? Shall we begin the interview?

Area of Questioning	General Questions
1.Fund/Program Description	<p>1.1 Can you tell me about your perception of Social Enterprise? What do you think it is?</p> <p>1.2 What is the name of your funding program(s) relevant to SE development?</p> <p>1.3 Please describe the services or other products you have available for social enterprise development?</p> <p>1.4 How many organizations do you/have you funded or served?</p> <p>1.5 What is the fund makeup?</p> <p>1.6 What are your expectations for evaluation for your grantees?</p> <p>1.7 Do you have any specialized Indigenous SE funding streams?</p>



2. Community Background	2.1 What is the geographic scope of the region you serve through your SE funding?
3. History	3.1 How long has your fund/program been operating? 3.2 What was the main reason for starting it? 3.3 What other actors or agencies have been involved? What partners or other collaborators do you work with? 3.4 What are you trying to achieve?
4. Granting	4.1 What are the main criteria that you use to determine eligibility 4.2 What do you think may make it difficult to effectively fund or support SEs generally? What about food-focused SEs? Indigenous owned or –serving SEs 4.3 What resourcing have you put in place to help with partnership development, technical assistance, capacity/leadership, staffing, staff training, marketing, or other organizational needs?
5. Challenges & Successes	5.1 Are there any policies in particular holding SEs back in Manitoba? In your region? At local levels? 5.2 What is your community/region/Manitoba still lacking that social enterprises might provide (better than simple for-profits)? 5.3 Are there any practices that have been used for SE development that did not work as planned?
6. Outcomes	6.1 How do you think social enterprises contribute to the development of diverse local economies? To strong cultures and communities? To community health and wellness? 6.2 Are there any social or environmental outcomes that the social enterprises that you have funded generated? Can you describe them? How do you know this is what's happening?
Other questions	Is there anything else you want to add? Do you have any questions?

2) Social Enterprise Interview Guide

Area of Questioning	General Questions
1. Fund/ Program Description	1.1 Can you tell me about your perception of Social Enterprise? What do you think it is? 1.2 What is the name of your funding program(s) relevant to SE development?



	<p>1.3 Please describe the services or other products you have available for social enterprise development?</p> <p>1.4 How many organizations do you/have you funded or served?</p> <p>1.5 What is the fund makeup?</p> <p>1.6 What are your expectations for evaluation for your grantees?</p> <p>1.7 Do you have any specialized Indigenous SE funding streams?</p>
2. Community Background	2.1 What is the geographic scope of the region you serve through your SE funding?
3. History	<p>3.1 How long has your fund/program been operating?</p> <p>3.2 What was the main reason for starting it?</p> <p>3.3 What other actors or agencies have been involved? What partners or other collaborators do you work with?</p> <p>3.4 What are you trying to achieve?</p>
4. Granting	<p>4.1 What are the main criteria that you use to determine eligibility</p> <p>4.2 What do you think may make it difficult to effectively fund or support SEs generally? What about food-focused SEs? Indigenous owned or –serving SEs?</p> <p>4.3 What resourcing have you put in place to help with partnership development, technical assistance, capacity/leadership, staffing, staff training, marketing, or other organizational needs?</p>
5. Challenges & Successes	<p>5.1 Are there any policies in particular holding SEs back in Manitoba? In your region? At local levels?</p> <p>5.2 What is your community/region/Manitoba still lacking that social enterprises might provide (better than simple for-profits)?</p> <p>5.3 Are there any practices that have been used for SE development that did not work as planned?</p>
6. Outcomes	<p>6.1 How do you think social enterprises contribute to the development of diverse local economies? To strong cultures and communities? To community health and wellness?</p> <p>6.2 Are there any social or environmental outcomes that the social enterprises that you have funded generated? Can you describe them? How do you know this is what's happening?</p>
Other questions	Is there anything else you want to add? Do you have any questions?



3) SE Stakeholder Interview Guide

Area of Questioning	General Questions
1. SE context	<p>1.1 Can you tell me about your perception of Social Enterprise? What do you think it is?</p> <p>1.2 Do you provide any funding or support program(s) relevant to SE development?</p> <p>1.3 How many organizations you engage with would you classify as Social Enterprises?</p> <p>1.4 What is your relationship with them?</p> <p>1.5 Can you think of any local food-based Social Enterprises? If yes, what's your perception of them?</p> <p>1.6 Do you have any specialized Indigenous funding or support streams?</p> <p>1.7 Can you think of any local Indigenous-led or Indigenous-serving SEs? If so, what's your perception of them</p>
2. Community Background	<p>2.1 What is the geographic scope of the region you serve?</p>
3. History	<p>3.1 How long have you been in your role? How long has your organization been operating?</p> <p>3.2 What was your main reason for starting to pursue SE development?</p> <p>3.3 What other actors or agencies have been involved? What partners or other collaborators do you work with?</p> <p>3.4 What are you trying to achieve?</p>
4. Support & Coordination	<p>4.1 How do you approach SE development? What are some things you look for in determining what to pursue, or whom to support?</p> <p>4.2 What do you think may make it difficult to effectively fund or support SEs generally? What about food-focused SEs? Indigenous owned or –serving SEs?</p> <p>4.3 Have you put any specific resourcing in place to help with partnership development, technical assistance, capacity/leadership, staffing, staff training, marketing, or other organizational needs?</p>
5. Challenges & Successes	<p>5.1 In your opinion, are there any policies in particular holding SEs back in Manitoba? In your region? At local levels?</p>



	<p>5.2 What is your community/region/Manitoba still lacking that social enterprises might provide (better than simple for-profits)?</p> <p>5.3 Can you think of any practices that have been used for SE development that did not work as planned?</p>
6. Outcomes	<p>6.1 How do you think social enterprises contribute to the development of diverse local economies? To strong cultures and communities? To community health and wellness?</p> <p>6.2 Are there any social or environmental outcomes that the social enterprises that you have funded generated? Can you describe them? How do you know this is what's happening?</p>
Other questions	<p>Is there anything else you want to add? Do you have any questions?</p>



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Appendix C: Northern Manitoba Social Enterprise Funders and Investors

Funder/ Programmer Name and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
Northern Healthy Foods Initiative - <i>Province of Manitoba</i>	<p>“The Northern Healthy Foods Initiative’s (NHFI) vision is for people to define their own food systems to access healthy foods in northern Manitoba. Our goals are:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. to increase food security efforts at the community level 2. to strengthen community-led development”² 	<p>Project-based; partnered for service delivery with:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bayline Regional Roundtable • Northern Association of Community Councils • Four Arrows Regional Health Authority • Food Matters Manitoba <p>In initial phases of social enterprise funding (see notes at right)</p>	<p>Varies; refer to map³ to determine relevant partners’ regional areas of support</p>	<p>“In 2014/15, NHFI expanded efforts to include social enterprise development for northern communities that focuses on food security and employment.”</p> <p>“In 2015/16 NHFI the social enterprise development fund supported both new and existing projects including the Meechim Farm, a project in Garden Hill First Nation that has taken local food production in the north to a commercial level in poultry production and conventional gardening. A new and innovative project in Opaskwayak Cree Nation involved the development of an LED Plant Factory that</p>

² <http://www.gov.mb.ca/imr/ir/major-initiatives/nhfi/>

³ http://www.gov.mb.ca/imr/ir/pdf/pubs/nhfi_boundary_map.pdf



Funder/ Programmer Name and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
				grows leafy greens indoor, year-round. Similarly, beekeeping in Barrows has transformed from a family endeavour to a socially conscious, environmentally friendly family business.” ⁴
Affordable Food in Remote Manitoba (AFFIRM) - Province of Manitoba, Ministry of Healthy Living and Seniors	“This program reduces the price of milk, fresh vegetables and fresh fruits in eligible remote Northern communities through a subsidy.” ⁵	Subsidy program delivered in remote communities; communities themselves can apply to become eligible for the subsidy, potentially reducing the costs of healthy foods	“Participating communities are Northern Manitoba communities that are not directly serviced by an all-weather road and which do not receive the full subsidy through the federal Nutrition North Canada program. Eligibility is determined by the Province of Manitoba.” ⁶	While not directly relevant to SE creation, this subsidy could assist remote food businesses in developing a local market by reducing costs to consumers; this might form an initial step toward local food import solutions in communities not fully served by the NNC federal subsidy

⁴ <http://www.gov.mb.ca/imr/ir/major-initiatives/nhfi/>

⁵ <http://www.gov.mb.ca/healthyliving/hlp/nutrition/affirm/index.html>

⁶ Ibid



Funder/ Programmer Name and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
Northern Manitoba Food, Culture, and Community Collaborative - Collaborative including community, government, non-government, and private sector partners	"to foster healthier and stronger communities in Northern Manitoba, through improved access to healthy foods and the development of resilient local economies." ⁷	Granting body: minimum grants of \$1,000, maximum of \$25,000 ⁸ NMFCCC does one granting cycle per year, in the fall season	Applicants must be: "north of the Aboriginal and Northern Affairs boundary on the map" ⁹ "recommend a minimum of 15 families/households participating" experiencing "economic and food challenges" "can only give grants to charitable organizations or 'qualified donees' as defined by the CRA" ¹⁰	Grants may help in early stages, and may even provide some core funding for early operations; Requirement for 'qualified donee' status means that for-profit business ideas, even if community-owned or initiated, may not be eligible Reporting is required to hold a grant, but the reporting measures appear quite flexible
Breakfast Club of Canada - National Charitable organization	"We nurture potential and grow healthy students, giving an equal chance of success to all kids, one breakfast at a time." ¹¹	Varies community to community; geared toward long-term non-profit youth meal provision directly in schools;	Varies community to community: "The Club is constantly looking for sustainable ways of reaching out to more children in First Nations, Metis, and Inuit communities in order to:	First Nations, Metis and Inuit (FNMI) Committee's mandate is to: 1) Share knowledge and best practices with Club members and schools to

⁷ <http://nmfccf.weebly.com/>

⁸ <http://nmfccf.weebly.com/process--cycle.html>

⁹ <http://nmfccf.weebly.com/uploads/4/4/1/7/44170639/8095586.jpg>

¹⁰ <http://nmfccf.weebly.com/process--cycle.html>

¹¹ <http://www.breakfastclubcanada.org/the-club/our-mission/>



Funder/ Programmer Name and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
			empower... introduce... track, record and share... engage	offer culturally inclusive community-driven breakfast programs that promote holistic well-being for FNMI children and youth 2) Provide direct assistance to communities in developing strategies to make their breakfast programs as autonomous as possible. 3) Establish local, regional and national partnerships within the network of breakfast program stakeholders ¹²
Food Matters Manitoba - Provincial Charitable Organization	“Food Matters Manitoba partners with communities to make food more available and affordable. Through local greenhouses and gardens and teaching kids and families how to prepare healthy meals at community cooking	Various: currently operating local food programs in 13 Indigenous and Northern Communities; developing gardening and greenhouses, beekeeping and chicken raising; culture camps; harvesting traditional foods;	Unclear; methods of selecting ‘partnerships’ to pursue not readily accessible	No direct reference to social enterprise found in literature

¹² <http://www.breakfastclubcanada.org/first-nations-metis-inuit/>



Funder/ Programmer Name and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
	<p>classes, we believe that together we can make Manitoba a healthier and happier place.”</p> <p>“We work with communities across Manitoba to create opportunities for people to be able to eat good food.”¹³</p> <p>Further “partners with northern communities to grow good food, share traditional skills and build healthy futures.”¹⁴</p>	<p>community food assessments; operates “Our food, our health, our culture’, a program at three sites: Winnipeg, La Ronge SK, and Fox Lake Cree Nation¹⁵</p>		
<p>Cooperators Economic Development Funds - <i>Co-operative developed Fund</i></p>	<p>“The mission of the Community Economic Development (CED) Funds is to contribute to financial security for Canadians and their communities through community economic development. The Funds support community economic</p>	<p>Grants; two rounds of application per year (Spring and Fall)</p>	<p>Focus on ‘job creation’, ‘marginalized youth’ and ‘persons with mental health issues’</p>	<p>No specific mention of SE or food access; all co-operatives may be considered social enterprises</p>

¹³ <http://www.foodmattersmanitoba.ca/projects/northern-healthy-foods-initiative/>; <http://www.foodmattersmanitoba.ca/about/mission/>

¹⁴ <http://www.foodmattersmanitoba.ca/projects/northern-healthy-foods-initiative/>

¹⁵ <http://www.foodmattersmanitoba.ca/projects/our-food-our-health-our-culture/>



Funder/ Programmer Name and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
	development initiatives that lead to job creation and/or enhanced employability for marginalized youth and persons with mental health issues.” ¹⁶			
CCEDNet Manitoba - National Member-led Network	“Dedicated to strengthening Canadian communities by creating economic opportunities that enhance social and environmental conditions.” ¹⁷	“Social Enterprise Manitoba” is a key CCEDNet Manitoba initiative operating as a “hub for social enterprise activity in Manitoba, providing resources, workshop information, news, and other events or opportunities to support social enterprise practitioners, developers and stakeholders.” ¹⁸	“Social Enterprise Manitoba offers development services for organizations exploring, developing, or currently operating enterprises and revenue-generating activities. Our services include needs assessment, support for early stage planning, our introductory workshop “Build & Grow Your Social Enterprise,” connections to business coaching supports, and a small grant for business development.” ¹⁹	Site of the Manitoba Social Enterprise Strategy Lists numerous other potential resources ²⁰
Manitoba Agriculture –	“Manitoba Agriculture creates the environment that	“MAFRD staff can provide advice, path finding and	“Communities can adopt a process to incorporate the	Note lack of specific social enterprise statements;

¹⁶ <https://www.cooperators.ca/en/About-Us/foundation/ced.aspx>

¹⁷ <https://ccednet-rcdec.ca/en>

¹⁸ <https://socialenterprisemanitoba.ca/about-us/who-we-are/>

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ <https://socialenterprisemanitoba.ca/resources/resource-links/>



Funder/ Programmer Name and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
Community Economic Development - <i>Province of Manitoba</i> ²¹	accelerates growth in the agriculture, agri-food and agri-product sector.” ²²	facilitation support to rural communities pursuing local economic development.”; delivered through local MAFRD GO Offices ²³	<p>principles and goals of CED. This CED process includes the following steps:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Form a CED agency/organization that is responsible for leading the CED process. • Work with your neighbours in a region to address common development issues. • Collect and analyze data to determine appropriate strategies and activities. • Decide on a strategic focus and actions based on the data analysis. This can include a combination of strategies such as: business development (ex: local investment pool, business support services) 	<p>importance of ‘forming agency or organization to lead CED process’; applicability to First Nations or Indigenous communities unclear.</p> <p>Significant financial assistance resources listing²⁵</p>

²¹ <https://www.gov.mb.ca/agriculture/rural-communities/community-planning/community-economic-development-planning.html>

²² <https://www.gov.mb.ca/agriculture/about/index.html>

²³ <https://www.gov.mb.ca/agriculture/rural-communities/community-planning/community-economic-development-planning.html>

²⁵ <https://www.gov.mb.ca/agriculture/financial-assistance/index.html>



Funder/ Programmer Name and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Local development (ex: beautification, zoning, industrial parks) ○ Human resource development (ex: local training initiatives) ○ Sector development (ex: business retention and expansion projects, supply chain gap analysis)²⁴ 	
AANDC Aboriginal Business and Entrepreneurs hip Development (ABED) - <i>Federal</i>	“ABED works with Aboriginal entrepreneurs and its partners to provide a range of services and supports that promote the growth of a strong Aboriginal business sector in Canada. Support will vary depending upon the needs of the client, the availability and sources of	“Many Aboriginal entrepreneurs and communities can qualify for business development support. Depending on the nature of your project, you may be able to obtain funding to assist with a wide range of activities, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business planning 	“Through the Program Delivery Partners (PDP) initiative, AANDC partners with Aboriginal Financial Institutions (AFIs) to deliver funding for business development. AFIs are located in all regions of the country and are well-positioned to meet the needs and aspirations of	Approved AFIs in Manitoba are the Louis Riel Capital Corporation and the First Peoples Economic Growth Fund

²⁴ Ibid



Funder/ Programmer Name and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
<i>Government program</i> ²⁶	funding, the eligibility of costs, the economic benefits, and the project viability. ABED can help Aboriginal entrepreneurs, communities and organizations to achieve their business goals.”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment (capital) costs • Business acquisitions • Business expansions • Marketing initiatives that are local, domestic, or export oriented • New product or process development • Adding technology to improve operations and competitiveness • Operating costs in association with capital costs • Financial services, business support, business-related training, and mentoring services” 	Aboriginal entrepreneurs and communities at the local level. AFIs have responsibility for the management, distribution and administration of an equity fund and have the authority to approve funding for activities up to a maximum of \$99,999 for Aboriginal individuals and incorporated businesses and up to \$250,000 for community owned businesses.”	
Manitoba Ag. Services Corp. - Crown Corporation of	“MASC's lending programs provide Manitoba's agricultural producers and rural businesses with reasonable access to credit.	Loans and loan guarantees to increase access to credit for agricultural producers	Of particular interest is “Rural Entrepreneur Assistance (REA) [which] guarantees 80% of an entrepreneur's loan amount (up to \$200,000), providing extra	Not specifically relevant to social enterprise

²⁶ <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1375201178602/1375202816581>



Funder/ Programmer Name and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
Manitoba Government ²⁷	MASC provides direct loans and guarantees loans made by private-sector financial institutions to assist in the creation and expansion of operations in rural Manitoba.”		security to financial institutions that are prepared to offer businesses (small commercial and home-based) in rural Manitoba the financial support they need to be successful. REA guarantees are available to small businesses located in rural Manitoba (outside of Winnipeg). Loans can be made to owners/operators, and may be used to finance the purchase of fixed assets, inventory and/or working capital.	
Canada Small Business Financing Program - <i>Federal Government program</i> ²⁸	Loans to small businesses for capital start-up or improvement costs, delivered through approved local lenders	Loans of up to one million dollars; requires 2% registration fee (can be structured as part of loan); variable (maximum 3%) or fixed rates available	Manitoba lenders include Assiniboine Credit Union, Flin Flon Credit Union, Noventis Credit Union, and numerous other local lenders across rural Manitoba	

²⁷ <https://www.masc.mb.ca/masc.nsf/lending.html>

²⁸ <http://www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/csbfp-pfpec.nsf/eng/home>



Funder/ Programmer Name and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
Entrepreneurship Manitoba - <i>Manitoba Government Program</i> ²⁹	Numerous programs focusing on capacity development and education on topics of business development and entrepreneurship	Generally fee for service model; workshops and education opportunities available; limited free interactions for mentorship relationships, etc.	Various; most programs have only very general eligibility requirements	No specific social enterprise or non-profit components apparent
Career Focus - Federal Government ³⁰	<p>“Career Focus provides funding for employers and organizations to design and deliver a range of activities that enable youth make more informed career decisions and develop their skills. Career Focus aims to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • increase the supply of highly qualified workers; • facilitate the transition of highly-skilled young people to a rapidly changing labour market; 	Grants to cover up to 80% of eligible program costs; maximum of \$20k granted per program participant; nominal minimum of 8 youth participants required, flexible depending on population; numerous other restrictions apply ³¹	<p>“Eligible applicants include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • not-for-profit organizations; • municipal governments; • Aboriginal organizations (including band councils, tribal councils and self-government entities); • for-profit organizations and, • provincial and territorial governments, institutions, agencies and Crown Corporations.³² 	No mention of social enterprises, but non-profit entities are eligible.

²⁹ <http://www.entrepreneurshipmanitoba.ca/programs-services>

³⁰ <https://www.canada.ca/en/employment-social-development/services/funding/career-focus.html>

³¹ <https://www.canada.ca/en/employment-social-development/services/funding/career-focus/eligibility.html>

³² <https://www.canada.ca/en/employment-social-development/services/funding/career-focus/eligibility.html>



Funder/ Programmer Name and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • promote the benefits of advanced studies; and, • demonstrate federal leadership by investing in the skills required to meet the needs of the knowledge economy” 			
Skills Link - Federal Government ³³	The Skills Link program is a component of the Government of Canada's Youth Employment Strategy (YES). Through funding of organizations, the Skills Link program helps youth overcome barriers to employment, develop a broad range of skills and knowledge in order to participate in the current and future labour market and to promote education and skills as being key to labour market participation. These barriers	Not currently accepting applications	Not currently accepting applications	Not currently accepting applications

³³ <https://www.canada.ca/en/employment-social-development/services/funding/skills-link.html>



Funder/ Programmer Name and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
	include, but are not limited to, challenges faced by recent immigrant youth, youth with disabilities, single parent youth, youth who have not completed high school, Indigenous youth, and youth living in rural or remote areas.			
TNRC - Community development organization	“Established in 2001, the TNRC is a community development organization governed by a volunteer board of directors working to support neighbourhood renewal initiatives by providing assistance to the community through funding and education. The Manitoba governments Neighbourhoods Alive! provides core funding to the TNRC, enabling the organization to act as a catalyst for community development in Thompson. The TNRC has focused on	Runs a small grant fund (maximum \$5,000) to “support community building initiatives”; active in housing access and community safety” ³⁴	“To be eligible to receive a grant, projects must aim to strengthen the community and reflect the objectives and priorities of the TNRC 5-Year Plan. A proposal should show how the project benefits the local community and supports the goals and values of the TNRC.” ³⁵ Last grantees listed for 2009	No direct reference to social enterprise apparent on web site

³⁴ <http://www.tnrc.ca/programs.html>

³⁵ <http://www.tnrc.ca/smallgrantsfunds.html>



Funder/ Programmer Name and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
	recreation, housing, neighbourhood empowerment, cleanliness and beautification, safety and crime prevention, and economic development.”			
Aboriginal Business Services Network (Indigenous Business Development Services) - <i>Community Futures Manitoba</i>	“Aboriginal Business Service Network (ABSN) is committed to providing the Aboriginal business community with a wide range of information on government services, programs and regulations that are relevant, up-to-date and accurate. ABSN also sponsors an annual Business Plan Competition where winners receive \$5,000 towards starting their business.” ³⁶ Internet search failed to access current web page; possible that this initiative has been rebranded as	“The Indigenous Business Development Services (IBDS) Program is comprised of organizations who offer services to Indigenous entrepreneurs. We offer: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business information and resource materials • Assistance with business plan preparation • Business advisory services • Training in the form of workshops and seminars • Financing for businesses 	Grant “applications will be accepted from individual organizations, but preference will be given to applications demonstrating partnerships among service providers/partners.”	No direct mention of social enterprise; focus on ‘entrepreneurship’ in general

³⁶ <https://www.gov.mb.ca/jec/emb/smbus/guides/aboriginal.html>



Funder/ Programmer Name and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
	<p>“Indigenous Business Development Services”³⁷</p>	<p>Offers small grants for “capacity building projects” which “are designed to allow organizations serving Indigenous entrepreneurs to access up to \$5,000 to implement projects that will encourage, support and/or assist Indigenous entrepreneurs in communities served by the organization.”³⁸</p>		
<p>Four Arrows RHA - Regional Health Authority sanctioned by Tribal Council resolution</p>	<p>“Food Goals for our Communities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have access to healthy food • Have foods that are culturally appropriate • Grow, gather, hunt, and fish in ways that are sustainable over the long-term • Distribute foods in ways so people get 	<p>“Food Security Projects supported through our program include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gardening • Greenhouses • Community Freezers • Traditional Foods • Raising backyard chickens • Food Skills workshops • Support promotion of healthy eating. 	<p>None specified; refer to map for regions where FARHA delivers NHFI programming³⁹</p>	<p>No specific mention of social enterprise in food security programming area;</p>

³⁷ <https://cfmanitoba.ca/special-programs/indigenous-business-development-services>

³⁸ <https://cfmanitoba.ca/special-programs/indigenous-business-development-services>

³⁹ http://www.gov.mb.ca/imr/ir/pdf/pubs/nhfi_boundary_map.pdf



Funder/ Programmer Name and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
	<p>what they need to stay healthy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adequately compensate the people who provide the food • Utilize our treaty rights that ensure continued access to traditional foods” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community composing initiatives” 		
<p>Northern Association of Community Councils (NACC) - Advocacy group for 56 rural and remote communities</p>	<p>“NACC exists to act as an advocacy group in order to serve the interests of (up to) 56 Community Councils that NACC represents in the Northern Manitoba region. The communities served by these councils fall within the jurisdiction of the Department of Aboriginal and Northern Affairs, formerly known as the Department of Native and Northern Affairs. NACC</p>	<p>Assists in delivering NHFI; training support and supplies for local food initiatives in fourteen (14) of its member communities.⁴¹</p> <p>Offers a conference; newsletter and online resource listing focused on community food issues⁴²</p>	<p>Geographic limitation (see NHFI map); no publically available funding or lending offerings identified</p>	<p>No specific mention of social enterprise</p>

⁴¹ <http://naccmanitoba.com/northern-healthy-foods-initiative/>

⁴² <http://naccmanitoba.com/about-the-nhfi/growing-communities/>; <http://naccmanitoba.com/about-the-nhfi/grow-north-conferences/>; <http://naccmanitoba.com/northern-healthy-foods-initiative/seed-saving-booklet/>



Funder/ Programmer Name and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
	serves to provide a unified and collective voice for the communities that it represents as they encounter important developmental phases.” ⁴⁰			
AKI Energy - A non-profit Aboriginal social enterprise	“Aki Energy works with First Nations to start green businesses in their communities, creating local jobs and growing strong local economies.” ⁴³	<p>“Aki Energy works with First Nations to increase access to healthy, affordable food, with an emphasis on working with communities to build strong, sustainable local food systems.”</p> <p>No publically available information on nature or extent of this work aside from work with Meechim Farm on Garden Hill First Nation</p> <p>Also active in sustainable energy projects</p>	Not clear from publically available information: “Aki Energy works with First Nations all over Canada. If you are interested in pursuing a geothermal energy project in your community, or finding out more about Aki Energy and our work, please get in touch.” ⁴⁴	Forthright about social enterprise identity, and enthusiastic as a SE. Published “Social Enterprise and the Solutions Economy – A Toolkit for Manitoba First Nations” (2015) with Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs and CCEDNet ⁴⁵
Canada Feed the Children	In Canada: “We work in partnership with First nations	School nutrition programs; nutrition education; school	Various; appears primarily delivered/directed through	No specific mention of social enterprise

⁴⁰ <http://naccmanitoba.com/about-us/overview/>

⁴³ <http://www.akienergy.com/>

⁴⁴ <http://www.akienergy.com/contact/>

⁴⁵ <https://www.scribd.com/document/271068431/Social-Enterprise-and-the-Solutions-Economy-in-First-Nation-Communities>



Funder/ Programmer Name and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
(CFTC) - <i>Charitable organization</i>	communities to support community-led food security programs. These are designed to reduce childhood hunger by increasing access to good food and traditional practices, and by encouraging healthy eating.”	gardens; ‘Fresh For Less’ food box program (New Brunswick); program coordination ⁴⁶	school systems; no publically available data on eligibility	

Investor Name – and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
Communities Economic Development Fund - <i>Manitoba Crown Corporation</i>	To encourage economic development in Northern Manitoba through the provision of Financial Assistance [in the form of loans and guarantees] and other forms of technical assistance...” ⁴⁷	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loans for Business – Acquisition, Start-Up, Expansion • Loans for Commercial Fishing • Community Programs • Fund Management – Administering Funds on Behalf of Other [sic] • Consulting Services: 	“In addressing the objectives of CEDF, business loans are available for any individuals in Northern Manitoba and for aboriginals in Southern Manitoba, with the exception of Winnipeg. Commercial fishing loans are available for anyone throughout the Province. All types of businesses, ranging	Note focus on fisheries as a core mandate; focuses on mainstream for-profit ventures primarily; accessing investment will require sound business plan

⁴⁶ <http://www.canadianfeedthechildren.ca/where/canada/>

⁴⁷ <http://www.cedf.mb.ca/about-us/>



Investor Name – and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
		<p>Logistical Assistance to Companies Relocating to Northern Manitoba</p> <p>Program Development Assistance to Other Levels of Government⁴⁸</p>	<p>from manufacturing to service industries, are eligible for assistance. The applicant must fulfill the following conditions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • complete a viable business proposal • have the ability and knowledge to operate a business successfully • provide a minimum of 10 percent equity to the business financed⁴⁹ 	
<p>Jubilee Fund - “ethical investment fund”</p>	<p>“Established to raise awareness concerning the interrelated issues of poverty reduction, financial assets and access to credit. The Jubilee Fund provides loan guarantees and bridge financing to not-for-profit organizations and businesses, (co-operatives and social enterprises) to initiate or complete community based projects</p>	<p>“Jubilee Investment Certificates are purchased by individuals and organizations in the form of three or five year term deposits. These funds are pooled together into a single fund and used to secure and leverage loans for community initiatives. The Jubilee Investment Certificates and project loans are administrated by Assiniboine Credit Union.⁵¹</p>	<p>“Each application is assessed on its social goals and its financial viability.</p> <p>Each applicant must demonstrate the skills needed to carry out the day-to-day operation and management of the project they are proposing.”⁵²</p>	<p>Loans available specifically for projects and businesses that otherwise would not be able to access capital;</p> <p>combines social and financial criteria;</p> <p>assistance available to bring through application process;</p> <p>no grants available</p>

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ <http://www.entrepreneurshipmanitoba.ca/financial-programs/461/communities-economic-development-fund-ngo>

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Jubilee Fund Ethical Investing in Manitoba – Applicants Guide (n.d.): 2, retrieved from <http://www.jubileefund.ca/docs/Brochure-Applicants-Guide.pdf>



Investor Name – and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
	that reduce poverty and financial exclusion.” ⁵⁰			
Assiniboine Credit Union - “values-based financial co-operative”	“Commitment to doing business in a way that is financially sound and socially, environmentally and ethically responsible. We use our expertise and resources to foster self-reliant and sustainable communities, while taking care to consider the impact of business decisions on our employees, our members, the environment and the communities we serve.”	<p>Numerous lending operations, member of Global Alliance for Banking on Values: “As a member of GABV, we:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offer socially responsible investment opportunities to our members. • Operate where the banks won't bank, like Winnipeg's North End. • Offer access to banking services to those who are under-served. • Invest in local leaders who are creating solutions to some of the most complex challenges in our communities. • Reduce our environmental impact every year. • Support our employees who volunteer for 	<p>“Our Community Financial Centre (CFC) provides specialized support for small business start-ups, non-profit organizations, co-operatives and social enterprises.”</p> <p>Our offerings include customized accounts, commercial mortgages, construction financing, bridge financing, term loans, operating lines of credit, letters of credit and a local, dedicated account manager who is responsive to your financing and overall banking needs. No matter what stage your organization or business is at — start-up, early days, steady state or time to expand — we can support you with:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to credit and full-service banking to sustain you. 	CFC includes commitment to support and lend to social enterprise.

⁵⁰ <http://www.jubileefund.ca/about.php>



Investor Name – and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
		<p>initiatives that make a difference, like Habitat and the LITE Pancake Breakfast, and raising money for low-income people who are building up their savings for essential things in life like education, simple furniture, a home, or starting a business.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are an inclusive and diverse place to work. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial advice and counselling to help you refine your business model and operations. • Connection to our partners, tools, programs and initiatives that will help you build your entrepreneurial and management skills and organizational capacity. • Connection to community and government resources to support your mission, goals and your ongoing growth and expansion.⁵³ 	
<p>Youth Social Innovation Capital Fund - Impact investing fund supported by Ontario Trillium Foundation</p>	<p>“YSI is an impact investing fund that supports young entrepreneurs and their impactful ventures.”</p>	<p>“YSI bridges the gap between the needs of young social entrepreneurs and impact investors by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Providing young social entrepreneurs with debt financing and resources that facilitate 	<p>Focus on youth entrepreneurs; likely to require business plan etc.</p>	<p>YSI has invested in six social enterprises to date</p>

⁵³ <https://www.assiniboine.mb.ca/Business/Community-Financial-Centre/>



Investor Name – and Source	Mandate	Format	Eligibility	Additional Notes for SE
and TD Bank Group ⁵⁴		<p>successful venture growth.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offering investment opportunities that generate financial returns and positive impact.” 		
Lands and Economic Development - Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada	<p>“Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) is helping Aboriginal communities get the most from their economic development potential by investing in community readiness, entrepreneurs and businesses, land management, and strategic partnerships. The Department is also removing legislative barriers to ensure large-scale projects on reserve promoted by First Nations can proceed.”</p>	<p>Main relevant programs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aboriginal Entrepreneurship⁵⁵ • Community Opportunity Readiness⁵⁶ • Strategic Partnerships Initiative⁵⁷ 	Various; see footnotes 55; 56; 57	<p>No specific mention of social enterprise, but potential for Indigenous community economic development, including early-stage market opportunity identification through Community Opportunity Readiness program; focus on ‘economic opportunity’ as distinct from food access as a human right</p>

⁵⁴ <http://www.youthsocialinnovation.org/about/>

⁵⁵ <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100032796/1100100032800>

⁵⁶ <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100033414/1100100033415>

⁵⁷ <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1330016561558/1330016687171>