Plus ça change: The Prairie Economy in The Years of Globalization

Robin Neill
Economics, UPEI, and Carleton
2010

Attention to the long-term economic foundations of the Canadian nation waned among Canadian historians in the last decades of the twentieth century. Media furor over the failure of the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords, and the near success of the Quebec referendum on sovereignty-association notwithstanding, even politics and the constitution lost their place in the writing of Canadian history. The 125th anniversary of the National Policy was noted (Eden and Molot, 1993), but the Staple Theory and the Colony to Nation paradigms that underlay interpretation of that policy were obscured by a fog of literature on "the peoples of Canada", that is on regions, economic classes, and on social groupings such as women, aboriginals, and cultural groups (Lutz, 1995-96; Angus, 1996-97; Irwin, 1997). Some attention to primary product exports and to the constitutional question (Chambers and Percy, 1992; and Booth, 1992) did not make the product of native Prairie historians an exception. Inattention on the part of historians, however, was not a determinant of what actually happened in those years. The economic foundations of the region did not evaporate over the last decades of the twentieth and the first decade of the twenty first centuries. They continued to underpin everything and to evolve.

Despite Prairie historians' inattention to long-term matters economic, three interrelated economically-based conjectures summing up the evolution of the Prairie Provinces emerged in the information environment of the years of globalization from 1992 to 2008. The first conjecture was that Prairie economic activity was diversifying and increasing as a portion of Canadian economic activity, causing a "westward shift" in political influence and reducing the explanatory power of the Staple Theory as an account of Prairie development. The second asserted the economic and social unity of the Prairies based on its agricultural exports and a common agrarian ethos to be severely weakened. The third conjecture continentalized the economic orientation of the Prairie Provinces, turning it toward the United States and Asia, rather than Europe and the rest of Canada.

The Westward Shift

The "New West" of oil, gas, and potash, certainly was new and economically driven. An altered set of primary product exports, drawn from largely non-renewable resources, was sent to a changed set of markets. There was a post-1930s resurgence in the importance of agriculture, but it weakened after 1970. The federal Agricultural Stabilization Act of 1958 and the Agriculture Rehabilitation and Development Act of 1961, together with large sales of wheat to China in the early 1960s, helped to put Prairie farms once again, but only briefly, into a leading position in the advance of the Prairie economy (Owram, 1982, p. 44). Thereafter, agriculture on the Prairies experienced relatively good years and bad while its proportionate contribution to Gross Regional Product fell

well below that of other sectors of the economy.

In Alberta, the dramatic expansion of oil as a leading export during the OPEC crisis of the 1970s further strengthened what from the beginning had been a distinguishing feature of that provincial economy – the availability of carbon fuels. In Saskatchewan, potash and uranium developments in the 1960s and subsequent exploitation of oil reserves changed that province's distinguishing economic activities. In Manitoba, copper, nickle, and zinc mining emerged as new sources of growth, though not with the strong thrust of the new developments in the other Prairie provinces. Continuing developments in lumber and other forest products affected all three provinces.

More was involved than a shift to a more diversified non-renewable source for staple exports. The newly exploited resources were provincially owned, and the rents accrued to provincial governments, rather than to the eastern and pan-Canadian interests thought to have received the rents generated by the wheat economy. What did not change was the uncertainty and variable nature of economic development relying on foreign demand – the market for wheat collapsed in 1969-70, and for oil in 1982. Accordingly the provinces, particularly Alberta and Saskatchewan, attempted to use their rents to achieve economic diversification.

