The Future of Aboriginal Urbanization in Prairie Cities: Select Annotated Bibliography and Literature Review on Urban Aboriginal Issues in the Prairie Provinces

Bibliographica No. 5
_____

by Wade G. Kastes
1993

_____

The Institute of Urban Studies

INSTITUTE OF
URBAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF WINNIPEG

THE FUTURE OF ABORIGINAL URBANIZATION IN PRAIRIE CITIES: SELECT ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY AND LITERATURE REVIEW ON URBAN ABORIGINAL ISSUES IN THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES
Bibliographica No. 5
Published 1993 by the Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg
© THE INSTITUTE OF URBAN STUDIES

Note: The cover page and this information page are new replacements, 2015.

THE FUTURE OF ABORIGINAL URBANIZATION IN PRAIRIE CITIES: SELECT ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY AND LITERATURE REVIEW ON URBAN ABORIGINAL ISSUES IN THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES

Bibliographica 5

Wade G. Kastes

Institute of Urban Studies

1993

PUBLICATION DATA

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with the housing and living environments of Aboriginal peoples residing in Canadian Prairie urban centres. It is divided into two sections: a select annotated bibliography and a brief assessment of the literature. The annotated bibliography section identifies and describes the findings of 121 publications dealing with urban Aboriginal issues. The assessment of literature section summarizes important findings of past researchers, assesses the overall state of knowledge in the subject area, identifies gaps in the research, examines data sources, and highlights opportunities for new research. The goal of the report is to provide a foundation for the future development and implementation of a co-ordinated research strategy designed to explore Aboriginal urbanization in Canadian Prairie urban centres.

This research was carried out under the auspices of a partnership agreement between the Institute of Urban Studies and the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Both agencies have a long history of involvement in urban Aboriginal issues and are interested in gaining a better understanding of current problems, concerns and trends. The partnership agreement between the agencies identifies a number of issues which are of particular concern. To the extent possible, these issues, which are listed below, are given special attention in the report.

- Demographic and socio-economic characteristics, housing preferences, housing needs and spatial distribution of the urban Aboriginal population.

- Magnitude, pattern and trend of Aboriginal migration to Prairie cities and factors which influence this migration.

- Factors influencing the spatial distribution of Aboriginal peoples in Prairie cities.

- Emerging issues and trade-offs for housing and social needs, neighbourhood planning and quality of life.

- Data sources and analytical methods used by past researchers.

A more detailed description of the objectives and work details for this study is provided in APPENDIX A - Research Project Terms of Reference.

SELECTION PROCESS FOR THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

The process used in selecting publications for inclusion in any annotated bibliography is important information for future researchers interested in conducting further work on the topic. As such, the following information is provided to ensure that references contained in this document are not misinterpreted as representing areas other than those of relevance to the topic at hand.

The process used in selecting publications for this report involved:

- Review of available bibliographies on the subject. Of particular help were the following bibliographies which served to provide a base list of sources:

Archer, Paula. *Urban Native Social and Housing Conditions: An Annotated Bibliography.* Ottawa: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, May 1991.

Shindruk, Cheryl and Tom Carter. *Selected Sources on Aboriginal Issues.* Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1991.

- On-line bibliographic searches of existing electronic library files conducted through The University of Winnipeg. A number of different social science and government files were searched.

- Review of bibliographic sources identified by other researchers on the topic. This proved effective for refining and enhancing the number and choice of publications.

- Direct telephone contact with a select list of government and non-government agencies across the Prairies. Each of the agencies was contacted and requested to provide any recent documentation it had dealing with urban Aboriginal issues. A list of these agencies is provided in Appendix B.

During the selection process, priority was given to identifying and including all available published material pertaining to urban Aboriginal issues in Prairie cities. An attempt was made to cover the entire spectrum of social, economic, political and historical issues. As a consequence, many of the publications included in this document deal with broader issues such as the historical relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal societies, and current efforts and trends towards self-government. The primary reason for taking this broad approach to the subject is to better reflect the integrated and multi-faceted nature of the issues facing the urban Aboriginal population whether they happen to live on reserves, in rural/remote communities or in urban centres.

ANNOTATION FORMAT

Each of the publications listed in the following text is annotated with an abstract describing its contents. Given the variety of publication types covered, the structure of the abstract is not necessarily consistent throughout the report. However, an effort has been made in each abstract to identify the primary purpose of the publication, major data sources and types, topics covered and significant findings.

Publications are presented in alphabetical order by author. An Index is also included for reference purposes. Appendix C provides a summary list of the documents reviewed.

TERMINOLOGY

While the term Aboriginal is used in this introduction as an inclusive expression describing all persons of Native ancestry, various terms are used throughout the literature. In order to guard against any misunderstanding caused by translation, the terms used in the annotations and in the literature review section are, for the most part, taken directly from the publications being cited. A description of the various terms used throughout the literature is provided in APPENDIX D - Aboriginal Peoples of

Canada. This Appendix is included as background for those who are unsure of the terminology used to describe the Aboriginal population and may be read as an introduction to the report.

STEERING COMMITTEES

Two external review committees were established to review and advise the author at mid-term and draft report stages. The first of these committees consisted of five Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation employees from offices in Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ottawa. The second consisted of three academics specializing in the study of Aboriginal issues. Both committees offered valuable comments and suggestions.

SECTION 1
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Annotated Bibliography on Urban Aboriginal Issues

A

Alberta. Native Counselling Services of Alberta and Native Affairs Secretariat. *Demographic Characteristics of Natives in Edmonton.* Edmonton: Native Affairs Secretariat, 1985.

This report describes the results of two surveys conducted from June to October 1984 for the Native Counselling Services of Alberta and the Native Affairs Secretariat. Building upon experience gained in the preceding Calgary study (Native Needs Assessment, 1984) the study team attempted to "fill a gap" in understanding the situation and needs of over 12,000 Native people living in Edmonton.

Three surveys were attempted: a Householder survey; a Transient survey; and a Service Agencies survey. However, the Transient survey was dropped due to a limited response rate.

For the Householder survey, contact with Native respondents was made using a random sampling process within selected enumeration areas supplemented by referrals. Information from 384 interviews is included in the report. Socio-demographic aspects such as age, ancestral origin, Aboriginal group, place of origin, mobility, education, employment, income, household composition, housing, social support network, and recreational/cultural activities were analyzed.

The data collection method used for the second, or Agency, survey was a questionnaire format. Eighty-five social service agencies were surveyed, but only 23 questionnaires were completed.

The survey describes the Edmonton Native population as being relatively young (37% under 15 years of age), principally of Cree background and almost half being Métis. The survey found that 75% of Natives in Edmonton were born in Alberta; 66% having lived in Edmonton for over five years; 35% unemployed; close to 40% of families being single parent female headed; 83% living in rental accommodation; 74% satisfied with their housing; and the vast majority identify family (92%) and friends (85%) as providing social (i.e., emotional, financial, child care and transportation) support.

Alberta. Policy and Planning Branch, Native Affairs Secretariat. *A Demographic Overview of the Native Population in Alberta.* Edmonton: Native Affairs Secretariat, July 1985.

This paper provides an overview of the demographic and social characteristics of Aboriginal populations in Alberta. The data are derived from the 1981 Census of Canada. Comparisons are drawn between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations for age, geographic distribution, education, labour force activity and income.

Some findings pertaining to the urban situation include:

- Alberta's overall Native population is increasing at a rate three times that of the general populace.

- Over 40% of the province's Native population resides in Alberta's major urban centres (Calgary, Edmonton, Lethbridge, Red Deer, Grande Prairie and Fort McMurray).

- Nearly 60% of the Métis and non-Status Indian population lives in cities.

- Statistics for urban communities reveal a high degree of permanency (five years or over), though they also reveal a high degree of mobility within the urban setting.

Antony, Wayne, "Urban Native Housing Policy." Draft Report. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1982.

The primary objective of this report is to provide a framework for the formulation of an urban Native housing policy. The author uses a variety of data sources including: library

research, interviews with representatives from Native and government agencies, and statistical government reports.

In the first section of the report, the author provides an overview of the social and economic issues facing the urban Native population. Areas covered include migration, demographic and economic characteristics, cultural factors, and political factors. In the second section, he provides a cursory review of public sector housing initiatives designed to address Native housing issues, as well as an assortment of indirect initiatives. In the report's final section, the author describes a continuum of policy accommodation options that highlight differences between Assimilation, Integration, Accommodation and Separation. After some discussion, he recommends the Accommodation model which he suggests is the best approach for supporting "collective" action on the part of Native peoples through Native controlled organizations which are "embedded in, rather than separate from the non-Native institutional framework." He calls for a separate program to facilitate the development of Native organizations whose goal is to provide affordable and adequate housing for Natives in urban areas.

Archer, Paula. *Urban Native Social and Housing Conditions: An Annotated Bibliography*. Ottawa: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1991.

Commissioned by the Program Evaluation Division of Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation as part of their review of the Urban Native Housing Program, this report provides a review of recent literature on the social and housing conditions of Natives living in urban Canada.

The review contains 62 references published between 1980 and 1991. Because the bulk of literature on this subject was produced in the 1960s and 1970s, the author accepts that the review does not represent the full body of literature on urban Native social and housing conditions.

B

Bailey, Norma, Director. *It's Hard to Get It Here.* National Film Board of Canada, 1991. Videocassette. Order Number 0184 042.

This video focuses on the lives of three young Native people attempting to cope with the pressures of urban life. Although the video opens on the Sandy Bay Indian Reserve during Treaty Day, it is filmed primarily in Winnipeg. The relationship between reserve life and urban life is a recurring theme throughout the video.

The promise of a "better life" in the city acts as a powerful magnet attracting many young Natives. The film illustrates the effects of this attraction on two of the main characters, and details how their high expectations are quickly lowered to reflect basic survival needs. Employment problems and the constant search for a better place to live are also explored. As well, the stabilizing effect of family and friends living back on the reserve is revealed.

The third character is a young Native woman who has grown up in the city in the care of a White family. Because of her urban background her support system is in the city. She struggles with her Native identity throughout the film with little success.

All three characters are forced to seek assistance from a cumbersome social-welfare system that attempts but fails to fully understand their situation and needs. The film illustrates the difficulties many Natives have in understanding the social service system and expressing their needs.

Baril, Evelyn J. "Native Households in Winnipeg: Strategies of Co-Residence and Financial Support." Master's thesis, Queen's University, 1981.

This study attempts to understand the way that urban Natives endeavour to house and financially support themselves. Its development was guided by a concern with urban Native housing conditions. The author finds the work of other researchers lacking in their descriptions of adjustment factors within Native families. She seeks an alternative interpretation that is not based on models of "normal" family organization of middle-income White urban families.

The author uses data derived from a basic demographic, socio-economic and housing survey of 234 Native households in Winnipeg, conducted during the summer of 1979 by the Institute of Urban Studies. She supplements this information with her own re-survey of 58 respondents, requesting information about sharing patterns, stability of household composition and detailed income information.

Her findings do not support the conclusions of previous researchers in terms of extended families. The author found "no basis for the popularly held view that when a Native person finds housing in the city, his entire extended family moves in with him." The study concludes that urban Natives employ strategies to house (i.e., co-residence through boarding and the expansion of "household boundaries" to accommodate family and kin) and financially support themselves that are a logical response to their needs. Flexibility in these areas is identified as an "important mechanism for absorbing shocks such as the loss of a job or eviction, providing rural Natives with access to urban facilities, and facilitating the adjustment of new migrants."

A summary of this research was also published by the author through the Institute of Urban Studies under the same title.

Bourne, L.S. *et al.* *Canada's Ethnic Mosaic: Characteristics and Patterns of Ethnic Origin Groups in Urban Areas.* Major Report No. 24. Toronto: Centre for Urban and University Studies, University of Toronto, 1986.

This report uses 1981 census data to identify the ethnic composition of Canadians living in major urban centres across the country. It is descriptive in nature and composed primarily of numerical data translated onto computer generated maps. The purpose is to illustrate patterns of residential location and identify areas of concentration and dispersion for all major ethnic groups.

Data, at a census tract level, highlight the geographic concentrations of people with Native ancestry in major Prairie centres. These maps graphically illustrate the extent of Native concentrations in inner-city neighbourhoods.

It should be noted that many people within the Aboriginal community object to being considered as "ethnic." The distinction between "ethnic" and "original" or Aboriginal peoples is of fundamental importance to understanding their unique situation in Canada.

Boxhill, Walter O. "1981 Census Data on the Native Peoples of Canada." *Canadian Statistical Review,* February 1985.

The 1981 census data collection methods and results relating to information on Native peoples are discussed and analyzed in this paper. Although data are presented, the techniques used to generate and process the data are of foremost concern to the author. He describes some anomalies in the data, and suggests that the census question used to identify the Native population was not "unequivocally" clear. He concludes by suggesting that Statistics Canada will face increasing demands for more and better data on the Native population in the future and that efforts must be taken to address the quality of data issue.

Brascoupé, Simon. *Native Awareness Workshop: Handbook of Canada's Native Peoples.* Volumes 1 - 3. Ottawa: Department of Regional Economic Expansion, 1980-81.

This is a three-volume set prepared by the Department of Regional Economic Expansion to provide basic information on Native issues. The first volume, a "Handbook" on "Canada's Native Peoples," includes historical information on the relationship between Native and non-Native societies. Of particular interest is a discussion of three major inter-related trends: urban migration, economic development, and major resource development. Native migration to cities is described as beginning in the early 1960s and increasing markedly in the 1970s. It is suggested that migration will continue in the 1980s for the four Western provinces. The second volume is a bibliography that includes references to publications on the socio-economic development of Native peoples. Volume three is a "Reader," and includes an assortment of newspaper articles covering a wide range of issues affecting Native Americans.

Breton, Raymond and Gail Grant, eds. *The Dynamics of Government Programs for Urban Indians in the Prairie Provinces*. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1984.

Five authors have contributed papers to this document that deals with programs and policies affecting Natives living in Prairie urban centres. The study covers five major areas: employment and economic development, education, law and justice, welfare and housing. A consistent theme throughout the study involves the difficulties, uncertainties and conflicts created by divided jurisdictions within the federal government as well as between the federal, provincial and municipal governments.

The policies and programs available to help Natives adapt to urban living are reviewed and analyzed for each of the Prairie provinces. For contextual purposes, a comparison with experiences from the United States is provided. This comparison reveals that the "urbanization and acculturation" processes among Canadian Indians have lagged behind those in the U.S., as have Canadian policies in this regard. American policies and programs are found to be

"more extensive, more explicit, more closely defined by statutes, more sensitive to the individual differences among Indian societies, and more advanced in dealing with the issues of urbanization and self-determination" than their Canadian counterparts.

Although this study is dated, it provides an interesting account of the myriad of programs that exist and the lack of involvement Natives have had in their development. It also demonstrates how complex, multi-faceted and interrelated the Native urbanization issue is.

The study method of dividing research areas by province and by topic may be the only viable approach to understanding the complex system of government programs directed towards urban Indians.

Breton, Raymond and Gail Grant Akian. *Urban Institutions and People of Indian Ancestry: Suggestions for Research.* Occasional Paper No. 5. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1978.

This paper presents a comprehensive research program designed to explore the socio-economic conditions of Native people living in Canadian urban settings. The authors consulted extensively with Native community leaders and/or service providers in Regina, Edmonton, Vancouver and Victoria to gain insight into what research was required, what should be avoided, and what approach should be adopted.

The authors suggest that emphasis be placed on research into the institutions with which Native people come in contact. Among those interviewed, they found the dominant view to be that "much is already known about the conditions of people of Indian ancestry and their communities; we are less knowledgeable about the institutional factors that affect, or that could affect, those conditions if the proper policies were adopted."

The authors highlight the need for over thirty studies in the areas of economic development, education, job accessibility and occupational success, perception and attitudes of Native and non-Native peoples, organization for the provision of services, and organized recreation.

Much of the suggested research deals with aspects of the community, its institutions and their effect on individuals. The authors suggest that public policy be "oriented towards providing opportunities for organizational formation and achievements within urban communities of people of Indian ancestry."

Five prerequisites to any research are described:

- that people of Indian ancestry be involved at every phase;

- that single location research is undesirable because comparisons are vital;

- that research be cumulative;

- that lines of communication between researchers be open; and

- that a research co-ordinating body be established.

Brody, Hugh. *Indians on Skid Row*. Ottawa: Northern Science Research Group, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1971.

During 1969, the author spent eighteen weeks on the skid row of a Prairie city to participate and observe the life of skid row Natives, their patterns of social interaction and social pathologies. This report describes the skid row community and the significance it has for Indians, including the "gratifications" it offers.

The author employed a "participation observation" method of research by living "undercover" in the skid row community. He describes skid row as a unique corner of urban Canada "which stands between the limitations and constraints of a rural reserve and the rejection and alienation of a white-dominated city life." Because of its relatively high concentration of Indians, skid row is a constant attraction for the migrant Indian. The Indians on skid row always welcome newcomers. For many it is a "terminal point," and efforts by Indian agencies—both federal and provincial —to draw Indians into the mainstream of Canadian life are likely to fail. Developments on the reserves and in the administration of the Department of Indian Affairs will determine the proportions this subculture will assume in the future. The author predicts that in the immediate and foreseeable future, the number of Indians terminating their migration on skid row will increase.

He concludes with suggestions for further research into the following areas:

- a study of Indian people who have integrated into mainstream life;

- a study of the attitudes of Indian people living on-reserve towards the urban milieu;

- a study of White attitudes towards Indians.

C

Calgary. Social Services Department. *Native Needs Assessment*. Calgary: City of Calgary, March 1984.

This is a comprehensive study of the demographic characteristics and needs of Native people living in Calgary. Two data collection approaches were used, one focusing on the expressed needs of Native people themselves and the other focusing on social service agencies' perceptions of Native needs.

The study compares data from both methods and examines the delivery of services to Native people in order to help refine the delivery of social services to Native people in Calgary.

A face-to-face interview process was used to gather data from 427 individuals during the summer of 1983. Three types of sampling methods, including geographic-based clustering, random selection and "snowball" referral techniques were used to gather a representative sample of potential respondents. For the second component of the study, 38 agencies that provide services to Natives in Calgary participated by answering a number of questions about their agency, its role and view of Native needs.

The authors identified a long list of needs covering a wide array of adjustment, personal development, health and recreational issues. Over 23 recommendations, spanning a variety of social, economic, recreation, cultural, education and health care issues, are made at the end of the report. One recommendation related to housing suggested that "subsidized housing should be oriented to those who rent and be provided in areas of Calgary in which Native people wish to live."

Canada. Interdepartmental Steering Committee on Native Economic Development. *The Indian Socio-Economic Environment: Annex 5,* June 1987.

Statistical information regarding the social and economic characteristics of Native people is provided in the document. Employment rates, entrepreneurial activity, education and basic demographic information are presented. The natural resource base and potential of reserve lands are also highlighted.

In addition, the employment, income sources and educational attainment of the on-reserve population is compared with that of the urban Indian population and the general population.

In terms of assessing the natural resource base of reserves, the report suggests that "most reserves are physically so small and have such marginally productive lands that they do not have the resource potential to provide an adequate level of income or employment . . .

access to resource development activities off-reserves is imperative . . ."

Some key findings include:

- Native employment rates are significantly lower than those for other Canadians. A high proportion of Native employment is dependent on federal government funding. Three-quarters of new jobs created in the Indian economy between 1978 and 1983 were in the public sector.

- Despite improving levels of educational attainment by Native people, Natives have been, and continue to be, at a significant disadvantage to non-Natives in terms of educational achievement.

- While the Native population is relatively small, it is growing quickly. Substantial numbers of Native youth are entering the working age population on an annual basis.

Canada. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. *Basic Departmental Data: 1991.* Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, December 1991.

This is the most recent version of an annual report prepared by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. Using primarily departmental administrative databases, it supplies key information on the demographic, social, and economic conditions of registered Indians in Canada. Data are provided on the topics of population, health, education, social conditions, housing, self-government, labour force, and the North. Most data distinguish between the on- and off-reserve populations.

Historical and projected trends are also provided. The estimated effects of Bill C-31 are taken into account. The report is essentially descriptive in nature and updates an earlier 1988 release.

The report indicates that in 1990, registered Indians comprised 1.8% of the total Canadian

population; were usually affiliated with one of 601 Indian bands; and 40% resided off reserve and crown land.

Canada. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. *Aboriginal Peoples in Urban Centres: Report of the National Round Table on Aboriginal Urban Issues.* Ottawa: Canada Communications Group, 1993.

This report summarizes the proceedings of the Royal Commission's National Round Table discussion on urban Aboriginal issues held in Edmonton from June 21 to 23, 1992. Two hundred people from nine Canadian cities participated. The discussion was organized around four theme areas; services, governance, economics and health and wellness. The document consists of three reports; Commission Report, Report on the Workshop and Issues Papers.

The Commission's report identifies a "policy vacuum" caused by the interpretation and lack of follow through of both federal and provincial levels of government. This policy vacuum has caused "serious deficiencies in public services for Aboriginal people living in urban centres." The Commission's report also notes that the Aboriginal community itself, while unified in its support for greater involvement in the design and delivery of services, is at odds when it comes to the question of whether to deliver these services through organizations which respect and protect separate identities within the Aboriginal community or organizations which function on a "status-blind" basis.

The Workshop report concluded that "despite the growing number of Aboriginal urban people and the increasing realization that they constitute a permanent presence in urban centres across Canada, little attention has been paid to them and their needs by either land-based Aboriginal governments, Aboriginal organizations or non-Aboriginal governments. They and their problems remain largely invisible in Canada's cities."

The report on the workshops discusses the entire spectrum of key service delivery areas which participants recognized as being largely inter-dependent. These included: education, addictions, disability, AIDS, homelessness, child care, social services, health, housing, cultural awareness/isolation, employment, and transportation.

Canada. Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs. *A Time for Action: Aboriginal and Northern Housing.* Fourth Report of the Committee. Ottawa: Queen's Printer for Canada, 1992.

This report summarizes the findings of the Committee's hearings on the subject of Aboriginal housing. The Committee invited the federal and provincial governments, the four major Aboriginal political organizations (Assembly of First Nations, Inuit Tapirisat du Canada, Métis National Council and the Native Council of Canada), and a number of other organizations having interest or experience in the field to share their views. The Committee also visited a number of communities across the country to "experience housing conditions first hand."

Based on the testimony it heard, the committee identified a number of problems with current housing programs and delivery systems. Some of these problems included; a significant and growing back-log of households needing adequate housing, limited involvement of Aboriginal peoples in federal housing policy and program decisions, inflexibility in program design restricting the possible local economic spin-off effects of house construction activity, and inadequate funding from both DIAND and CMHC.

The Committee also heard a number of recommended changes including: greater flexibility in delivery mechanisms, the development of Aboriginal owned finance and insurance institutions, Aboriginal controlled housing corporations, and enhanced training programs.

Fourteen specific recommendations were made by the Committee. Some of these recommendations included:

- That the Government of Canada deliver all of its funding for Aboriginal housing through one department or agency.

- That the government transfer control of housing along with sufficient resources to Aboriginal peoples.

- That the Government of Canada provide the necessary funding to meet the needs of all Aboriginal and Northern people living on-reserve, off-reserve and in the North.

- That the Government of Canada provide greater opportunities for home ownership on-reserve, off-reserve and in the North.

- The Government of Canada, the provinces and the territories, together with Aboriginal people should make the resolution of jurisdictional difficulties and duplication in housing programs a priority in addressing housing needs.

Canada. Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs. *Unfinished Business: An Agenda for all Canadians in the 1990's, Second Report.* Ottawa: Queen's Printer, March 1990.

The Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs of the House of Commons has a mandate under Standing Order 108(2) to obtain the latest information on matters relating to Aboriginal affairs. This is the Committee's second report.

The purpose of this report was to present Parliament and all Canadians with the current concerns of Aboriginal peoples. The information was gained through a series of hearings the Committee conducted during the latter part of 1989. Highlighting issues from a broad range of topics, the report reflects the multi-faceted and interrelated nature of the problems Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians face. The report suggests that

particular attention be devoted to the issue of self-government over the next decade, and that substantial movement on all fronts in respect to Aboriginal affairs is required.

The report's appendices provide definitions of Aboriginal peoples and national Aboriginal organizations, and offer information on selected socio-economic conditions of Native people in Canada. Urban Aboriginal issues are not identified specifically in the report.

The following are key socio-economic statistics contained in the report:

- 65% of all status Indians in 1986 lived on reserves.

- The fertility rate (average number of births per woman) of the status Indian population in 1981 was 3.15 compared with an total Canadian rate of 1.7.

- Life expectancy at birth for the status Indian male and female in 1981 was 62 years and 69 years respectively. Comparative figures for the total Canadian population were 72 and 79 years.

- The infant mortality rate (per 1,000 births) in 1986 for the status Indian population was 17 compared with the total Canadian rate of eight.

- Housing conditions recorded for 1986 included:

  Overcrowded housing (% of total dwellings)
  Status Indians (on-reserve)   29%
  Status Indians (off-reserve)   11%
  Canada   2%

  Dwellings without central heating (% of total dwellings)
  Status Indians (on-reserve)   38%
  Status Indians (off-reserve)   9%
  Canada   5%

- The following education, labour force and income conditions were recorded for 1986:

Did not attend High School (% of population 15+ years)

Status Indians (on-reserve)	45%
Status Indians (off-reserve)	24%
Métis	35%
Canada	17%

Not in Labour Force (% of population 15+ years)

Status Indians (on-reserve)	57%
Status Indians (off-reserve)	46%
Métis	45%
Canada	34%

Average Family Income (1985)

Status Indians (on-reserve)	$20,900
Status Indians (off-reserve)	$22,900
Canada	$38,700

Income from Government Transfer Payments (1985)
Status Indians (on-reserve)
    48% up from 39% in 1980
Status Indians (off-reserve)
    41% up from 25% in 1980
Canada
    20% up from 16% in 1980

Canadian Council for Native Business. *Against the Odds: The Role of Native Peoples in Canada's Business Economy.* Toronto: Canadian Council for Native Business, 1990.

This is the second in a series of reviews published by the Canadian Council for Native Business. It provides an update of recent activities such as the Canada Aboriginal Economic Development Strategy, as well as containing a number of profiles of successful Native businesses.

The report however, also highlights a number of ominous demographic, employment and educational trends and facts for the Native population that present a serious challenge for all sectors of the economy.

If given the opportunity, the CCNB is confident that large numbers of young Native people will achieve a high measure of economic self-reliance through participation in Canada's market economy as employers, managers and business proprietors.

Canadian Council for Native Business. *Standing Alone: The Role of Canada's Native Peoples in the Business Economy.* Toronto: Canadian Council for Native Business, April 1989.

In this report, the Canadian Council for Native Business (CCNB) outlines the rationale for its establishment and describes some important challenges and opportunities faced by the Native community.

The CCNB is a private sector organization whose mandate is to "mobilize the new spirit of enterprise being manifested by a new generation of entrepreneurial-minded Canadian Natives."

The Council observes that, despite more than a century of government responsibility, Native peoples continue to be on the fringe of the Canadian economy. The majority of Canadian Natives are "victims of a form of economic apartheid" with unemployment levels reaching over 70% on reserves. The Council also notes that a new generation of Indians are securing the educational qualifications "to fit them for leadership positions," but many more new jobs are going to be required to accommodate Indian youths entering the job market in the near future.

One of the challenges cited in the report is the high level of unemployment for Natives, particularly in Western Canadian cities.

Cassidy, Michael. *Overview of the First Round.* Report prepared for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. October 1992.

The Royal Commission is mandated to examine the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and Canada. Round one of the public hearings took the Commission to 36 communities across

Canada where some 850 individuals presented their views on the current issues facing Aboriginal peoples. This report was prepared based on these hearings.

Although many of the broader issues identified in the report have bearing on Aboriginal peoples living in urban centres, urban issues were singled out for a brief discussion. The Round Table on Urban Issues held by the Commission in Edmonton on June 22 and 23, 1992 was also mentioned. Questions of jurisdiction and the roles of reserve based institutions and the "inappropriate" artificial division of Aboriginal peoples (i.e., status, non-status, and Métis) in urban centres surfaced as major concerns.

Chu, J.W.I. "Urban Native Housing: Problems, Policies, Programs and Prospects." Master's thesis, Department of City Planning, University of Manitoba, 1991.

This thesis provides a general overview of the Native urbanization process, the socio-economic problems encountered by Natives living in Canadian cities, and the housing programs offered by government to assist in providing affordable, adequate and suitable shelter. Using Winnipeg as a case study, the author incorporates a variety of study methods. These include a literature review and analysis of available Census data, supplemented by field work such as interviews with stakeholders, clients and Native leaders.

In the first part of the thesis, the author provides an overview of the topic, including socio-demographic characteristics, migration patterns and a description of the scope of the housing problems faced by many Natives in Winnipeg. Social housing policies and programs at the Federal level are explored and found to be insufficient for meeting housing needs. The Urban Native Non-Profit Housing Program is examined and problems such as jurisdictional issues (between governments and within the Native community), cost effectiveness, diffused delivery mechanisms, and limited resource abilities are highlighted.

The author concludes that urban Native housing problems must be viewed in a wider context. She suggests that housing is but one tool that can be used to assist the Native community in implementing a wider strategy of community economic development.

Clatworthy, Stewart. *The Demographic Composition and Economic Circumstances of Winnipeg's Native Population.* Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1980.

This study provides a statistical description of Native migration to Winnipeg and of the city's Native population. It uses data from the Urban Native Housing Data Base compiled by the Institute of Urban Studies in 1979-80 and the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg Survey of Households and Housing Units compiled in 1977.

The major objective of the study was to clarify the characteristics of the Native population and to identify the nature, magnitude and parameters of the economic difficulties being experienced.

Key findings include:

■ The total Native population in the city of Winnipeg is estimated to be between 14,000 and 16,000, including about 5,500-6,500 status Indians and about 8,500-9,500 Métis/non-status Indians.

■ Migration to the city has slowed substantially in recent years.

■ Economic issues dominate the reasons why migration occurs.

■ The migration patterns are similar between status and Métis/non-status Indians, suggesting that motivational circumstances are similar for both groups.

Additional findings describing the differences between the Native and non-Native populations in areas of family size, age and employment

were also identified. The special needs of a relatively large proportion of single-parent families and unemployed females were identified by the author as particular areas of concern for the formulation of future policies and programs.

Clatworthy, Stewart. *The Effects of Education on Native Behaviour in the Urban Labour Market*. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1981.

This study measures the performance of Native people in the urban labour market and the effects of education levels on performance patterns. The study utilizes the 1979-80 Institute of Urban Studies' Native Data Base which includes socio-economic, demographic and housing consumption information for 651 Native households living in Winnipeg.

The study's findings indicate that higher levels of education have a positive effect on labour force participation and on occupation levels. This effect, however, is less apparent among status Indian women.

The author calls for a renewal and expanded emphasis on education and skill development for the urban Native population. Efforts should encourage, at minimum, high school completion or the acquisition of trade or technical school certificates. Status Indian women are distinguished by the author as a sub-group for whom education seems to have less impact. He suggests that this raises questions of skills transfer, motivation and structural/institutional impediments to active participation in the labour market.

Clatworthy, Stewart. *The Effects of Length of Urban Residency on Native Labour Market Behaviour*. Research and Working Papers 1. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1983.

This study attempts to test the anthropological theory of "acculturation" relative to Native employment experiences. The theory of

acculturation suggests that through continued exposure to urban life (i.e., as length of time in the city increases), the minority cultural group will adopt the attributes and gain the skills necessary to succeed in the labour market. This report represents findings derived from an empirical study of the Institute of Urban Studies 1979-80 Native Data Base which collected data on 651 Native households. The study uses information from this data base to identify and measure the effects of length of urban residency on labour market behaviour in Winnipeg.

Major findings include:

■ Education and early employment experiences of most Winnipeg Natives occurred outside of an urban context.

■ Labour force participation ratios were unaffected by length of residency in the city. Gender and education disparities were the primary reasons for existing differences.

The author found that no substantial differences in labour market behaviour existed between longer term Native residents and recent Native migrants. This finding raises questions about the utility of the acculturation thesis for explaining the adaption of Natives to urban life and the urban labour market.

The author questions the utility of basic job training, life skills development and short-term work experience programs to improve the employability or employment opportunities of urban Native peoples. He believes these programs, designed to prepare people for low level employment in the secondary labour market, perpetuate patterns of labour market behaviour identified in the study.

The study takes a relatively short-term view of the "acculturation" process and raises questions in the mind of the reader about the possibility of different conclusions should the time frame be extended.

Clatworthy, Stewart. *Issues Concerning the Role of Native Women in the Winnipeg Labour Market.* Technical Study 5. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1981.

The author's prior research efforts into the demographic structure, employment patterns and labour force activity of Winnipeg's Native population found employment problems "to be most acute among Native women." As a result, this group is singled out for further study by the author.

Data used in this report are based on statistical information from the Institute of Urban Studies' Native Data Base. The data base was assembled through surveys of inner city and suburban households.

The author suggests "that because of the demographic structure of the city's Native population, much of the potential for improving Native living conditions and levels of economic self-sufficiency in the city resides with Native women."

The author connects family composition patterns with restrictions on labour market entry and employment advancement. He calls for longer term occupational training programs for Native women, more research into motivational and preferential factors, and existing program initiatives.

Clatworthy, Stewart. *Native Housing Conditions in Winnipeg.* Paper No. 81. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1983.

This report is part of a series of work undertaken by the Institute of Urban Studies to document and analyze the demographic structure and economic circumstances of Winnipeg's Native population. It broadens the scope of previous investigations on demographics, patterns of employment and labour force activity to include Native housing conditions and patterns of housing consumption. The data bases employed in the study include the Urban Native Housing Data Base initiated by the Institute of Urban Studies in 1979 and the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg Survey of Households and Housing Units compiled in 1977. The Institute of Urban Studies data base contained locational, demographic, socio-economic and housing unit information for a sample of Native households residing in Winnipeg. A total of 651 Native households were interviewed in areas throughout the city. Comparison data for the general population was drawn from the Social Planning Council Survey, which involved 1,444 households.

Some key findings include:

■ Winnipeg's Native population was estimated to be approximately 20,000 (7,000 status Indians and 13,000 Métis and non-status Indians).

■ Annual net migration rates were estimated to be in the range of 1,100–1,200.

■ Native housing consumption was noted to be heavily concentrated in a specific sub-market characterized by private ownership, rental tenure, single/semi-detached and duplex structure types, and low cost.

■ Nearly 60% of all Native renters changed residence within the city during the year prior to the survey.

The author suggests that the disparities between Native and non-Native households are sufficiently large to warrant the consideration of special policies and programs that directly address the housing problems experienced by urban Natives. It was pointed out that expected rapid rates of growth in the number of Native households during the 1980s, combined with the lack of low-cost rental housing sufficiently large enough to accommodate families, will likely cause the housing situation of urban Native households to worsen.

Improvements in the Provincial shelter allowance system were targeted as a potential instrument for addressing housing problems. In

a final note, the author points out that housing programs were clearly not operating at a scale necessary to cope with Native housing consumption problems in Winnipeg.

Clatworthy, Stewart. *Patterns of Native Employment in the Winnipeg Labour Market.* Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1981.

This report is one in a series of reports prepared by the author that investigates the demographic composition and economic circumstances of Winnipeg's Native population. The data used in the study was derived from two sources: the Urban Native Housing Data Base initiated by the Institute of Urban Studies in July 1979, and the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg Survey of Households and Housing Units compiled in 1977.

The study attempts to overcome weaknesses of earlier research by employing a systematic analysis of the demographic structure of the urban Native population by household sub-group, and by comparing Native to non-Native and status Indian to Métis and non-status Indian populations. Some key findings related to employment patterns include:

■ Unemployment rates among the Native population were reported to exceed 30% with greater degrees of difficulty being experienced by status Indians.

■ The Native labour force, for the most part, is employed in the city's lowest skill/lowest wage occupations. Occupational mobility was reported to be non-existent.

The author suggests that past and current programming efforts relating to employment and social support have largely failed to assist Native people to adjust to urban life. He calls for special programming targeted to address the specific needs of Native peoples.

Clatworthy, Stewart and Harvey Stevens. *An Overview of the Housing Condition of Registered Indians in Canada.* Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1987.

This report is one in a series of 14 reports sponsored by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada to provide an analysis of key demographic, social and economic conditions of registered Indians in the early 1980s. Like others in the study, this report is based mainly on customized tabulations of the 1981 Census. It is primarily descriptive and provides a brief socio-demographic profile of Indians compared with non-Indians and highlights key aspects of the housing conditions experienced by Canada's registered Indian population in 1981. The study also explores the results of housing initiatives undertaken during the 1979-1985 period.

Some key findings include:

■ Slightly more than 60% of Canada's 316,445 Indians residing in private households live on reserve.

■ Close to one half of Indian households living off reserve are located in large urban centres.

■ Compared with the non-Indian population, the Indian population contains proportionately more family households and a much larger concentration of lone parent families, low employment rates, and low income levels. (43% of all Indian households receive incomes at or below the poverty line.)

■ Slightly more than one half of all on-reserve Indian households occupy dwellings which lack central or electrical heating systems and roughly one third live in dwellings without indoor bathroom facilities. Nearly one quarter of the housing stock on reserves is reported to be in need of major repair.

■ Housing conditions among the Indian population living off reserve are better,

although one third of these households are experiencing affordability problems.

The study's authors suggest Indian housing conditions in the short term will remain dependent upon the levels of funding made available through various government housing programs.

Clatworthy, Stewart and Jeremy Hull. *Native Economic Conditions in Regina and Saskatoon.* Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1983.

This report documents the economic and demographic conditions of urban Natives in Regina and Saskatoon. It extends similar research work completed for Winnipeg, and attempts to provide a broader regional understanding of the characteristics and circumstances of Indian and Métis residents residing in Prairie urban centres.

The majority of data reported in this study are based on the Saskatchewan Urban Native Data Base compiled by the Institute of Urban Studies between June and October 1982. The data base was constructed through interviewer contact and resulted in 422 completed interviews in Regina and 309 in Saskatoon. Information was obtained concerning location, demographic, socio-economic, housing, employment and related characteristics. Selected data were also collected for Natives residing in Prince Albert.

Some key findings include:

■ The present Native population of Regina is estimated at approximately 11,700 (7200 status Indians and 4500 Métis/non-status Indians). Saskatoon's Native population is estimated at 7600 (4750 status Indians and 2850 Métis/non-status Indians).

■ Recent net migration to both Regina and Saskatoon is estimated to be between 500-750 persons per year.

■ Rapid growth is expected to occur among the Native population of both cities. Given the current age structure of this population, most growth will occur among working age cohorts. Given present levels of education training and work experience among the Native labour force, considerable effort appears to be required in the areas of vocational training and education.

The findings point to extreme disparity between Native and non-Native populations, and as a result the authors suggest that governments consider the creation of special policies and programming measures directed toward assisting the urban Native population. The authors call upon urban Native peoples, Native organizations and all three levels of government to begin consultations to clarify policy positions and to co-ordinate programming activities.

Clatworthy, Stewart and Jonathan P. Gunn. *Economic Circumstances of Native People in Selected Metropolitan Centres in Western Canada.* Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1982.

This study documents the parameters of demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Native peoples residing in the major Western Canadian cities of Victoria, Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Regina, Saskatoon and Winnipeg. Information contained in the study was derived from a review of literature and a survey of academics, government officials, Native leaders, and community workers involved with Native issues in Western urban areas.

The authors make the following general observations, which they believe should have a bearing on government policies and programs related to urban Native peoples:

■ Native populations form a large, economically disadvantaged sub-group in each of the seven metropolitan areas. Present levels of disparity are sufficiently

large to warrant the development of special policies and programs for urban Natives.

■ Migration patterns and levels, combined with continued high fertility rates, will result in the rapid growth of urban Native populations throughout the 1980s. The authors estimate this increase to be between 19% and 26% during the last half of the decade. This growth will be most pronounced in the labour force age group (i.e., 15+ years). Given present levels of education, training and employment, considerable effort will be required in the areas of vocational training and education.

■ High concentrations of females and female-headed families suggest that special attention is required for the development of programming designed to reduce barriers which confront women.

■ There is a lack of clearly articulated policy at all levels of government and among formal urban or provincial Native organizations, concerning urban Native populations.

■ The available information and research on the urban Native population is inadequate for the purposes of developing programs.

The authors call upon the federal government to take the lead in initiating a process of consultation with representatives of urban Native communities and other levels of government to address the policy void which surrounds present programming efforts directed towards urban Native peoples in Western Canada.

Comeau, Pauline and Aldo Santin. *The First Canadians: A Profile of Canada's Native People Today.* Toronto: James Lorimer, 1990.

The authors of this book are journalists. The book is a follow-up and expansion of information published by the authors in the *Winnipeg Free Press* as a special supplement

exploring twenty years of Native and non-Native relations in Canada.

The authors use a combination of research techniques, including interviews with government and Native leaders, a literature review, and a detailed investigation of government documents using the Freedom of Information Act.

Beginning with a detailed review of events surrounding the introduction and withdrawal of the Federal government's 1969 White Paper on Native issues, the book highlights current problems and twenty years of often turbulent relations between the Native and non-Native communities. The authors explore activities taking place on-reserves and in urban communities. They also delve into topics of self-government, health care, education, child welfare, justice and Native organizations.

In a chapter entitled "Urban Indians," the jurisdictional question of which level of government, federal or provincial, is responsible for extending services to the urban Native population is explored. While this question remains unanswered, Native leaders continue to grapple with their own internal jurisdictional issues. The authors describe an ongoing debate within the Native community between those that see the extension of band authority from reserve to the city and those that see the invention of separate urban Native institutions.

The authors point out that because urban Natives do not have a common goal, urban Native institutions and associations will continue to struggle for credibility and support within the Native community.

D

Damas and Smith Limited. *Neeginan: A Feasibility Report.* Winnipeg: Neeginan (Manitoba) Incorporated, April 1975.

This document describes a proposal to develop a "Native people's community" in Winnipeg to

provide housing, reception, orientation, education and training, and cultural enrichment activities and services to urban Indians. It was founded on the principle that while all minority groups go through a period of adjustment to a new environment, they "have worked out a balance between their own ethnic culture and that of the larger urban community in which they find themselves."

The author develops an elaborate and detailed proposal, focused on developing a $5 million Native community centre, to create an ethnic community or village for the Indians and Métis in central Winnipeg.

Dansys Consultants Inc. *Aboriginal People in Manitoba: Population Estimates for 1986 and 1991.* Winnipeg: Manitoba Inquiry into Justice and Aboriginal People, October 1990.

Using a combination of data collected by Statistics Canada, the Manitoba Bureau of Statistics, and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, the authors have developed estimates of the Aboriginal population of Manitoba. The work was completed in the fall of 1990 at the request of Manitoba Inquiry into Justice and Aboriginal People.

This paper is noteworthy for its examination and critique of available data sources. The authors describe data collection problems relating to the 1986 Census and its use and interpretation of the ethnic origin question, the incompleteness of the Indian Register held by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, and previous assumptions made regarding the effects of Bill C-31.

Enhancing published data with their own estimates, the authors developed the following conclusions:

- Total Manitoba Aboriginal population, 1991: 129,994 or 11.8% of the total population. This is up from 117,539 or 11.0% of the population in 1986.

- The off-reserve Aboriginal population in 1991 is estimated to be 81,579 or 63% of the total Aboriginal population.

- The 1991 Aboriginal population in Winnipeg is estimated at 40,914 or 6.5% of Winnipeg's total population (up from 5.3% in 1986).

These data estimates reveal that only 50% of the off-reserve Aboriginal population lives in Winnipeg. An important assumption made by the authors in establishing their estimates is that the Métis population of Manitoba is significantly under-counted in formal surveys. They point to evidence that suggests this under-counting may be as high as 70%. As a result, the authors chose to increase the Census data of the Métis population for 1986 and 1991 by 40%. Undoubtedly this has a significant impact on the population estimates contained in the document.

Davis, Arthur K. *Edging into Mainstream: Urban Indians in Saskatchewan.* Calgary: University of Alberta, 1965.

This report is the second of a two-volume report summarizing the results of a three year "Economic and Social Survey of Northern Saskatchewan." The field work for the study was financed primarily by the Saskatchewan Department of Natural Resources. However, it seems the final report was not sanctioned by the government.

The author suggests that Métis and Indian people living in Northern Saskatchewan are being forced into what he calls "gateway" towns in pursuit of better living conditions and employment opportunities. He felt it was necessary to examine this trend in order fully to understand the broader social and economic forces at work in Northern Saskatchewan.

Data were collected through personal interviews with 155 Métis and Indian households living in Prince Albert, North Battleford and Meadow Lake between 1960

and 1962. Basic social, demographic and economic information was gathered. Findings support many of the conclusions of more recent researchers on migration patterns.

The author criticizes the Saskatchewan government's twin objectives of "cultural pluralism" (i.e., the co-existence of radically diverse ways of life) and "local self-development" as being largely unattainable given the stark economic and social reality of Northern Saskatchewan.

De Jourdan, Alan. "Native Housing: The Focus is Self-Help." *Habitat,* 18,2 (1975).

This is a cursory review of the housing situation for Natives in 1985. Particular attention is paid to the housing needs of Métis and non-status Indians living in rural and remote locations. Along with describing the extent of the housing problem, the need for education and training of Native persons to encourage self-help ideas is identified. The emergence of new training programs offered through CMHC are also highlighted.

Denton, Trevor. "Migration from a Canadian Indian Reserve." *Journal of Canadian Studies,* 7,2 (1972): 54-62.

In this paper, the author examines the many unspoken assumptions that contribute to the myth of the "Indian Problem" by providing an overview of migration from an "acculturated" Canadian Indian reserve. To complete his study, the author spent ten months living on a reserve located in Southern Ontario during 1967-68.

Through interviews and participant observation, the author documents the reasons for migration, migration rates and urban adjustment factors and issues. He concludes by questioning the stereotypical myths of success and failure in terms of urban migration and adjustment patterns.

The author suggests that Indians leave reserves for "very human and ordinary reasons" such as children taken by migrating parents or by children's aid societies, because of marriage, and for employment.

Because this work is based on a Southern Ontario Indian reserve "located within commuting distance (35 miles) of a city of 40,000 persons" the conclusions may not be totally transferable to other locations, particularly communities located in the remote parts of Western and Northern Canada.

This paper summarizes information contained in the author's Ph.D. Thesis completed at the Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto.

Djao, Angela Wei. *Housing Needs of Urban Native Families: A Comparative Study of Children's and Parent's Perceptions.* Research Project No. 6. Ottawa: CMHC Children's Environments Advisory Service, 1980.

This study attempts to compare the perceptions of children regarding housing needs with the perceptions of their parents. Data were gathered through interviews with 52 families in Saskatoon conducted during February and March 1980. Names of potential respondents were provided to the author by the Saskatoon Indian and Métis Friendship Centre.

The children's perceptions were "found to be largely similar" to their parents' perceptions. The author notes that because the actual decisions regarding housing are determined by financial considerations and discrimination, their choices are limited and may not fulfil all of the important requirements for shelter.

Dosman, Edgar J. *Indians: The Urban Dilemma.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1972.

This book records the personal observations of the author relative to issues surrounding urban Natives and the reasons for the failure of

official and voluntary programs designed to help Natives adjust to the urban environment. Experiences in the city of Saskatoon are used to highlight issues.

The author discusses and analyses the issues by dividing the urban Native population into three components: affluent, anomic and welfare.   He describes the "Affluent" component as the Native aristocracy, Indian businessmen, professionals, and white-collar workers who are not necessarily wealthy, but are well-off when compared to other members of the Native population within the city. They have adapted to the urban environment. "Welfare" Indians and Métis are defined as having a basic opposition to the urban value system, particularly "middle class thrift," and are permanently alienated.   Most would be receiving some form of welfare support, and some would supplement this with part-time work, begging and theft. "Anomic" is a term used by the author to define those who fall between the Affluent and Welfare classes. They attempt to adapt to life in the city with little success. They are unwilling to accept "skid row," and are suspended between the city and reserve. The author further defines each grouping by discussing conventional indications of social and personal adjustment such as employment, housing, family life/stability and mobility.

This categorization of the urban Native population serves as a convenient means for discussing issues throughout the report.

The services and programs that have been developed to assist the urban Native population and the failed attempts of Natives to organize urban Indian organizations are also discussed.

The author suggests that innovative social action programs should be directed towards the "Anomic" Native population.

The study concludes by developing a "strategy of change" through the establishment of an "Indian Enclosure in the Urban Environment"

characterised by a "well-designed, self-governing, Native residential community."

E

Evalucan Limited. *Urban Native Referral Program—Evaluation.* Edmonton: Native Secretariat, Province of Alberta, February 1982.

The authors of this report were contracted by the Province of Alberta to conduct an evaluation of the Urban Native Referral Program.   The program, approved for implementation by Cabinet in February 1978, was conceived as a two-year pilot project to assist Natives migrating to the urban centres of Grande Prairie, Edmonton, Calgary, and Fort McLeod. Supporting documentation for the program indicated a need to provide referral services primarily to the migrant population not being served by existing programs. Delivery of the program was to be led by municipalities in conjunction with local Native organizations.

While a number of structural and administrative problems were identified, the authors found the projects to be successful in meeting the referral needs of their clients. They also suggest that despite not being a stated objective, the program tested and supported the viability of a "tripartite" (i.e., provincial, municipal, Native) delivery mechanism. The continuation of the program is recommended by the authors.

F

Falconer, Patrick.   "The Overlooked of the Neglected: Native Single Mothers in Major Cities on the Prairies." In J. Hull and J. Silver, eds., *The Political Economy of Manitoba.* Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, 1990, pp. 188-210.

In this paper, the author identifies and describes the   distinctive   features   of   the   family composition   within   the   urban   Native community. Using information from the 1981 Census, the author analyses the differences of

family patterns between registered Indians, other Natives, and non-Native communities, by geography, better to explain the Native population living in Prairie urban centres. He finds that, in "major urban areas, Native single parents are . . . heavily over-represented, . . . almost exclusively headed by women, and tend to be in the earliest stages of [family] development." He also asserts that "Native single-parent families are most likely to live in conditions of poverty when they reside in major cities."

The author concludes by suggesting that Native single mothers are a distinct segment of the urban population and their "hardships . . . are not only of immediate severity, but of long-term import for the future of the whole urban Native community."

Falconer, Patrick. "Urban Indian Needs: Federal Policy Responsibility and Options in the Context of the Talks on Aboriginal Self-Government." Winnipeg: Unpublished discussion paper, 1985.

This paper is concerned with the lack of representation by Aboriginal people living in urban centres during constitutional discussions on Aboriginal self-government. The author reviews the socio-economic situation of urban Indians, and the impact of past federal Indian policies on migration patterns and policy options.

The author suggests that the migration of Indians into urban centres was encouraged by federal policy decisions which did not provide for a viable reserve based economy, promoted an assimilationist policy and attempted to off-load jurisdictional responsibilities to the provincial governments. His major thesis is that the federal government has the "historic duty, the long term interest and the practical ability" to address issues faced by off-reserve Indians. By denying its program responsibilities, the federal government has effectively reduced its jurisdictional responsibilities and fiscal costs. He calls for comprehensive socio-economic

research on the conditions of urban Indians to support the development, implementation and evaluation of policies.

The paper also contains a brief overview of Aboriginal self-government options. The author supports community economic development efforts aimed at producing distinctive administrative urban Indian institutions.

Family Service Association of Edmonton. *Adjustment Factors in the Indian Moving to the Urban Community.* Edmonton: Family Service Association of Edmonton, 1966.

This paper describes the results of a review undertaken by the Service Association of Edmonton of its Indian Youth Counselling project and its attempt to learn more about the adjustment factors of Indians moving from the reserve to the city.

Information for the review was obtained by administering a questionnaire to persons who had participated in the youth program. A separate questionnaire was given to the counsellor who assisted that person. Thirty-four questionnaires were completed by program participants.

Unfortunately, only a select disclosure of survey results is included in the report, and the conclusions drawn from these data seem to extend well beyond what the data suggest. The report's emphasis is on understanding the "differentness" of the Indian based on historical experiences of segregation on reserves and in the city. The authors conclude that adjustment programs must deal with the "whole person" and guard against focusing narrowly on any single service geared to one facet of the Indian "sub-culture."

Farkas, C.S. and C.P. Shaw. "Public Health Departments and Native Health Care in Urban Centres." *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, 77 (1986): 274-77.

This is a relatively short article highlighting the findings of a survey of medical officers in 25 major Canadian cities. The survey asked whether research had been conducted on the health status and needs of the local Native population.

The responses received by the authors revealed a general lack of information and documentation on the health needs of Natives in urban centres. Jurisdictional responsibilities are highlighted as the major deterrent to undertaking action in this area. The authors call upon public health departments in cities with sizeable Native populations to provide direction in assessing and addressing health needs of urban Natives.

Flanagan, Thomas. *Métis Lands in Manitoba.* Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1991.

The question of Métis land rights identified in Sections 30-33 of the Manitoba Act provides the impetus for this book and the research of its author. With the litigation process still underway, the author reviews and critically analyses the research being used by the Manitoba Métis Federation to support their legal land claims for large tracts of land in the Winnipeg region.

The author conducts his own evaluation of the issues including the identification of the problem, a review of the Manitoba Act, and an examination of methods used to distribute lands granted to the Métis peoples.

The author concludes by suggesting that "the federal government generally fulfilled, and in some ways overfilled, the land provisions of the Manitoba Act."

Frideres, James S. "Institutional Structures and Economic Deprivation: Native People in Canada." In B. Singh Bolaria and Peter S. Li, *Racial Oppression in Canada.* Toronto: Garamond Press, 1988, pp. 71-100.

This is a thought-provoking paper that assesses how specific institutional structures in Canada's capitalist economy have ensured the social and economic dependency of Natives on non-Native society.

In the paper's first section, the author provides basic demographic and socio-economic information on Native populations in Canada. He then analyses the dependency situation of Natives by reviewing such issues as urban growth patterns, the power elite, racism and Native-White relations.

The author suggests that the "most basic problem facing Native people lies in their economic relationship with other segments of society." Land is identified as a crucial and fundamental element in the future development for Natives.

Frideres, James S. *Native People in Canada: Contemporary Conflicts.* Third Edition. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1988.

This book is one of the few comprehensive examinations of the relationship between Natives and non-Natives in Canadian society. The book is divided into three parts, including: a background section on the Indian Act, treaties and Native land claims; a descriptive section on socio-demographic characteristics, urbanization, governmental programs, Native organizations and the Métis; and future directions toward self-determination, political advances and economic development.

The author suggests that the current state of relations between Native and non-Native societies is based on historical events stretching back hundreds of years and is greatly influenced by the interpretation of treaties signed soon after Confederation in 1867.

The author also suggests that Native economic development has been limited by the lack of a strong technological information knowledge base among Native peoples. However, he identifies the emergence of an active Native

leadership who are educated in mainstream Canadian institutions, understand the rules, and are able to adapt them to their own goals and strategies, as evidence of some improvement. He also reminds the reader that while observed improvements in Native socio-economic conditions may seem to be slow, small incremental steps over a longer time frame can result in substantial improvements.

The author sees further improvements in the Native community tied to a relatively recent cohesiveness of Native leaders surrounding the quest for self-determination.

One chapter in the book is devoted to "Native Urbanization." He reveals some socio-demographic data and discusses the migration process and the difficulties many Natives have in adjusting to urban life. Emphasis is placed on the organizations that have been established to deal with urban Native problems. He divides these organizations into public service, accommodating service and member organization, and details the problems they encounter in assisting Native peoples. Special attention is given to the activities of accommodating organizations and the way in which they relate to public service organizations.

Fulham, Richard Scott. *Economic Strategies for Urban Indians.* Winnipeg: Urban Indian Association of Manitoba, October 1987.

This position paper was written for the Urban Indian Association of Manitoba. It identifies the need for a comprehensive economic strategy for urban Indians in Canada. A summary of recent economic policies and programs implemented in the United States is reviewed and the small business "incubator" concept is detailed and advanced as being "a practical economic strategy for the development of Indian entrepreneurship and job creation." The Association recommends the following three-component strategy:

■ Affirmative action federal government purchasing policy favouring Indian-owned businesses.

■ Management and technical assistance provided through the Department of Indian Affairs.

■ Revolving loan fund to finance business development activities.

Fulham, Stanley A. *In Search of a Future: A Submission on the Migration of Native People.* Winnipeg: Manitoba Métis Federation Press, 1976.

This publication was prepared and submitted to federal and provincial authorities in 1971. It outlines a comprehensive proposal designed to deal with problems encountered by Native people in migrating to urban centres in Manitoba. The author discusses the problem and develops action strategies in the following areas: information, counselling, sports and recreation, culture, education, housing, employment, and economic development. A comprehensive Native migration system that "employs and exploits resources of both the government and the people in a positive program of assistance" is proposed.

Although the proposal was originally supported by both the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, representing status Indians and the Manitoba Métis Federation, representing non-Status and Métis, the former organization withdrew its support soon after its submission. As a consequence, the Manitoba Métis Federation was left to lobby for implementation on its own.

A noteworthy observation made by the author is that "inadequate housing is probably the greatest deterrent to successful migration of Native people." Unfortunately, no empirical evidence was cited to support this claim. The author suggests that housing must be viewed as key to the migrant's social adaption but cannot be viewed in isolation of other factors.

The author notes that special types of housing for the poor may not be the answer, "for all that may be accomplished is to gather the poor together geographically where the only community interest they have in common is their poverty." He recommends the establishment of a new program of home financing that would provide: security of ownership; equity interest in the home; and the right to choose one's own home in the location of one's choice.

In the report's concluding statement the Manitoba Métis Federation suggests "that there is no lack of government resources or programs; but there is a serious lack of policy and coordination of planning and trust in participation by the people."

G

Gerber, Linda M. "Community Characteristics and Out-Migration from Canadian Indian Reserves: Path Analyses." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*. 21,2 (1984): 145-65.

This paper examines the effects of community characteristics upon levels of off-reserve residence among 516 Canadian Indian communities. The author uses multivariate path analysis to determine the relative importance of various factors on the incidence of off-reserve residence.

The data used in this study were obtained from a 1969 survey, carried out by the Department of Indian and Northern Development, of socio-economic conditions on all reserves across Canada. It is based on 516 out of 536 bands in nine Canadian provinces. (Newfoundland, Northwest Territories and Yukon were excluded from the official survey). This data source was also used by the author in her 1977 study for the Secretary of State cited below.

The author uses two causal models in her study. The first, a concise model, focuses on six factors (distance from major urban centres;

road access; institutional completeness; personal resources; male-female ratio; and fertility) by testing certain hypotheses to understand their effects on out-migration patterns. The second model elaborates on the first by adding five new variables (Prairie-other location; band size; linguistic acculturation; earned income; and quality of housing).

The analysis indicates that the first six variables exercise highly significant direct effects upon off-reserve residence while the remaining five are shown to have equally significant but indirect effects.

Major findings include:

■ Distance from major urban centres and institutional completeness inhibit migration.

■ Good road access promotes out-migration by encouraging personal resource development, but simultaneously reduces such movement by facilitating institutional completeness.

■ Personal resources development stimulates out-migration.

■ Fertility and off-reserve residence vary inversely.

The author suggests that the "Prairie-other location" variable distinguishes between bands that are likely to have communal orientation and those that might be expected to be more individualistic. It is found to be one of the most important indirect effects on out-migration. Lower levels of out-migration from "communal groups" are seen by the author as having an indirect effect through primary factors such as fertility, institutional completeness and decreased exposure to mainstream education and employment (i.e., personal resources).

Gerber, Linda M. *Trends in Out-Migration from Indian Communities Across Canada: A Report for the Task Force on Migrating Native Peoples.*

Ottawa: Department of the Secretary of State, March, 1977.

This report contains a comprehensive, quantitative analysis of Indian migration and the factors affecting rates of out-migration from Canadian Indian communities. Using data collected in 1969 from a survey of Indian bands conducted by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the author attempts to understand and predict migration rates by identifying the primary contributing factors. Factors shown to affect off-reserve residence levels include: general location (Prairie/non-Prairie), urban proximity, band size, road access, community development, personal resources, male-female ratio, fertility, language retention, income, and quality of housing.

Bands exhibiting low migration levels were found to be relatively large and located in the Prairie provinces, far from urban centres. In addition, they had higher fertility rates, higher language retention, low rates of off-reserve employment and higher rates of community development.

To understand the out-migration process further, the author classifies Indian communities into Inert, Pluralistic, Integrative and Municipal bands to reflect different levels of development of personal and group resources. This classification is used to highlight different levels of "adaption to modern living" and each has its own distinctive level of off-reserve residence.

This is a highly technical statistical study using various variance analysis with regression and path analysis techniques.

Gibbon, Roger and J.R. Ponting. "Historical Overview and Background." In J.R. Ponting, ed., *Arduous Journey: Canadian Indians and Decolonization.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986, pp. 18-56.

The book *Arduous Journey* is a collection of papers written by numerous contributors, all of whom have been deeply involved in Aboriginal issues. The book deals with the "decolonization" process and the current issues confronting Indians in the 1980s. Topics such as economic and community development, Aboriginal rights and claims, and Indian self-government are addressed.

The chapter by Gibbon and Ponting provides a concise primer to the evolution of the Indian Act and Indian Policy. Special attention is given to the Federal government's 1969 White Paper proposing the repeal of The Indian Act, and how this action contributed to the emergence of "An Indian Quiet Revolution" and the "quest for self-government and constitutional reform."

Graham, Katherine. *An Overview of Socio-Demographic Conditions of Registered Indians Residing Off-Reserve,* Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1987.

As suggested by the author, this report contains the most extensive compilation of statistical data ever published on the population of registered Indians living off reserve in Canada. The report examines the socio-demographic conditions of Indians living off reserve and compares them with Indians living on reserve, and with a "reference population" consisting of the total population less registered Indians.

This report is one in a series of fourteen research papers commissioned by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada and is designed to provide an overview of the social, demographic and economic conditions of registered Indians in Canada and the provinces. Information contained in the report was taken primarily from 1981 Census data. Registered Indians living off reserve are defined as "those registered Indians not living on-reserve or on-Crown land or those who have been off-reserve for 12 consecutive months for other than school or health reasons."

Some key findings include:

- The population of registered Indians living off-reserve has characteristics which place its overall condition between that of the reference population and that of the population of registered Indians living on-reserve. This pattern held in terms of family characteristics, education, employment and income.

- In reviewing findings for specific provinces, it seemed that Indians living off-reserve fared worst in the provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan. In contrast, the off-reserve Indian population in Quebec generally seemed to enjoy the highest standard of living.

- Specific cities in Manitoba and Saskatchewan emerged most often as having the poorest conditions associated with their registered Indian populations living off-reserve. This contrasted with the prominence of Montreal and especially Ottawa-Hull, which had relatively hospitable environments for their Indian residents.

- Seventy-seven percent of the Indian population living off reserve in 1981 lived in urban areas, particularly in those with populations of 100,000 or greater.

- The age distribution of the off-reserve Indian population in the three Prairie provinces indicated a relatively high level of persons under 25 years of age.

Unfortunately the report does not deal with the non-Status and Métis populations.

Grant, Gail. *The Concrete Reserve: Corporate Programs for Indians in the Urban Work Place*. Montreal: Institute for Research and Public Policy, 1983.

This book examines a sample of Native employment programs operating in the corporate sector. The author studies the programs offered by ten companies in Western Canada in order to demonstrate the types of organizational arrangements conducive to the realization of a successful Native-employment program. The study is descriptive in nature and attempts to identify characteristics of programs, their objectives and implementation strategies. The author also identifies emerging trends and changing attitudes relating to the employment of Native people.

The book is written primarily for corporate employees and managers concerned with the employment of Native people and interested in establishing a Native employment program. The author describes twenty-six steps a company may wish to consider when establishing such a program.

The book is both descriptive and facilitative but would be of interest to a limited readership.

Guillemin, Jeanne. *Urban Renegades: The Cultural Strategy of American Indians*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1975.

In this book, the author details her personal reflections on field work into the lives of the Micmac tribe in and surrounding the city of Boston from 1969 through 1971. She spent many weeks with Micmac people on-reserves and in the city in an attempt to understand and record their culture, system of urban tribal organization and how Indians relate to an industrial society. The author evaluates at length the fieldwork research method and the biases that researchers may bring to the study of "poorer classes" within society. She reveals that researchers may, in fact, learn as much about themselves as they do the subjects under study. The book is really about the differences between Native and non-Native societies, based on historical development and legal frameworks.

Despite these differences, the author notes that certain behaviour patterns are common to many minority groups, like Indians, and are derived "essentially from the same culture of poverty matrix as the behaviour of many Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans . . . —loosely

organized extended families, serial monogamy, the prevalence of unemployment, criminal records, high birth rates, lack of educational credentials, high rates of infant mortality and a briefer life-span than that enjoyed by the dominant population— . . . which are familiar and apparently universal characteristics of living in poverty."

This book provides an appreciation for cultural differences and their impact on the perceptions of researchers attempting to study cultures different from their own.

Gurstein, Michael. *Urbanization and Indian People: An Analytical Literature Review.* Ottawa: Development Planning Associates, 1977.

This report was prepared for the Research Division of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.

The author found research on Indian Migration in the Canadian context to be "limited in scope and design, spotty in application and only of limited use in program design." He points to numerous gaps in the research, including:

- research differentiating "transients," "migrants," and "residents";

- research on the social service delivery system including systematic evaluations;

- research into the urban experience of Indians in communities of different sizes.

Throughout his review of the literature, the author develops a number of charts and tables that summarize the views of different researchers. These tables tackle subjects such as:

- a continuum of urban migration (i.e., Transient—Migrant—Resident—Urban Settler);

- typologies of Indian migration (i.e., Types of reserves, types of households, motivational factors);

- the relocation process in the receiving community;

- the relocation process on the reserve;

- the service requirements by type of migrants.

Strategies for approaching the different phases of integration into urban life are discussed. The author concludes that "programs of assistance to urban migrants have been spotty and should be re-examined in the context of the most effective means for achieving successful integration of Indians into the urban community." He suggests that special approaches, reflecting the unique circumstances of Indians, will be required and that the most "successful programs of assistance to Indian transients and migrants have apparently been those managed and operated by the Indian people themselves."

H

Hagey, N.J., G. Larocque and C. McBride. *Highlights of Aboriginal Conditions 1981–2001. Part 1, Demographic Trends.* Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1989.

This report is the first of a three-part series intended to provide policy-makers with information on demographic, social and economic trends within the Aboriginal community from 1981 to 2001. It compares the demographic characteristics of the total status Indian population, Indians on-reserve, Indians off-reserve, Inuit and the total Aboriginal population to the Canadian population. In addition to providing actual and projected data related to the size and growth rates of Canada's Aboriginal populations and their age structure, it also examines the impact

of Bill C-31 on the registered Indian population.

The data used in this report are derived from the 1981 and 1986 Censuses and the 1981-86 Indian Register.

Key findings include:

■ Canada's Aboriginal populations are growing rapidly. The status Indian and Inuit populations have had, and will continue to have, higher growth rates than the general Canadian population. With the exception of non-status Indians, by 2001 Aboriginal groups will have increased their proportion of the Canadian population.

■ By 1991, 18% of all status Indians will be Bill C-31 registrants or the children thereof. This proportion is expected to decline to 17% in 2001.

■ While the status Indian population is and will remain younger than the general Canadian population, it is aging and will continue to do so through 2001. The population growth and aging patterns of the Inuit mirror those of status Indians.

Hagey, N.J., G. Larocque and C. McBride. *Highlights of Aboriginal Conditions 1981–2001. Part 2, Social Conditions.* Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1989.

This report is part two of a three-part series designed to provide policy-makers with analytical highlights on the principal trends in Canada's Aboriginal population from 1981-2001. It compares the social conditions of the total status Indian population, Indians on-reserve, Indians off-reserve, Inuit and the total Aboriginal population with the general Canadian population. Actual and projected data for health, family, social assistance and living conditions are provided. Major data sources include customized Census information (1981 and 1986), Statistics Canada projections (1989), statistics from Health and Welfare

Canada, and basic Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development data (1988).

Key findings include:

■ The health status of registered Indians has improved and continues to improve dramatically. However, life expectancy is considerably below the national average, indicating that Indians do not enjoy the same level of health as other Canadians.

■ The number of status Indian families and households is significantly increasing, particularly off-reserve, due to the impact of Bill C-31.

■ On average, Aboriginal families are larger than Canadian families. As well, the percentage of lone parents is significantly higher among Aboriginal families than among Canadian families.

■ While housing for Aboriginal people has improved, a higher proportion of status Indians and Inuit live in crowded dwellings and in dwellings without central heating systems than do non-Native Canadians.

■ More and more, Aboriginal families in general and status Indian families in particular are relying on social assistance payments. The increase in the proportion of Aboriginal people who rely on social assistance is much larger than in the Canadian population.

Hagey, N.J., G. Larocque and C. McBride. *Highlights of Aboriginal Conditions 1981–2001. Part 3, Economic Conditions.* Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1989.

This is the final report in a three-part series analyzing trends in the Aboriginal community. Prepared by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, it aims to provide policy-makers with background information on trends towards the year 2001. The report compares

the economic conditions of the total status Indian population, Indians on-reserve, Indians off-reserve, Inuit and the total Aboriginal population to the non-Indian population. Actual and projected data related to education, employment and income are provided. Major data sources include customized Census information (1981 and 1986), basic Department of Indian and Northern Affairs data (1988), and Statistics Canada population projections (1989).

Key findings include:

■ Aboriginal people, particularly status Indians, continue to be among the most economically disadvantaged groups within Canada.

■ The level of educational attainment among Aboriginal people is improving.   Fewer Indians are functionally illiterate, and the percentage who complete high school is rising.   More and more Indian children on reserve are attending band-operated schools, and Indian enrolment in post-secondary institutions is dramatically increasing.

■ A high proportion of the Aboriginal population, particularly Indians on reserve, does not participate in the labour force. Those who do are considerably more likely to be unemployed than other Canadians.

■ A large proportion of the Aboriginal population has a low level of income. Many report no income at all. Average Aboriginal incomes are slightly more than half those of other Canadians, and the disparity in average incomes between Aboriginal peoples and other Canadians appears to have increased from 1980 to 1985. More than half of all status Indian families earn under $20,000 per year.

■ Employment is the major source of income for only half of all status Indians, both on and off reserve, compared to 70% of all Canadians.

Hanson, Bill. *Dual Realities, Dual Strategies: The Future Paths of Aboriginal People's Development: A Programmer's Handbook.* Saskatoon: Bill Hanson, 1985.

The author of this document has spent many years developing practical approaches to understanding the relationship between Native and non-Native culture, and the impact of this relationship on programming.

The author suggests that programmers need to recognize that Indian/Native social-cultural groups are responding differently to the encroachment of modern society and its institutions. His concept of "dual realities–dual strategies" recognizes two "legitimate but contrasting ways of life." The first is a desire among some Indians/Native people to "build upon and modernize the holistic subsistence-oriented lifestyle of their recent ancestors." The second is the adoption of the modern industrial way of life by the more "change-oriented" individuals and groups.

Hanson suggests that because the majority of programs and policies were designed to facilitate the latter strategy, the Indian/Native communities have become increasingly alienated and confused.   Programs must acknowledge this difference and must give more recognition to the "socio-cultural orientation and aspirations of the more traditional minority within most Indian/Native communities."

The author applies his ideas in a number of programming areas, including: affirmative action programs, community development, economic development, education, housing, labour force, and leadership.

In applying his theory to housing, the author suggests that "current programs are appropriate only for those Indian/Native people within the change or industrial oriented reality. Those in the other [subsistence oriented] reality require housing programs which will respect the socio-cultural configuration of their neighbourhood

. . ." (i.e., dispersed settlement, extended family homes, indigenous materials and fuels, neighbourhood labour, etc.).

Programs and services directed toward the Indian/Native people "must provide them with the option to move towards the industrial society or revitalize and modernize their subsistence-oriented way of life."

Hawkes, David C., ed. *Aboriginal Peoples and Government Responsibility: Exploring Federal and Provincial Roles*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989.

This book contains eight chapters that define the federal and provincial governments' responsibilities towards Aboriginal peoples. They cover a range of fiscal, legal and Constitutional issues. Each of the chapters was a specially commissioned paper for a conference held at Carleton University on October 4–5, 1988. According to the editor, a number of major themes emerged from the papers and the conference.

These themes include:

■ The need to distinguish between the terms jurisdiction and responsibility when discussing the role of government in the lives of Aboriginal people.

■ The premise of the federal government's "jurisdiction over Aboriginal peoples" while both senior levels of government are presumed to have "responsibilities towards" them.

■ Recognition of the increasing role provincial governments play in the lives of Aboriginal people.

Although no specific reference is made to the complexity and uniqueness of the urban situation, the generality of the discussion is pertinent to understanding the underlying principles of jurisdictional responsibilities which

is one of the major issues effecting the lives of many Aboriginal people living in urban centres.

Hawthorn, H.B. ed. *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: A Report on the Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies*. Two Volumes. Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1966.

This report, known throughout the literature as the Hawthorn report, was prepared in response to a request by the Minister of the department of Citizenship and Immigration to study the "contemporary situation of the Indians of Canada with a view to understanding the difficulties they face in overcoming some pressing problems and their many ramifications."

The report documents the results of an extensive study undertaken by "more than forty scholars" over a two-and-a-half year term. Data sources included a "comprehensive Resources Questionnaire" sent out to all agencies, field reports on specific issues such as constitutional and legal matters, welfare and administrative considerations, educational and organizational issues, etc.

Part one of the report contains close to 400 pages of information on economic, social and jurisdictional issues, while part two deals with education and local governance.

Part one contains 91 recommendations on economic development, federal-provincial relations, welfare, and local government. Part two contains a further 60 recommendations related to education, health, and the operations of band councils.

The report contains a thorough review of the issues surrounding Indian Affairs in Canada. It is frequently cited in more contemporary publications.

The authors of this document promoted an affirmative action approach for assisting Indian people to gain access to the benefits of modern

society. This theme is exemplified in the following recommendation contained in the report:

> Indians should be regarded as 'citizens plus'; in addition to the normal rights and duties of citizenship, Indians possess certain additional rights as charter members of the Canadian community.

The Hawthorn report is also one of the first to recognize and address the issue of the rural-to-urban migration of Indians. The authors linked this trend to economic development by suggesting that the reserve system could no longer support the expanding population and migration to urban centres was an acceptable and inevitable economic development tool to alleviate this problem.

Holland, Peter. *Management Training Needs of Urban Native Housing Projects*. Ottawa: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1988.

The need for management training for senior staff and/or directors of urban Native housing corporations is explored in this study. The author attempts to measure a number of hypotheses using data collected through questionnaires administered to managers of fourteen urban Native housing corporations in six provinces across Canada. For comparative purposes, similar questionnaires were administered to fourteen regional CMHC staff knowledgeable about the Native corporations.

The author found overwhelming evidence to support his major hypothesis that the majority of urban Native housing corporations experience difficulties managing their portfolio within the first three years of operation. Despite these problems, however, none of these organization had failed.

Hull, Jeremy. *An Overview of the Educational Characteristics of Registered Indians in Canada.*

Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1987.

This study provides descriptive data concerning the education of registered Indians in Canada as well as an analysis of the relationship between educational attainment and other social and economic factors. It is a statistical report that uses 1981 Census data, INAC Nominal Roll and INAC's Continuing Education Information System to provide a general overview of Indian educational circumstances in Canada.

The study concludes by suggesting that, while the educational attainment of younger Indian adults has shown signs of improving, substantial differences persist between Indian and non-Indian segments of the population. Similar to the non-Indian population, the educational attainment in the Indian population is affected by the general social and economic conditions of families. However, unique differences such as isolated and economically dependent communities, language and cultural differences serve to compound problems for the Indian population.

The study analyzes data for a relatively short period of time (late 1970s to mid-1980s). This limits the author's ability to draw significant conclusions. As indicated in the Foreword section of the report, much of the data may not reflect current conditions as changes occurred between the assembling of data and the publication of the report.

Hull, Jeremy. *Native Women and Work.* Report 2. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1984.

This report picks up on earlier work completed by Stewart Clatworthy on the role of Native women in the Winnipeg labour market. It specifically identifies the preferences, attitudes and motivations of Native women regarding employment and related family situations.

The author reports on results from a special survey of 182 women living in Winnipeg and conducted during March of 1982.

The study found the following:

- Thousands of Natives in Winnipeg would like to work but were not then in the labour market.

- Lack of education, training, work experience, cost and availability of child care are all cited as major reasons for not actively looking for jobs.

- Because education and achievement is so closely related to socio-economic factors, Native women are "caught in a web of circumstances" beyond their control. These circumstances, however, can be overcome through training and employment programs.

The author suggests that Native women "need to gain organizational and political strength" and address the "basic economic causes of poverty."

Hull, Jeremy. *Natives in a Class Society.* Saskatoon: One Sky, 1983.

This book presents a broad analysis of the socio-economic situation of Native people. Although the author focuses on the situation of Native people in Regina, he believes his findings can be applied broadly to other Prairie urban centres. He draws upon interviews with Native leaders, an extensive literature review, and a small amount of statistical data to support his arguments.

The analysis begins with a thorough description of Indian history since the arrival of Europeans. Hull uses this history to help explain the situation being faced by many Natives in today's society. Early relationships developed between Native and non-Natives, and in particular the domination of White society over Indians, have persisted since colonization and play an important part in causing high rates of

unemployment, high rates of incarceration and low scholastic achievement. The author also deals with both structural and institutional racism. His findings are summarized in a concluding section where he makes recommendations for future government policies.

His recommendations call for action on a number of fronts but are united in that they promote the need for a greater understanding of the historical events which have led to the current conditions plaguing Native peoples, and the need for a more sensitive response from institutional structures. The author cautions that despite extensive government action, improvements will not take hold until the fundamental issues of unemployment in society are dealt with through a restructuring of the economy to provide full employment, more equitable incomes, and greater industrial democracy. His contention is that population growth in the Native community will inevitably outstrip society's ability to provide assistance through existing education, training and work programs.

I

Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada. *The Challenge of Assisting the Canadian Aboriginal People to Adjust to Urban Environments.* Report of the First Western Canada Indian-Métis Seminar. Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1962.

This is a report on the proceedings of the first conference devoted to the issue of problems encountered by Native people moving to Western Canadian cities. The conference was held at the University of Alberta over a three day period during the summer of 1962. Slightly more than 100 persons attended the conference from cities across Western Canada.

Discussion during the conference focused on the emerging role of Friendship Centres as primary contact and referral agencies. One interesting observation made during the

conference was the interrelationship between urban and reserve issues, primarily those related to the lack of economic development on reserves leading to migration to, urban centres. Another interesting aspect of the conference is the status reports given by persons from many of the major Western Canadian centres on the urban Native situation and on the actions being taken to address problems associated with the adjustment to urban living.

J

James, Becky M. *Something to Live For, Something to Reach For.* Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1989.

This is a photographic and autobiographical essay of Native high school students attending the Native Survival School (later changed to Joe Duquette High School) in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Through the use of photographs and short autobiographical accounts of the students' lives, it provides an overview of the positive effects a separate Native High School can have on helping Native teenagers and young adults "find themselves." By emphasizing Native tradition and culture, the school helps build confidence and pride in the students.

The book provides a forum for Native youth to speak out about their struggle to cope with and understand the differences between Native and non-Native societies. In many respects, these are reflected in the differences between traditional rural/remote and "modern" urban environments. Despite some difficulties, many of the students reveal a desire to help others and most see their future as being in the city.

Johnston, Frank. *Core Area Report: A Reassessment of Conditions in Inner City Winnipeg.* Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1979.

A single chapter in this document is devoted to a description of the numbers and needs of Native people living in Winnipeg's inner city. Numerical information is provided on the relative size and projected growth of the Native population in both Winnipeg and Manitoba. Migration patterns and causes are discussed. The living conditions, including health, social problems, child welfare, and crime are highlighted. Service groups are also identified.

Using primarily Health Services Commission files, the author found the following:

- The total Native population living in Winnipeg in 1979 is estimated to be between 24,000 (12,000 status and 12,000 non-status) and 42,000 (14,000 status and 28,000 non-status).

- The number of status Indians arriving in Winnipeg each year is estimated to be between 1,200 and 1,300.

Johnston suggests that the reasons for migration are a combination of push factors (i.e., high levels of unemployment on-reserves, poor housing, and an increasing reserve population faced with sharing a fixed supply of land) and pull factors (i.e., hope for employment, search for education, desire of younger Indians to demonstrate independence).

The report also suggests that for many migrants the move to the city is not a permanent one. Some migrants move between the reserve and the city without permanently settling in the city.

The report is descriptive in nature and makes no recommendations for future action or programs.

K

Kerri, James N. "Indians in a Canadian City: Analysis of Social Adaptive Strategies." *Urban Anthropology,* 5,2 (1976): 143-56.

This article presents an ethnographic analysis of the social adaptive strategies manifested by

Indian and Métis migrants to Winnipeg in their effort to cope with the social aspects of their urban environment. The author isolates the social sub-system by examining four categories of relationships and activities, namely: voluntary association, family, friends and leisure time activities. A comparative approach is applied to the "pre-urban" and urban characteristics of migrants.

The author collected data through the use of formal interviews administered to a randomly selected sample of 56 Indians and Métis households which had been continuous residents of the city for at least one year.

The author delineates three types of Indian and Métis migrants based on their potential for urban social adjustments, with type one having the most potential and type three having the least potential. In general, the higher the frequency of contacts, the greater the likelihood of "social adjustment."

Krotz, Larry. *Urban Indians: The Strangers in Canada's Cities*. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers Ltd., 1980.

The author of this book, a journalist, takes a comprehensive look into the issues surrounding the lives of Native people in the three Canadian cities of Edmonton, Regina and Winnipeg. The book starts with a look at migration from reserves to cities and the various push and pull factors that cause this migration (i.e., employment, education, socialization, health care, etc.). Interspersed throughout the text are autobiographical stories of Native people living in Western cities.

The author addresses issues such as housing, education, employment and law enforcement. He concludes by dividing urban Native people into two groups, the newly arrived migrants who have difficulty adjusting to urban life and the "better educated sophisticated persons" who have been in the city for some time and have succeeded in adjusting. Those in the second group have not necessarily been

assimilated, but in fact are beginning to "proudly identify themselves as Urban Indians."

With regards to housing issues, Krotz discusses the Neeginan urban Native village concept and the problems it encountered, from the extravagant spending on planning and architectural drawings to the frustration of not finding the necessary government support to implement the project. Krotz concludes his analysis of housing issues by identifying four major housing needs for urban Native people:

- Cities in general need better quality low-income housing.

- Cities need orientation facilities for new immigrants.

- Cities need emergency short-term housing for transient people.

- Cities need housing that acknowledges the cultural fact that large families and extended families will want to live together.

The author uses information gained primarily through interviews to detail the many factors that have converged to create the "Indian problem." The lack of understanding between Native and non-Native cultures is emphasized as a major factor in preventing Natives from adapting to urban life.

L

Linklater, Clive. *Native Migration: Phase Two.* Ottawa: Department of the Secretary of State, October, 1972.

This is a report on the migration and urbanization of Native peoples in Edmonton. It is based on data gathered through a survey of 391 Native households. Respondents were isolated using a "snowball sampling" technique combined with enumerator lists. The survey was completed by the Indian Association of Alberta in 1970. This report is the second of

two reports based on data collected through this survey.

Although the findings of this study are dated, they could be used as a comparison for researchers to uncover historical trends in the urbanization process.

Lipman, Marvin and Clare Brandt. *Urban Native Housing in Canada.* Research and Working Papers 19. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1986.

This report contains two papers on Urban Native Housing delivered by the authors at the "Canadian Urban Studies Conference" hosted by the Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg in August 1985. The first paper, prepared by Marvin Lipman, provides a historical review of Urban Native Housing activities in Canada. The author reviews activity beginning in the early 1970s to the mid-1980s. He provides a descriptive account of progress, decision points and problems with the development of a separate governmental program stream for Urban Native housing.

The second paper, prepared by Clare Brandt, provides a brief description of the development of Wigwamen—a Native non-profit housing corporation in Toronto. The author highlights the special needs of the Urban Native population, particularly that participation and a sensitive approach to property management are keys to helping Natives adapt to an urban environment.

Lithman, Y.G. *The Community Apart: A Case Study of a Canadian Indian Reserve Community.* Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1984.

This book, written by an academic from the University of Stockholm, attempts to analyze and understand reserve life by asking basic questions such as why Indians live on-reserves, how resources (provisions) are allocated and what will happen to reserve life in the future.

The author focuses his attention on one Indian reserve in Manitoba. He derives the bulk of his information from fieldwork on that reserve between 1971 and 1974. This fieldwork included working in the band office as a special advisor to the Chief and Council.

The author provides interesting insight into the relationship between Natives and non-Natives. He concludes by arguing that the "maintenance, permanency and increased significance for the Indians of the reserve community . . . is not likely to change in the foreseeable future."

Little Bear, L., M. Boldt and J.A. Long, eds. *Pathways to Self Determination: Canadian Indians and the Canadian State.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.

This anthology of papers by Native North Americans and academics explores the problems and prospects for Indian self-government in Canada.

Although urban issues are not specifically addressed, insight into the different perspectives of the self-government issue has the potential of impacting significantly on the lives of urban Aboriginal people. Most of the contributors are Indian leaders from across the country. The Indian perspective of the relationship between Natives and non-Natives as well as the central precepts that underpin their conception of sovereignty and nationhood, such as self-government, autonomous institutions and a territorial land base/resource base are discussed. Sections in the book deal with cultural and ideological foundations, indigenous self-determination movements in other countries, and existing Indian governments; constraints and requirements for self-government are also included.

Of particular interest is the introduction section that, in a concise manner, provides an overview of the various positions, important actors and the ongoing debate.

Lockhart, A. and D. McCaskill. "Toward an Integrated, Community Based Partnership Model of Native Development and Training." *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 6,1 (1986).

In this paper, the authors examine why, after a decade of experience in helping facilitate community-based Native economic development, significant achievements remain elusive. They assert that, based on their own experiences, a "great deal of unique pre-developmental background research and training is required before economic development initiatives are likely to achieve their goals."

According to the authors, existing academic development and training programs have not recognized the differences between Native and mainstream developmental needs and wants. Native trainees are, in many instances, unable to integrate their newly acquired knowledge, which is usually based on assimilation or isolation ideals, with their own cultural traditions. The authors note that in response, Native organizations have set up their own separate training facilities where cultural factors are included with "imported technical training." They caution that this produces a ghetto effect. The authors call for the adoption of a new model emphasizing "partnership" in Native research and curriculum. In this manner, they feel a balance would be created between approaches. A proposal that reflects their "partnership" idea is attached to the paper.

M

Maidman, F. *Native People in Urban Settings: Problems, Needs and Services.* A Report of the Ontario Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting. Toronto: Government of Ontario, 1981.

This is the first public report of the Ontario Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting. It is a compilation of essentially descriptive research undertaken by a joint government/Native task force whose ultimate

goal is to improve the quality of life for all urban Native people through self-identified social, economic and political change.

The report presents the results of five separate research projects conducted by the task force including a literature review, Native agency staff study, a study of Native people in the community, resource assessment and demography. It draws together the findings contained in each of these projects and condenses them into seven sections: numbers and distribution of Native People in the urban setting; problems and resource needs; government responses to needs; available resources; effectiveness of programs; ideas for change; and goals for change.

In condensing the results of this work, Maidman found that Native people were "looking toward less band-aid or symptom-removal interventions to more preventative work and fundamental social change to open up equal opportunities for education, employment and housing."

This study reports on one of the few thorough research projects undertaken to analyze the issues and problems of urban Natives in a particular urban setting. Many aspects of its approach may prove to be suitable for other provinces should they decide to address the issue in a comprehensive manner.

Manitoba. Department of Northern and Native Affairs. *Developing an Indian and Métis Urban Native Strategy for Manitoba.* Winnipeg: Resource Initiatives Limited, June 1989.

This report summarizes the Manitoba government's attempt to develop a "Native Urban Strategy," or plan of action to address numerous concerns expressed by urban Native people.

The report describes a facilitative process of involving as many stakeholders as possible in the development of an outline to be followed in preparing a Native Urban Strategy. Subsequent

to initial meetings with various Indian and Métis organizations, government departments and the private sector, the provincial government organized a workshop whereby all actors involved in urban Native issues could participate in structuring the process to be used in developing a Native Urban Strategy. Seven major areas of concern were identified and discussed: culture and leadership; family services; education and training; economic development and employment; housing; sports and recreation; and medical services.

The workshop resulted in a recommendation to continue the process by establishing an Indian and Métis Urban Strategy Development Board, assembling an inventory of services currently available to Indian and Métis people in urban centres, identifying objectives and needed programming relative to those already provided, and preparing a "strategy" document by July 31, 1990. *(Unfortunately, this document has not been prepared)*.

During the early stages of preparing this report, a conscious decision was made to change the name from "Native Urban Strategy" to "Indian and Métis Urban Strategy." This change reflected "the fact there are two distinct groups of people, the Indians and Métis, each of which have their own culture, traditions and customs, languages and constitutional relationships with governments."

Manitoba Bureau of Statistics. *Manitoba Aboriginal Persons: A Statistical Profile.* Winnipeg: Manitoba Bureau of Statistics, May 1989.

Based on the 1986 Census of Canada, this report provides basic statistical information on the Native population living in Manitoba. The data were derived primarily from the ethnic origin question on the 2B Census form that encompassed a 20% sample of the population. In non-urbanized areas of Northern Manitoba, the 2B form enumerated most householders.

Data are provided for a wide range of social characteristics. Some findings include:

- 5.4% of Manitoba's population has Aboriginal origins.

- 37.7% of Aboriginal peoples live in Winnipeg and 45.7% live in Northern Manitoba.

Additional statistical information is available on education, income labour force participation and language.

McArthur, Doug. "The New Aboriginal Economic Development Institutions." In Paul Kariya, ed., *Native Socio-Economic Development in Canada: Change, Promise and Innovations.* Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1989, pp. 33-46.

This study is published in the second of two volumes containing papers delivered to the Canadian Association of Geographers Conference, held in Halifax in June 1988.

The author reviews "orthodox" economic development strategies including labour market strategies and business development strategies, both of which assume that Aboriginal people should accept the basic economic and social relations currently prevailing and work as individuals to better their conditions within such a framework. Government programs have largely been designed to facilitate this process. The author argues that despite years of effort and considerable expense, these approaches have largely failed to achieve any substantial improvement in the socio-economic conditions of Aboriginal people.

The author describes new techniques being employed in Saskatchewan that challenge orthodox economic development strategies. He looks to a similarity between "Dependency Theory" and current thinking within the Aboriginal community reflected by the Native Economic Development Corporation of Saskatchewan. The author describes

dependency theory as one which rejects both modernization theories and their emphasis on the shortcomings of underdeveloped populations and the notion that underdeveloped societies are in a transition from underdeveloped to developed. Rather, dependency theory maintains that underdevelopment is a direct result of development and can only be understood by examining the direct relationship between developed and underdeveloped economies particularly the relation to the accumulation of capital in developed economies and restrictions placed on access to capital in underdeveloped economies.

The author suggests that new Aboriginal institutions are beginning to address underdevelopment by using key elements designed to break dependencies. As an example, he cites the following objectives of the Saskatchewan Native Economic Development Corporation: terminalization of development decision; capturing of surpluses; the accumulation of capital under Aboriginal control; import substitution; investment in infrastructure; the accommodation of both traditional and modern activities; and investment in human potential and resources. In order for this strategy to work, state institutions need to change while Aboriginal populations need to develop more independence.

McCaskill, Don N. "Migration, Adjustment and Integration of the Indians into the Urban Environment." M.A. Thesis, Carleton University, 1970.

This thesis presents an analysis of the migration adjustment and integration of the Canadian Indian and Métis into the urban setting. The author uses data gathered from personal interviews with 71 Winnipeg households of Indian or Métis background. The respondents were not selected from a random sample. Rather, because of difficulties in generating a comprehensive list, the author focused on

identifying people from two electorial districts in the city.

The first part of the study provides a detailed review of literature on the general issue of rural-to-urban migration. The second and third sections review the "adjustment" and "integration" processes. Issues such as the role of returning to the reserve, ethnic identity and community organization in the urban environment are discussed.

This study presents a vast amount of data, and has become one of the major reference documents for other researchers looking into Native migration issues.

McCaskill, Don N. "The Urbanization of Indians in Winnipeg, Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver: A Comparative Analysis." *Culture*, 1,1 (1981): 82-89.

This paper compares selected aspects of the migration, adjustment and integration of Indians in four Canadian cities: Winnipeg, Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver. The data were gathered from independent surveys conducted in each of the four urban centres with the purpose of providing a more complete picture of Indian urbanization in Canada. Issues such as motivational determinants of migration (i.e., economic gain primarily through employment and education were the most frequently cited motivational factors), socio-demographic characteristics, length of residence, employment, income and interaction with Native and other institutions are examined.

While a number of interesting differences were identified between Natives living in the four centres, at a general level the situations were quite similar. The author concludes by suggesting that Indians in large Canadian cities exhibit low levels of adjustment. High unemployment rates, low incomes and heavy reliance on social assistance cause economic instability. The author also asserts that because migrants "do not commit themselves to an urban lifestyle," their adjustment process

is different from that experienced by other ethnic groups.

McGahan, Peter. *Urban Sociology in Canada, Second Edition*. Toronto: Butterworths, 1986, pp. 93-103.

The Native urbanization process is addressed within a chapter in this book on "Canadian Internal Migration." The book reviews and interprets the conclusions of other researchers. He deals with basic demographic data on urbanization, reasons for migrating, conditions of life in urban centres, patterns of urban adjustment, Indian-White relationships, and the formation of Indian ethnic institutions.

McMillan, Alan D. *Native Peoples and Cultures of Canada: An Anthropological Overview*. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntrye, 1988.

This book provides a broad historical anthropological perspective of Native Canadian life from earliest prehistory to modern times. Although urbanization issues are only briefly described, the book is important for understanding Aboriginal history, including cultural and tribal affiliation. Various chapters divide Native peoples by region and ethnographic groups. Chapters on "The Plains" Indians and "The Métis" are particularly relevant to fully understanding Prairie Aboriginal urbanization issues and trends.

The book is largely descriptive and stems from the author's own research as preparation for teaching an anthropology course at Douglas College on Canadian Native cultures.

Meadous, Mary Lea, "Adaption to Urban Life by Native Canadian Women." M.A. Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Calgary, June 1981.

This study examines the different roles played by Native women living within an urban environment, including: wife, mother, friend and relative. In-depth interviews were conducted with 30 Native women living in Calgary. A "snowball" sampling technique was used to identify respondents.

The survey findings indicate the dominance of the mother role, with the wife role being less important. Coping strategies used to deal with conflict and/or strain, such as role eliminator, are reviewed. Comparisons with previous studies are also included.

Morinis, E. Alan. "Skid Row Indians and the Politics of Self." *Culture*, 2,3 (1982): 93-105.

In this study, the author suggests that the underlying theme of Indian life on Skid Row is at least partially attributable to an attempt by Indians to make a political statement through defiance.

The study makes use of a survey of Vancouver's Skid Row Indian population completed during the summer of 1981. This survey attempted to assess the incidence of health problems, patterns of utilization and levels of satisfaction with available health care facilities. In-depth interviews were conducted with a total of 94 Skid Row Indians. As well, questionnaires were distributed and 50 responses were received from health care professionals.

The use of survey data, however, seemed secondary to the author's own theoretical assertions that existing social theories on Skid Row residents fail to explain fully the Indian on Skid Row. The author draws a connection between life on Skid Row and life on reserves and notes their similarities. Unlike other Skid Row populations, Morinis sees the move from reserves as a shift "sideways" as opposed to a fall from mainstream society.

The author suggests that the problems of Indian people on Skid Row are less the unfortunate symptom of a depressed people than they are acts of defiance, rejection and opposition to non-Indian society.

This theory supports his claim that existing social/welfare/employment/medical systems have failed because they are founded on incorrect assumptions that emphasize cures for individual problems. He notes that Indians have not co-operated because to give up their problems is to give up their protest. The author goes on to suggest that the root cause of their protest (i.e., the oppressive relationship between Indian and non-Indian societies) must be addressed before any substantial improvements can occur.

N

Nagler, M. *Indians in the City: A Study of the Urbanization of Indians in Toronto*. Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, St. Paul University, 1970.

This book represents one of the earliest attempts to conduct a comprehensive study, from a sociological perspective, on the effects of urbanization on Indians in Canada. It is one of the first of a small group of studies that are most often tested, quoted and referenced by more recent authors conducting research into the urbanization process.

The author's findings are based on his own observations and review of available research, supplemented by interviews with 150 Indians. The research was conducted primarily in Toronto, with additional information collected from interviews and observations in Ottawa, Brantford, Kenora, Montreal and Quebec City.

The author was one of the first to describe the difficulty in defining the number of Indians living in Canadian cities and the under-estimation of numbers plaguing Census data. However flawed, the author does use the Census data to demonstrate that between 1951 and 1961, the urban Indian population increased by 50%.

In the body of the study, the author uses information gained from his interviews to describe such topics as motives for migration, cultural attributes, education and employment characteristics, and patterns of social adjustment.

In order to better understand the urbanization process, he divides the urban Indian population into three groupings: "white collar," "blue collar" and "transients."

The study pays special attention to the cultural and historical differences between Indians and other minority groups attempting to adapt and enhance their positions within the urban environment. One interesting assertion in this regard is that because of their diversity, Indians do not possess a common cultural base. Therefore, as a distinguishable group, their basic interrelationship has to evolve from other elements. Once a common identity emerges, the author believes that the required leadership will form and direct Indians as a cohesive group toward the attainment of desired results.

O

Obomsawin, Alanis, Director. *No Address*. National Film Board of Canada. 1988. Videocassette. Order Number C 0188 057.

This video focuses on young Native people who migrate to Montreal in search of a better life but find themselves caught between traditional and modern societies. The film explores why young people leave their home communities and how a genuine lack of understanding of urban life soon translates into unfulfilled expectations and a sense of alienation. In addition, it examines the problems and contradictions in the established welfare system.

The work of three innovative organizations attempting to break the cycle of despair is also highlighted.

P

Peters, Evelyn. "Indians in Regina and Saskatoon, 1982: Some Strategies of Household Organization." Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Geography, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 1987.

This Thesis explores the implications of urbanization on household organization for Indians living in Prairie cities. Data pertaining to the situation of Indians living in Regina and Saskatoon is used in a case study approach to analyzing the issue. Structural constraints such as unemployment, welfare, housing and migration patterns are analyzed to understand how Indian households have organized in response to the pressures of urbanization.

Data from two surveys conducted in 1982 by the Institute of Urban Studies in both Saskatoon and Regina is used to provide statistical support for the research. These surveys utilized a random stratified sampling technique and involved interview contact with more than 22,000 households in both communities. Selected households from all areas of both communities were contacted. 407 surveys were completed with Indian households in Regina and 294 in Saskatoon.

The author challenges the findings and assumptions made by many previous researchers that suggested urban Indians live disorganized lives that reflect "individual and community break-down in response to general contact with White society or in response to the move to the city in particular." The author believes that strategies for coping with the conditions Indians face in the city reflect "Indian cultural interpretations . . . goals and values."

The author finds evidence of family and kin networks being mobilized to cope with unemployment and poverty. This "demonstrates substantial capacity among Indian people for adaption." As a result, "emphasis of government intervention should be on programs which create jobs rather than

programs which attempt to facilitate Indian adjustment" to urban life.

Peters, Evelyn. "Native Women's Adaptive Strategies in Urban Milieux." