

APPENDIX A

Assessing Stakeholder Interests in Prosperity and Cultural Well-being

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Introduction

The identification of pathways to prosperity and cultural well-being is central to the achievement of mastery in one's own house, the objective of economic development for First Nations people. However, the realization of such a success within the constraints of a modern economy is a necessarily socioeconomic process in that the interests of many parties to a transaction must be identified, addressed and satisfied. Especially when considering the issue of on-reserve property rights as a precondition to effective transacting, the inevitable question arises: to what extent do the property rights presently available to First Nations people on-reserve satisfy the interests of the stakeholders in prosperity and cultural well-being within the First Nations community?

This paper summarizes the conceptual tools available to answer the foregoing question, as this answer has been suggested and tested within the field of stakeholder research (Mitchell, Agle, Wood, 1997¹; Agle, Mitchell, Sonnenfeld, 1999). This approach suggests that the identification of "who or what really counts" (Freeman, 1994) with respect to an issue such as on-reserve property rights will rest, first, upon the assumption that people who want to achieve certain objectives pay particular kinds of attention to various classes of stakeholders; second, that peoples' perceptions will dictate stakeholder salience (the degree to which people give priority to competing stakeholder claims); and, third, that the various classes of stakeholders might be identified based upon the possession, or the attributed possession, of one, two

¹ Some of the definitions and logic within are paraphrased or cited from this article.

or all three of the attributes: **power**, **legitimacy** and **urgency**. These three attributes have been shown to be critical to the stakeholder identification process. The discussion that follows focuses on this third assumption: the identification of various classes of stakeholders (and, by extension, the kinds of attention needed to address and satisfy their claims), using power, legitimacy and urgency as the identifying attributes.

Defining Stakeholder Attributes

In this section, power, legitimacy and urgency are defined.

Power. Most current definitions of power define it to be “the probability that one actor within a social relationship would be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance” (Weber, 1947). Thus, power is “a relationship among social actors in which one social actor, A, can get another social actor, B, to do something that B would not otherwise have done” (Pfeffer, 1981: 3). While at times power can be tricky to define, it is not that difficult to recognize: “power is the ability of those who possess it to bring about the outcomes they desire” (Salancik & Pfeffer, 1974: 3).

Etzioni (1964: 59) suggests a logic for the more precise categorization of the bases of power, centred on three types of resource used to exercise it: (1) *coercive* power, based on physical resources of force, violence, or restraint from same; (2) *utilitarian* power, based on material or financial resources; and (3) *normative* power, based on symbolic resources. Etzioni explains these types of power as follows:

- 1) Control based on application of physical means is described as *coercive power*. The use of or threat to use a gun, a whip or a lock is physical since it affects the body (the threat to use physical sanctions is viewed as physical because the effect on the subject is similar in kind, though not in intensity, to the actual use).
- 2) The use of material means for control purposes constitutes *utilitarian power*. Material rewards consist of goods and services. The granting of symbols (e.g. money), which allow one to acquire goods and services, is classified as material because the effect on the recipient is similar to that of material means.

- 3) The use of symbols for control purposes is referred to as *normative, normative-social or social power*. Pure symbols are those whose use does not constitute a physical threat or a claim on material rewards. These include normative symbols, those of prestige and esteem (e.g. fame or shame), and social symbols such as love and acceptance. (When physical contact is used to symbolize love or material objects to symbolize prestige, such contacts or objects are viewed as symbols because their effect on the recipient is similar to that of “pure” symbols.)

A party to a relationship has power, therefore, to the extent it has or can gain access to coercive, utilitarian or normative means to impose its will in the relationship. Please note, however, that this access to means is a variable, not a steady state, which is one reason why power is transitory—it can be acquired as well as lost.

Legitimacy. Legitimacy is defined to be “. . . a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions” (Suchman, 1995: 574). Suchman’s definition of legitimacy applies to many levels of analysis, the most common of which are the individual, organizational and societal (Wood, 1991). This definition suggests that legitimacy may be socially constructed: a desirable social good that is something larger and more shared than a mere self-perception and that may be defined and negotiated differently at various levels of social organization. Legitimacy can also be normatively constructed: the result of values and norms established within communities or of such self-evident moral force that these values and norms are generally accepted across many communities (Donaldson & Dunfee, 1999).