From a certain point of view substantial diversification did not occur in any of the Prairie provinces. Proportionately increasing employment in the service sector, characteristic of all post modern economies, did occur, but natural economic disadvantage in the form of distance to large markets and a technology requiring heavy overhead costs inhibited the growth of manufacturing. The Prairies remained dependent on primary product exports. The "westward shift" – a conjecture that the West entered a new phase of political and economic development in the 1970s – could not be substantiated by events on the ground in 1982, and a decade after the 1982 collapse in the "oil patch", it was still just a conjecture (Norrie, 1984, 1992). The rise of an independent regional "bourgoisie" that was predicted to be an element in the "westward shift"(Richards and Pratt, 1979) remained a prediction only (Melnyk, 1993, p. 87). Indeed, as late as the early years of the twenty first century the Canadian corporate elite and the structure of Canada's financial sector had yet to "disarticulate" (Carroll, 2001-02) into regional clusters. Further, the Prairie economy, as measured by Gross Provincial Product, did not become a larger part of the Canadian economy [See Chart 3.]. Evidently, a Westward Shift Theory cannot not replace the Staple Theory as the principle paradigm explaining Prairie economic development during the neoconservative years of globalization.

Failure of a Westward Shift notwithstanding, to say that only a change in the character and number of the region's staple exports had occurred would be less than the whole truth; because change within the primary product extraction and export sector entailed massive internal political and economic restructuring and some external reorientation of the regional economy.

The Eclipse of Agriculture

The West was largely agricultural until the Second World War, and surrendered its reliance on agricultural only slowly thereafter. As agriculture declined the internal structure of the economy

changed dramatically. After the Second World War, tractors, automobiles, and trucks replaced horses and railways. Farms grew in size and became more capital intensive. Agribusiness increased its contribution to output. The family farm shrank in importance. In Saskatchewan, the province with heaviest reliance on agriculture, these changes were countered by persistent political support for the old rural structure. The changes occurred nonetheless. Following the 1982 abolition of the Crow's Nest Pass freight rate freezes of 1897 and 1925, abandonment of local railway lines and reduction in the number of local elevators raised transport costs to levels unbearable by farms relying on pre-World War II organization. Small towns disappeared. In Alberta, to some extent, small farming centres were replaced by agglomerations about other resource activities. In Saskatchewan replacement was less frequent. In Saskatchewan between 1981 and 1986 farm income fell from over six hundred to two hundred million dollars, and half of net farm income came from off-farm activities. By the late 1980s farm output in Saskatchewan was only twelve per cent of Gross Provincial Product (Waiser, 2005, pp 440-441 *et passim.*). By the mid 1990s, when canola alone was a more valuable crop than wheat, the historic "wheat economy" of the West was no more.

Social stress in farm-based rural communities was particularly severe until the beginning of the twenty first century (Azmier and Stone, 2003, passim), due to railway branch line closures, the movement of services to larger centres (school consolidation, for example), and, in general, the "decline of the family farm" and the rise of agribusiness (Thompson, 1991, p. 178). By then the ethos of the Prairies – what the farm population expected of life – had also changed. "The legendary co-operative spirit [had] withered or become bureaucratized among farmers.... ... the [erstwhile] unique character of the West [had taken] on the homogeneous pattern of McCulture."(Rasmussen, 1992, p. 145). The general business oriented entrepreneur, rather than the sturdy farmer, had come to be seen as the "Prairie Hero" (Friesen, 1984, p. 436). By the end of the 1990s Saskatchewan had achieved the distinction of having the most elderly farm population in Canada.

Toward the end of the first decade of the twenty first century transition to new circumstances was nearing completion. For some years the rural West had experienced a loss of young people aged 15 to 24 (Azmier and Stone, 2003, p. 5). By 2008 the loss was partially off-set by an increase in the number of people between the ages of 25 and 65. This reflux reflected the choice of parents who, though working in urban centres, chose a rural environment for raising children. As a result of the change, income disparities between urban and rural regions within provinces were not as great as the differences between rural incomes between provinces. Rural life styles were no longer different from urban life styles. By objective measures, the one was economically and socially as satisfactory as the other. In large part, the difference was a matter of preference for a particular life style. By the late 2000s there was a marked socio-economic distinction between living in a rural setting and living on a working farm.