Urgency. Urgency is defined by the Merriam-Webster Dictionary as “calling for immediate attention” or as “pressing.” Urgency (with synonyms including compelling, driving and imperative) only exists when two conditions are met . . . first, when a relationship or claim is of a time-sensitive nature and, second, when that relationship or claim is important or critical to the stakeholder. Thus, urgency is based on the following two attributes: (1)

time sensitivity – the degree to which delay in attending to the claim or relationship is unacceptable to the stakeholder, and (2) criticality – the importance of the claim or the relationship to the stakeholder. Urgency is the degree to which stakeholder-important claims call for immediate attention. And it is for this reason that, when urgency is present as a stakeholder attribute, the dynamism of that stakeholder’s relationships within the larger stakeholder system is likely to be significantly increased.

Defining Types of Stakeholders

Eight stakeholder classes result from the various combinations of these attributes, as shown in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1
Types of Stakeholders

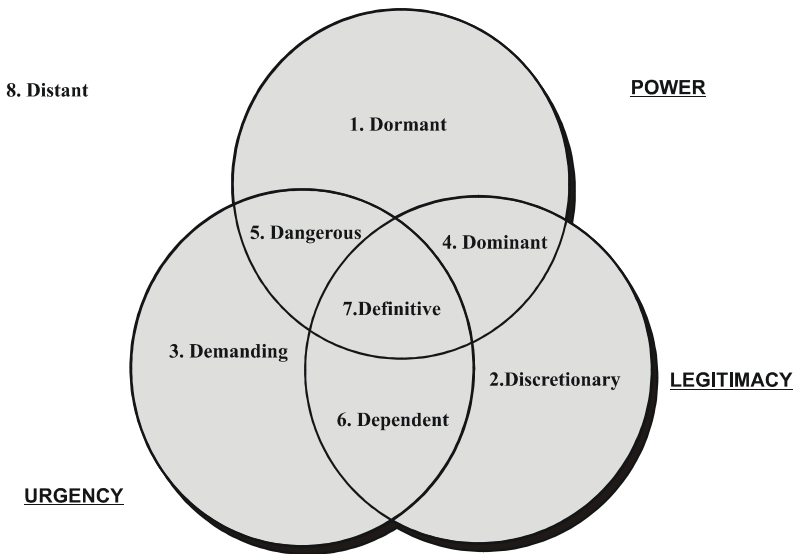


Figure 1 shows the stakeholder types that emerge from various combinations of the attributes of power, legitimacy and urgency. Logically and conceptually

ally, seven types are derived:

- three possessing only one attribute,
- three possessing two attributes, and
- one possessing all three attributes.

According to this model, entities with no power, legitimacy or urgency in relation to the stakeholder system are not stakeholders and will be perceived as having no salience, being “distant” from the issue at hand.

The low salience classes (areas 1, 2 and 3) which are termed “latent” stakeholders are identified by their possession, or attributed possession, of only one of the attributes. The moderately salient stakeholders (areas 4, 5 and 6) are identified by their possession, or attributed possession, of two of the attributes and, because they appear to be stakeholders who “expect something,” are referred to as “expectant” stakeholders. The combination of all three attributes (including the dynamic relations among them) is the defining feature of highly salient stakeholders (area 7).

This section continues with an analysis of the stakeholder classes that the above model identifies, with special attention to the implications of the existence of each stakeholder class for a given issue or stakeholder claim. Each class has been given a descriptive name to facilitate discussion, recognizing that the names are less important than the theoretical types they represent.

As Figure 1 illustrates, latent stakeholders are those possessing only one of the three attributes and include dormant, discretionary and demanding stakeholders. Expectant stakeholders are those possessing two attributes and include dominant, dangerous and dependent stakeholders. Definitive stakeholders are those possessing all three attributes. Finally, individuals or entities possessing none of the attributes are non- or potential-stakeholders which are distant from the stakeholder system related to a given issue or claim.

Latent Stakeholders

With limited time, energy and the other resources needed to track stakeholder behaviour and to manage relationships, people may well do nothing about

stakeholders that they believe possess only one of the identifying attributes, and may not even go so far as to recognize their existence. Similarly, latent stakeholders are not likely to give any attention or acknowledgment to others in the more active portions of the stakeholder system. In the next few paragraphs, the reasoning behind this expectation as it applies to each class of latent stakeholder is explained and the implications are discussed.

Dormant Stakeholders. The relevant attribute of a dormant stakeholder is power. Dormant stakeholders possess power to impose their will on a stakeholder system but, by not having legitimate relationship or an urgent claim, this power remains unused. Examples of dormant stakeholders are plentiful. For example, power is held by those who have a loaded gun (coercive), can spend a lot of money (utilitarian) or who can command the attention of the news media (symbolic). However, dormant stakeholders have little or no need for interaction within the stakeholder system because of the absence of both legitimacy and urgency. Yet because of their potential to acquire one of these as a second attribute, people should remain cognizant of dormant stakeholders because the dynamic nature of stakeholder relationships suggests that dormant stakeholders will become more salient if they acquire either urgency or legitimacy.

Though difficult, it is oftentimes possible to predict which dormant stakeholders may begin moving towards salience. For example, while employees who have been fired or laid off from an organization could be considered to be dormant stakeholders by a firm, experience suggests that these stakeholders can seek to exercise their latent power. The shootings at postal facilities by ex-U.S. mail employees (coercive), the filing of wrongful dismissal suits in the court system (utilitarian) and an increase in “speaking out” on talk radio (symbolic) are all evidence of such combinations.

Discretionary Stakeholders. Discretionary stakeholders possess the attribute of legitimacy, but have no power to influence the stakeholder system and have no urgent claims. The key point regarding discretionary stakeholders is that, in the absence of power and urgent claims, there is absolutely no pressure to engage in an active relationship with such a stakeholder although people can choose to so actively engage. Examples of discretionary stakeholders include the beneficiaries of people’s respect (e.g. due to age or accom-

plishment), or also of philanthropy such as from the agencies funded by the United Way or from church or government welfare programs.

Demanding Stakeholders. Where the sole relevant attribute of a relationship is urgency, the stakeholder is described as demanding. Demanding stakeholders, those with urgent claims but neither power nor legitimacy, are the “mosquitoes buzzing in the ears” of decision-makers: sometimes irksome but not dangerous, perhaps bothersome but not garnering more than passing attention, if any at all. Where stakeholders are unable or unwilling to acquire either the power or the legitimacy necessary to move their claim into a more salient status, the “noise” of urgency is insufficient to project a stakeholder claim beyond ineffective latency. For example, a lone millenarian picketer who marches outside the headquarters with a sign that says, “The end of the world is coming! Acme chemical is the cause!” might be irritating to Acme, but the claims of the picketer are likely to remain largely unconsidered by the other stakeholders of Acme.

Expectant Stakeholders

The potential relationships between other members of a stakeholder system and stakeholders with two of the three identifying stakeholder attributes represent a qualitatively different (more engaged) zone of salience. Thus, in analyzing the situations in which any two of the three attributes: power, legitimacy and urgency, are present, one cannot help but notice the change in momentum that characterizes this condition. Whereas “one-attribute” low-salience stakeholders are anticipated to have a latent status in the stakeholder system, “two-attribute” moderate-salience stakeholders are seen to be “expecting something” because the combination of two attributes leads the stakeholder to an active versus a passive stance, with a corresponding increase in stakeholder system responsiveness to the stakeholder’s interests. The three expectant stakeholder classes (dominant, dependent and dangerous) are described below.

Dominant Stakeholders. In the situation where stakeholders are both powerful and legitimate, their influence in the stakeholder system is assured since, by possessing power with legitimacy, they form a part of the “domi-

nant coalition” in the enterprise (Cyert & March, 1963). These stakeholders are labeled dominant in deference to the legitimate claims they have upon the stakeholder system and their ability to act on these claims (rather than as a forecast of their intentions with respect to the stakeholder system: they may or may not ever choose to act on their claims). It seems clear that the expectations of any stakeholders perceived to have power and legitimacy will “matter” to others within the stakeholder system.

Thus, we might expect that some formal mechanism will be in place to acknowledge dominant stakeholders and the importance of their relationships within the stakeholder system. For example in the private sector, organizational boards of directors generally include representatives of owners, significant creditors and community leaders, and there is normally an investor relations office to handle ongoing relationships with investors. Most corporations have a human resources department which acknowledges the importance of the firm-employee relationship. Public affairs offices are common in stakeholder systems that depend on maintaining good relationships with government and communities. In addition, organizations produce reports for legitimate, powerful stakeholders, including annual reports, proxy statements and, increasingly, environmental and social responsibility reports. Dominant stakeholders, in fact, are just those stakeholders that so many people think of as the *only* stakeholders. But, just because dominant stakeholders expect and receive much attention, they are by no means the full set of stakeholders.

Dependent Stakeholders. Stakeholders who lack power but who have urgent legitimate claims are characterized as dependent because these stakeholders depend upon other stakeholders within the stakeholder system for the power necessary to address their claims. Because power in this relationship is not reciprocal, its exercise is governed either through the advocacy or guardianship of these other stakeholders. However, dependency upon others for advocacy or guardianship can produce a variety of problematic responses, including (non-exhaustively) resentment, disengagement, activism or open hostility. Thus, membership in the dependent class of stakeholders is often non-permanent since dependent stakeholders (possessing urgency) tend to seek the missing definitive element: the power necessary to address their needs.

One such example is the case of the giant oil spill from the Exxon Valdez in Prince William Sound where several stakeholder groups were dependent (had urgent and legitimate claims, but had little or no power to actually satisfy their claims). To be able to satisfy their claims, these dependent stakeholders had to rely on the advocacy of other, powerful stakeholders. Included in this category were local residents, marine mammals and birds and even the natural environment itself (Starik, 1993). For the claims of these dependent stakeholders to be satisfied, it was necessary for “dominant” stakeholders, the Alaska state government and the court system, to provide guardianship of the region’s members, animals and ecosystems. Here a dependent stakeholder moved into the most salient (definitive) stakeholder class by having its urgent claims adopted by dominant stakeholders, illustrating the dynamism that can be effectively modeled using the principles of stakeholder identification and salience suggested herein.

Dangerous Stakeholders. Where urgency and power characterize a stakeholder who lacks legitimacy, this stakeholder is likely to be coercive and possibly violent, making that stakeholder literally “dangerous” to the stakeholder system and its members. “Dangerous” is suggested as a descriptor because the use of coercive power often accompanies illegitimate status.

Examples of unlawful, yet common, attempts at using coercive means to advance stakeholder claims (which may or may not be legitimate) include wildcat strikes, employee sabotage and terrorism. For example, in the 1970s, General Motors’ employees in Lordstown, Ohio, welded pop cans to engine blocks to protest certain company policies. Other examples of stakeholders using coercive tactics include environmentalists’ spiking trees in areas to be logged and religious or political terrorists who use bombings, shootings or kidnappings to call attention to, or to illegitimately enforce, their claims. The actions of these stakeholders are not only outside the bounds of legitimacy; they are often dangerous to all concerned.

(Note: It is important to recognize that many responsible individuals are very uncomfortable with the notion that those whose actions are dangerous, both to stakeholder system relationships as well as to life and well-being, might be accorded some measure of legitimacy by virtue of the typology proposed in this analysis. Notwithstanding this discomfort, however, of even more concern is that failure to

identify dangerous stakeholders would result in missed opportunities for mitigating the dangers and in lower levels of preparedness where no accommodation is possible. Further, to maintain the integrity of this approach to better understand stakeholders, it is essential to “identify” dangerous stakeholders without “acknowledging” them. It is safe to say that most people abhor their practices. However, society’s “refusal to acknowledge” dangerous stakeholders after their “identification” is an effective counteragent in the battle to maintain civility and civilization by counteracting terror in all its forms. Identification of this stakeholder class supports this tactic.)

Definitive Stakeholders

Since “salience” is defined as the degree to which people give priority to competing stakeholder claims, it is to be expected that stakeholder salience will be high where all three of the stakeholder attributes (power, legitimacy and urgency) are perceived by managers to be present. By definition, a stakeholder exhibiting both power and legitimacy will already be a member of a stakeholder system’s dominant coalition. When such a stakeholder’s claim is urgent, then a clear and immediate mandate is created to attend to, and give priority to, that stakeholder’s claim. Hence, the most common occurrence of this phenomenon is likely to be the movement of a dominant stakeholder into the definitive category.

For example, in the private sector in 1993, stockholders (dominant stakeholders) of IBM, General Motors, Kodak, Westinghouse and American Express became active when they felt that the managers of these companies were not serving their legitimate interests. A sense of urgency was engendered when these powerful, legitimate stakeholders saw their stock values plummet. And, because top managers did not respond sufficiently or appropriately to these “definitive” stakeholders, management was removed, thus demonstrating in a general way the importance of an accurate perception of power, legitimacy and urgency, the necessity of acknowledgment and action that salience implies and, more specifically, the consequences of the misperception of, or inattention to, the claims of definitive stakeholders.

Any expectant stakeholder can become a definitive stakeholder by acquiring the missing attribute. As we saw earlier, dependent Alaskan citizens became

definitive stakeholders of Exxon by acquiring a powerful ally in government. Likewise, the formerly dangerous African National Congress became a definitive stakeholder of South African companies when it acquired legitimacy by winning free national elections.

Kinds of Attention Needed

The foregoing discussion suggests a highly practical and conceptually consistent approach to the identification of stakeholders and to the evaluation of their salience within the stakeholder system. The next step is to understand the likely kinds of attention that each class of stakeholder requires². In the following paragraphs, some likely suggestions are offered.

Latent Stakeholders

1. **Dormant.** The key attribute of a dormant stakeholder is power. Dormant stakeholders possess the power to impose their will on an organization but, by not having (or exercising) legitimate standing or an urgent claim, they remain “sleeping giants.” Dormant stakeholders are expected to have a “latent” relationship with other members within the stakeholder system.

Kinds of attention needed:

Proactive members of a stakeholder system will want to be aware of every dormant stakeholder and to monitor their behaviour in some low-effort way against the day when the acquisition or exercise of legitimate standing or an urgent claim will propel these dormant stakeholders into a more salient stance in their relationships within the stakeholder system.

2. **Discretionary.** Discretionary stakeholders possess the attribute of legitimacy but have no power to influence the stakeholder system and no reason for urgency in their relationships within the stakeholder system: their claims may be seen by them as a “good cause” but it is likely to be one that is “latent” in the minds of everyone else.

² *Specialized assessment software is available either at the offices of the Skeena Native Development Society, Terrace, BC, or through the International Centre for Venture Expertise at the University of Victoria, Victoria BC.*

In a discretionary stakeholder relationship, there is absolutely no pressure to actively engage in that relationship or to act on discretionary stakeholder claims.

Kinds of attention needed:

The claims of discretionary stakeholders are of two types: involuntary (claims that relate to the mission of an organization or individual) and voluntary (claims unrelated to the mission of an organization or individual that nevertheless constitute respect, social benevolence or philanthropy). In areas of discretionary social responsibility, managers are encouraged to proactively respond to these claims.

- 3. Demanding.** Where the sole relevant attribute of the relationship is urgency without power or legitimacy, the stakeholder may be expected to be “demanding.” Demanding stakeholders can make a lot of “noise” without having much effect. People should be aware that, although demanding, this stakeholder is nevertheless “latent,” meaning that with only the “noise” of urgency, there is little reason to acknowledge and act on these claims.

Kinds of attention needed:

Since, by definition, demanding stakeholders have no right to attention on a particular issue, the most effective stance may be that of tolerant awareness, to ensure that changes in salience can be matched with changes in attention.

Expectant Stakeholders

- 4. Dominant.** Stakeholders that possess both power (the means and capability to impose their will) and legitimacy (a generally accepted or normatively “proper” claim) have great influence in the affairs of a stakeholder system. These stakeholders are members of the “dominant coalition” that “matter” to other members of the stakeholder system because they have legal/contractual or social/contractual authority.

Kinds of attention needed:

People generally pay close attention to the claims of dominant stakeholders, even though these claims are not urgent, because it is generally thought to be preferable, or at least prudent, to satisfy dominant stakeholders in a non-urgent setting. Thus, the wishes of dominant stakeholders are often included in formal planning.

- 5. Dangerous.** Illegitimate stakeholders who have power and urgency can be “dangerous” because, with the means and capability to act on their urgent claim, these stakeholders are expected to be coercive and sometimes even violent. It is exactly the lack of legitimate standing that can propel a powerful stakeholder with urgent claims into a violent or coercive stance.

Kinds of attention needed:

It is in the best interest of the members of a stakeholder system to carefully avoid attracting the attention, or in other ways receiving the urgent focus, of those that possess the power to materially affect the stakeholder system while lacking the moral, legal or social legitimacy to do so. In short, prudence suggests the avoidance of actions that give rise to the claims of dangerous stakeholders. When faced with the claims of apparently dangerous stakeholders, such claims should be evaluated to determine possible areas where legitimacy might exist but be previously unrecognized since the recognition of legitimacy is one means for diffusing dangerous stakeholder situations before a damaging level of power is brought into play. However, when the recognition of legitimacy involves capitulation to claims that offend the values and assumptions of stakeholders with legitimate claims, an opposite course of action should be considered: resisting through all legitimate means the claims of coercive or violent stakeholders.

- 6. Dependent.** Stakeholders that lack power but have urgent, legitimate claims are “dependent” because these stakeholders lack the control necessary to satisfy their claims and, as a result, must depend

upon other stakeholders within the system for the resources necessary to obtain the satisfaction of their claim.

Kinds of attention needed:

It is expected that dependent stakeholders will act to acquire power in their relationships within the stakeholder system. Thus, proactive members of the stakeholder system will attempt to empower dependent stakeholders whose interests coincide with, for example, an organization's mission or the mission of members of the dominant coalition within a stakeholder system and then to conscientiously assist dependent stakeholders to achieve salience. (The alternative is expected to be the rise of a definitive but hostile stakeholder class within the system.)

Definitive Stakeholders

Definitive stakeholders have “salience” in the minds of the members of the stakeholder system. Since it is the job of decision-makers within such systems to reconcile the competing claims of stakeholders, these decision makers are expected to act first on claims that most clearly or “definitively” warrant their attention. The claims of legitimate stakeholders that possess both power and urgency “define” action priorities.

Kinds of attention needed:

By definition, attending first to definitive stakeholder claims is in the best interest of all concerned. These claims should be top priority to both the proactive and the reactive decision maker because the relationship with definitive stakeholders “defines” survival prospects for the stakeholder system from which its members receive benefits. In this sense, definitive stakeholders are “primary” stakeholders—stakeholders without whose continued support the system would cease to exist (Clarkson, 1995). Therefore, the kind of attention needed is to attend to the claims of definitive stakeholders—now if possible! (Note: Where at any point in time there is more than one

“definitive” stakeholder, an assessment of the “degree” of power, legitimacy and urgency is warranted and can be accomplished using the technology developed to assist in this process (see footnote 2.)

Distant Stakeholders

Practically speaking, there are some individuals and entities that are neither materially affected by, nor are they able to materially affect, a stakeholder system. Such stakeholders are “distant,” and may, for practical purposes, be considered to be non-stakeholders.

Kinds of attention needed:

Though some stakeholders are “distant” at the moment, the dynamic nature of relationships suggests that this condition is subject to change without notice. Those decision makers who are proactive will attempt to foresee the impact of their actions on all stakeholders, realizing that the distant stakeholder of today can sometimes become the definitive, dominant or dangerous stakeholder of tomorrow.

Application of the Model to On-reserve Property Rights

As noted in Chapter 3, these deliberations have produced an extensive list of stakeholders (which it is recognized may not be exhaustive but which is nevertheless illustrative) that has been listed alphabetically as follows:

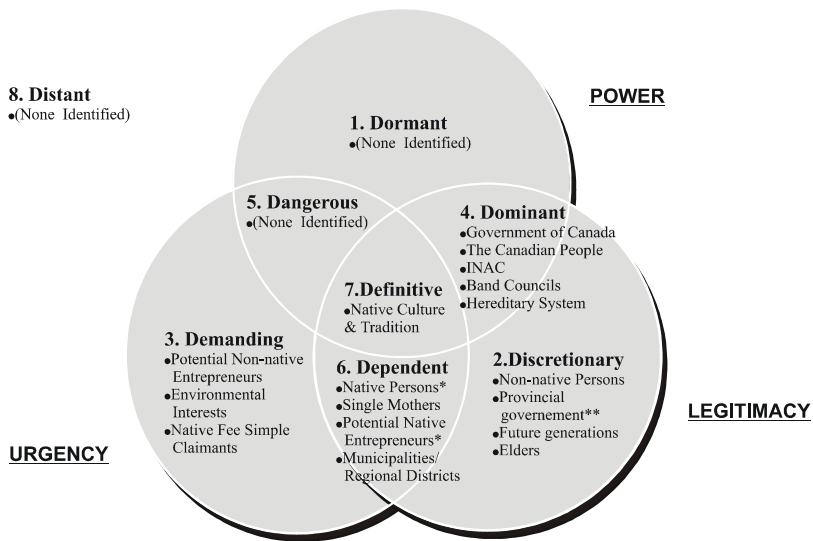
- Band councils
- Canadian people
- Department of Indian Affairs (INAC)
- Disadvantaged groups (e.g. single mothers)
- Elders
- Environmental interests
- Financial institutions
- Future generations
- Government of Canada (CMHC etc.)
- Hereditary system

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- First Nations entrepreneurs (on reserve)
- First Nations fee simple claimants
- First Nations persons (on reserve)
- Non-First Nations entrepreneurs
- Non-First Nations persons
- First Nations culture/tradition
- Provincial government
- Municipalities and Regional districts.

Through an application of the foregoing framework and definitions to this list of stakeholders that exist within the on-reserve property rights stakeholder system, the Think Tank members produced the preliminary assessment that classifies on-reserve property rights stakeholders according to the stakeholder salience model described herein, as illustrated in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2
Preliminary Classification of On-reserve Property Rights Stakeholders



* On-reserve

** With regard to On-reserve Property rights (Excluding treaty matters)

Of course, as indicated, these assessments should be viewed as preliminary: essentially as propositions that are advanced to stimulate discussion and an increased understanding among all stakeholders who affect, or are affected by, the on-reserve property rights system. As shown, each individual property right may be analyzed to ascertain the extent to which it accommodates the listed interests (i.e. the extent to which the interests of each member of the stakeholder system is salient to the property rights discussion).

It may be observed that: (1) No known participant within the on-reserve property rights stakeholder system at present can be classified as distant, dormant or dangerous, (2) Both “First Nations persons” and “First Nations entrepreneurs” are classified by the Think Tank analysis as dependent stakeholders which provides a clear rationale for the present impetus towards “Mastery in our own house,” the key focus of Think Tank deliberations, and (3) While almost all stakeholders possess legitimacy and many possess urgency, only a few have power and even fewer—only one actually: First Nations culture and tradition—has all three (due primarily, it appears, to the vigilance and activism of the past and present generations who have refused to allow First Nations culture and tradition to be disenfranchised). It is for this reason that the primary assertion of the Think Tank regarding on-reserve property rights is that a workable system of on-reserve property rights is an essential prerequisite to the achievement of prosperity and cultural well-being (Chapters 3 and 4). Whether individual or collective and whether available through the mortgaging of only leasehold interests v. through new land tenure provisions, it is clear from the foregoing analysis that, only through a process that respectfully addresses the claims of each class of on-reserve property rights stakeholder, can such rights be gained. This has suggested the thorough examination of on-reserve governance which has been addressed in Chapter 2.

Conclusion

The discussion in this paper began with the question: to what extent do the property rights presently available to First Nations people on-reserve satisfy the interests of the stakeholders in prosperity and cultural well-being within the First Nations community? The answer as it arises from the foregoing analysis is: they do not as yet. But it seems to be likely that, through uti-

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lization of the conceptual machinery of stakeholder identification and salience analysis as it applies to this issue of on-reserve property rights, the pathway to prosperity and cultural well-being that is central to the achievement of mastery in the Native House can be more effectively followed and the objective of economic development for First Nations people can more likely be achieved.

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