Indeed, as early as 1971 increasing farm size, the double phenomenon of farmers living in town but working large acreage in the country and urban workers living in the country, together with the rise of non-agriculture based towns, was changing the rural-agriculture/urban-services division of the population. In 1971, Manitoba was 70% urban and 30% rural. Saskatchewan was 53% urban and 47% rural. Alberta was 73% urban and 26% rural; with the rural population being divided half farm and half non-farm in all provinces (Card, 1984, p. 155). In the two decades between the First

and Second World Wars these number were virtually reversed: 44% and 56% for Manitoba, 32 % and 68 % for Saskatchewan, and 38% and 62% for Alberta (Statistics Canada, 2005). The trend continued into the twenty first century. By 2006 the numbers were 72% to 28% for Manitoba, 64% and 36% for Saskatchewan, and 81% to 19% for Alberta. More significant, however, by 2006 farm population as a portion total rural population had fallen to 22% in Manitoba, 34% in Saskatchewan, and 28% in Alberta (Statistics Canada, 2006).

The Unity, Homogeneity, and Geographic Orientation of the Prairie Provinces.

As increasing non-agricultural exports to the United States strengthened their north/south orientation the Prairies experienced a weakening of its initial agriculturally-based east/west orientation (Phillips, 1977). Associated with this shift, activities not directly related to farming migrated to major urban centres in all provinces. To some extent, this aspect of the rural-urban shift was offset by a growth in services to mining and forestry, especially in Alberta; so that, too, was related to the shift from an east/west to a north/south economic orientation. As early as the 1980s, there were assertions that there was "no longer a unified Prairie system focussed on Winnipeg as the regional capital" (Smith, 1984, p. 143).

The Prairies can be considered a unified economy in different ways. It may be thought of as internally structured into a major metropolitan centre, on the one hand, and a fairly homogeneous dependent hinterland, on the other. That would be the sort of unity typical of the Prairies in the first half of the twentieth century when Winnipeg was the commercial hub and transportation entrepot of the "wheat economy". The Prairies could be unified with this same urban/hinterland structure but with the rise of new metropolitan centres, a common orientation to the south, and an increasing degree of independence from the rest of Canada. This could be the case whether or not there was a "westward shift", a predominant reliance on exports to the United States, and faster growth in the Prairie economy than in the rest of Canada. In the late 1990s and the early years of the twentieth century, however, two kinds of unity were appearing, a unity of similarity as well as a unity by way of inter- connection. Measurement, however, does not clearly substantiate these simple, hypothetical structures.

Measured by GDP, over the years of globalization (1983-2008) the Prairies as a whole did not grow faster than the rest of Canada. There was a shift in the contribution of the different provinces to Prairie output. Alberta rose from 62% to 72%. Saskatchewan fell from 18% to 16%, and Manitoba fell from 20% to 13% of Prairie GDP [See Chart One.]. This change was associated with internal changes in the industrial structure and external changes in the trade orientation of all three provinces. Neither change in the size of the contribution of the Prairie economy to the national economy nor diversification of the internal structure of the Prairie economy constituted a "westward shift" within Canada. There was, however a westward shift in size of the provincial economies, and in the nature of international exports within the Prairie economy itself.

Between 1998 and 2008 the contribution of manufacturing to provincial GDP did not markedly change in any of the provinces, running at about 12% in Manitoba, 6% in Saskatchewan, and 8% in Alberta. The contribution of agriculture to provincial GDP ran between 2% in Alberta and 4% in Saskatchewan. In the 1998-2008 period, Saskatchewan and Alberta distinguished

themselves from Manitoba by having a larger portion of their GDP in goods production, principally production of oil and gas, but that was the only major change in the internal structures of the Prairie economies. Beyond this, measured by the size of industry in the standard industrial categories, there is no evidence that there were substantial emerging differences between the provinces [See Chart Four.].

Manitoba had a higher portion of its GDP contributed by services – trade, finance, and government services – than did the other provinces. The higher portion in trade and finance was a vestige of the old Wheat Economy. The disproportionately larger size of government in Manitoba is not easily explained. It did not reflect the different political styles commonly associated with the different provinces – private enterprise in Alberta, socialism in Saskatchewan, and something in between in Manitoba. According to one prominent Prairie historian, toward the end of the twentieth century the "Alberta model [was] based on local capitalists", the "Saskatchewan model [was] based on state control" and, in this and other respects, there were "three provincial empires where a single region once existed" (Friesen, 1984, p. 436). But reaching back to the 1930s, at least, the government styles of the provinces had differed, even though economic homogeneity and unity looking to Winnipeg as a common metropolitan centre was the more likely conjectured paradigm. Alberta was governed by the Social Credit Party, Saskatchewan by the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, and Manitoba by traditional Liberal and Conservative Parties.

With respect to external orientation, from 1992 to 2008, trade with the rest of Canada dominated in all three provinces, though trade with the United States increased in relation to trade with the rest of Canada . There is evidence that trade rose as a portion of GDP for all provinces, and imports from and exports to Europe declined as portions of all trade, particularly in relation to imports from and exports to the United States, and perhaps Asia [See Chart Two.]. Imports from but not exports to Asia increased as a portion of all trade in all of the provinces. As in the matter of industrial structure, in the matter of external trade there were differences between the provinces, but the broad picture is one of similarity.

There was some small increase in intra provincial trade among the Prairie Provinces as a portion of all trade [See Chart five.]. In particular, Manitoba and Saskatchewan increased their trade with Alberta in the sense that it became a larger portion of their all-Canada interprovincial trade. Alberta's trade with the other Prairie Provinces did not significantly increase as a portion of its all-Canada interprovincial trade. In general, for all three provinces, trade with other Prairie provinces remained a relatively small portion of its trade with all provinces.

What then can be concluded with respect to the "unity of the Prairie economy" in the years of globalization between 1992 and 2009? The higher portion of manufacturing and financial services in Manitoba was a vestige of a former, heavier east-west orientation of the region. It was a foot print of a unity based on Winnipeg as metropolitan centre for a region exporting grain to the east. In general, the east-west orientation of all three provinces, allowing that there are differences in degree, was qualified by an increase in the relative importance of trade with the United States. That being said, to 2008, all three provinces still traded far more with the rest of Canada than they did with all of the rest of the world [See Chart Two.]. Given the similarity between the provinces in this respect,

over the period, unity of the prairie economy persisted as a matter of economic similarity, rather than interconnectedness within the region. The same was true with respect to the industrial structure of the three provinces. Fundamentally, all were resource exporting economies, though the resources exported differed, particularly insofar as oil and gas were an increasingly important export from Alberta and Saskatchewan and not from Manitoba. With respect to unity by interdependence, in general, there was some increase in interprovincial trade, but, again, homogeneity of dependence on off-Prairie trade partners, rather than self sufficiency of the region was the more pronounced characteristic. Indeed if one adds to this Rassumsen's and Friesen's alleged "McCulturation" of the ethos in all three of the provinces, unity by similarity increased in importance on the Prairies.

There remains the alleged differences between the provinces in the matter of policy stance: the public enterprise character of Saskatchewan, the private enterprise character of Alberta, and the "mixed" system of Manitoba. In fact, all three provincial governments were deeply involved in economic "province building". Only the institutional instruments chosen for involvement differed. Further, regardless of the party in power (Social Credit, C.C.F./New Democratic, Liberal, or Conservative) in the last two decades of the twentieth century all three provinces passed through a phase of professed neoconservatism. The Governments of Ralph Kline in Alberta, Grant Divine in Saskatchewan, and Gary Filmon in Manitoba all adopted the neoconservative policies that were the fashion of the time. To be sure, even the New Democratic Parties in Saskatchewan and Manitoba moved to the right in the period. All three provinces were opposed to bilingualism and any constitutional change that would favour the East and centralization of power. All three, experiencing "western alienation" following the Trudeau Government's National Energy Policy of 1980-81, voted solidly for the federal Conservative Party. It would seem, then, that too much can be made of the differences in political regimes in the different provinces. Resource endowment has been more effective than political institutions in shaping economic development (Emery and Kneebone, 2008).

Conclusion

In general, the Westward Shift conjecture cannot be substantiated for the "years of globalization". The Staple Theory still provided an adequate framework for interpretation of Prairie economic development. Despite new, stimulating activities, the Prairie economy did not outgrow the rest of the Canadian economy. Prairie unity survived, but in a different form. Continentalization, a manifestation of globalization, increased in association with the extraction and export of new primary products, and was an important element in Prairie economic growth, but by no means did it obliterate the long established east-west orientation of the region.

There is, then, substantive justification for the inadvertence of Prairie historians to the region's economic foundations. No doubt, their adoption new fashions in subject matter was heavily influenced by a general shift in the writing of history in the United States and Europe. Still, there were some grounds for concluding that there was nothing new to report on the economic front. *Plus ça change, plus c'est le même chose*. But it was *"Plus ça change"*. Principle exports and their destinations, industries, and institutions were not what they had been.

Charts

Chart One

Prairie Provinces: Per Cent Growth in Provincial GDP, and Provicial GDP as a Per Cent of Total Prairie GDP

Source: Cansim Table 384-0002

Year	Annual Growth			Per Cent of Prairie GDP		
	Man.	Sask	Alta	Man.	Sask.	Alta
1992	1.7	-1.1	2.8	20	18	62
1993	0.6	8.0	8.3	19	18	63
1994	5.6	6.8	8.5	19	18	64
1995	3.9	7.9	4.5	19	18	63
1996	5.4	9.5	7.2	18	19	63
1997	4.6	0.7	8.5	18	18	65
1998	4.7	1.3	0.4	18	18	64
1999	3.2	4.2	9.0	18	17	65
2000	6.5	9.9	23.7	16	16	68
2001	3.2	-2.1	4.5	16	15	69
2002	4.0	3.7	-0.5	17	16	68
2003	2.4	6.7	13.4	15	15	70
2004	6.1	11.3	9.2	15	15	70
2005	4.5	20.2	16.2	14	14	72
2006	8.2	5.5	8.7	14	14	72
2007	8.1	11.0	8.1	14	14	72
2008	4.8	24.6	12.6	13	16	72

Chart Two

Exports and Imports to and from Foreign Countries, and from the Rest of Canada as a Per Cent of all Foreign Exports and Imports, respectively, and Foreign Exports and Imports as a Per Cent of Provincial Gross Domestic Product for each of the

three Prairie Provinces.

Source: Cansim Table 384-0002, Cansim Table 386-0002, Statistics Canada 15-546-XIE, Strategis Trade Data Online [http://www.ic.gc.ca/sc_mrkti/tdst/tdo/tdo.php?lang=30&productType=HS6]

Exports

Place	1992			2000			2004			2008		
	Man	Sask	Alta	Man	Sask	Alta	Man	Sask	Alta	Man	Sask	Alta
US	62	42	77	82	60	88	74	67	87	69	59	87
Eur	8	10	2	1	1	1	1	2	-	2	5	1
Asia	14	27	13	7	13	5	11	12	6	13	13	6
OAM	2	4	1	1	3	1	3	4	1	2	3	1
ROC	171	72	95	113	73	62	128	88	67	na	na	na
forex/GDP	15	23	23	29	37	37	24	33	34	25	33	38

Imports

Place												
	Man	Sask	Alta	Man	Sask	Alta	Man	Sask	Alta	Man	Sask	Alta
US	72	89	81	87	89	74	81	90	70	81	87	69
Eur	17	10	6	3	2	6	4	3	8	3	5	7
Asia	5	1	5	4	2	5	7	2	7	7	3	11
OAM	-	-	1	1	3	3	2	1	4	2	2	4
ROC	168	436	458	106	292	278	134	320	298	na	na	na
forim/GDP	16	37	6	32	13	8	27	11	7	30	14	8

Chart Three

Provincial GDP as Per Cent of National GDP: 1983-2008

Source: Statistics Canada Catalogue 13-213, Canada Year Book, 2006-2008, Statistics Canada, http://www40.statcan.ca/101/cs101/econ50-eng.htm

Manitoba Saskatchewan Alberta

1983	3.7	3.8	13.7
1984	3.7	3.7	13.3
1985	3.7	3.7	13.7
1986	3.7	3.4	11.4
1987	3.6	3.1	10.9
1988	3.6	3.0	10.3
1989	3.5	3.0	10.1
1990	3.6	3.0	10.5
1991	3.5	3.1	10.6
1992	3.5	3.0	10.7
1993	3.4	3.2	11.2
1994	3.4	3.2	12.4
1995	3.3	3.3	11.4
1996	3.4	3.5	11.8
1997	3.4	3.3	12.1
1998	3.4	3.2	11.7
1999	3.3	3.1	11.9
2000	3.2	3.1	13.4
2001	3.2	3.0	13.7
2002	3.2	3.0	13.1
2003	3.1	3.0	14.0
2004	3.1	3.1	13.5
2005	3.1	3.1	13.7
2006	3.1	3.0	14.1
2007	3.2	3.0	14.2
2008	3.2	3.1	14.1

Chart Four

Gross Domestic Product by Industry by Province, expressed as a per cent of total provincial Gross Domestic Product.
Source. Statistics Canada, Catalogure 15-546-X1E and 15-203-X1E
Maniboba Business Facts 2008: http://www.gove.mb.ca/invest/busfacts/economy/gdp-all.html
Enterprise Saskatchewan, Economic Overview, April 27, 2009.
Alberta Economic Quick Facts, May, 2009.

	Manitoba			Saskatchewan			Alberta		
	1998	2002	2008	1998	2002	2008	1998	2002	2008
Goods	29	27	28	39	35	41	42	39	48
Agric. Forest Fish, Mining	5	7	7	23	20	25	21	19	31
Manufactures	13	12	12	6	7	7	9	9	8
Construction Utilities, etc.	11	8	9	10	8	8	12	11	

12http://www.enterprisesaskatchewan.ca/Default.aspx?DN=438f8842

Services	71	73	72	65	59	58	58	61	61
Trade and Transport	22	23	20	21	21	24	19	20	15
Finance Insurance Real Estate	16	19	19	14	16	15	13	16	13
Business	3	4	-	3	3	5	5	6	7
Government	22	20	30	17	18	25	14	12	24

Chart Five
Interprovincial trade between Prairie Provinces: exports and imports for each province as a per cent of total interprovincial exports and imports for each province, and provincial GDP as a percent of national GDP for provinces exported to and imported from.

Sources: Statistics Canada Catalogue 15-546-X1E, Cansim Table 386-0002, and BC Stats, Interprovincial Trade [http://www/bcstats.gov.bc.ca/data/bus-stat/busind/trade/intprov.pdf]

	Man to Sask	Alta	Sask to Man	Alta	Alta to Man	Sask
1992	14	18	13	28	8	12
	3.5	11	3.5	11	3.5	3.5

	Man fr	Sask	Alta	Sask fr	Man	Alta	Alta fr	Man	Sask
	9	10		11	27		8	7	
	3.5	11		3.5	11		3.5	3.5	
1995	Man to	Sask	Alta	Sask to	Man	Alta	Alta to	Man	Sask
	13	21		14	31		8	12	
	3.3	11		3.3	11		3.3	3.5	
	Man fr	Sask	Alta	Sask fr	Man	Alta	Alta fr	Man	Sask
	10	21		12	28		7	8	
	3.2	11		3.3	11		3.3	3.5	
1998	Man to	Sask	Alta	Sask to	Man	Alta	Alta to	Man	Sask
	15	20		15	30		9	13	
	3.2	12		3.4	12		3.4	3.2	
	Man fr	Sask	Alta	Sask fr	Man	Alta	Alta fr	Man	Sask
	9	21		13			7	8	
	3.2	12		3.4	12		3.4	3.2	
2002	Man to	Sask	Alta	Sask to	Man	Alta	Alta to	Man	Sask
	13	20		13	29		9	14	
	3.0	13.1		3.2	13.1		3.2	3.0	
	Man fr	Sask	Alta	Sask fr	Man	Alta	Alta fr	Man	Sask
	10	26		11	36		6	8	
	3.0	13.1		3.2	13.1		3.2	3.0	
2005	Man to	Sask	Alta	Sask to	Man	Alta	Alta to	Man	Sask
	9	20		13	35		9	14	
	3.1	13.7		3.1	13.7		3.1	3.1	
	Man fr	Sask	Alta	Sask fr	Man	Alta	Alta fr	Man	Sask
	11	28		9	40		5	10	
	3.1	13.7		3.1	13.7		3.1	3.1	

References

Azimier. Jason J., and Stone, Liam,
2003, *The Rural West: Diversity and Dilemma,* Canada West foundation, Calgary.

Angus, Ian,
1996-97, "Missing Links: Canadian Theoretical Discourse", *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 31, pp. 141-158.

Booth, Paul,
1992, *Alberta and the Economics of Constitutional Change*, University of Alberta Press, Edmonton.

Card, B.Y.,
"Perspectives on Rural Western Canada in the 1950s", in A.W. Rasporich (ed.), *the Making of the Modern West; Western Canada Since 1945*, University

of Calgary Press, Calgary, 1984. pp 145-166.

Chambers, Edward J., and Michael Percy,
1992, *Western Canada and the International Economy*, University of Alberta Press, Edmonton.

Carroll, William K.,
2001-02, "Westward Ho? The Shifting Geography of Corporate Power in Canada", *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 36, no. 4, pp. 118-142.

Emery, J.C. Hebert and Kneebone, Donald,
2008, "Socialist, Populist, and Resources: the divergent development of Alberta and Saskatchewan", *Canadian Public Policy*, vol. 34, pp. 419-440.

Friesen, Gerald,
1984, *The Canadian Prairies: a history*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Irwin, Robert,
1997-98, "Breaking the Shackles of the Metropolitan Thesis: Prairie History, the Environment, and Layered Identities" *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 32, no.3, 98-118.

Lutz, John,
1995-96, "New Wine or Just New Bottles? A Round Table on Recent Texts on Canadian History, *Journal of Canadian Studies,* vol. 30, pp. 175-201.

Norrie, Kenneth H.,
1984, "A Regional Economic Overview of the West since1945" in A. W. Rasporich (ed.), *The Making of the Modern West: Western Canada Since 1945*, University of Calgary Press, Calgary, pp. 63-78.
1992, "A Regional Economic Overview of the West since 1945" in R. Donald Francis and Howard Palmer, *The Prairie West: Historical Readings,* 2nd edition, University of Alberta Press, Edmonton, pp. 697-714.

Melnyk, George,
1993, *Beyond Alienation: Political Essays on the West*, Detslig, Calgary.

Owram, Douglas,
1982, *The Economic Development of Western Canada: an Historical Overview*, Economic Council of Canada, Discussion Paper no.219.

Philips, Paul,
1977, "National Policy, Continentalism, and National Disintegration", in David J. Bercuson (ed.), *Canada and the Burden of Unity*, Macmillan, Toronto., pp. 19-43.

Rasmussen, Ken,
1992, "Modernization of the Prairies", *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 27, pp. 142-145.

Smith, Peter J.,
1984, "Urban Development Trends in the Prairie Provinces", in A.W. Rasporich (ed.), *The Making of the Modern West: Western Canada since 1945*, University of Calgary Press, Calgary.

Statistics Canada,
2005, http://www40.statcan.ca/101/cst01/demo62h-eng.htm
2008, http://www40.statcan.ca/101/cst01/agric42-eng.htm

Thompson, John Herd,
1991, *Forging the Prairie West,* Oxford University Press, Toronto.
Waiser, William .A,
2005, *Saskatchewan: a New History*, Fifth House, Calgary.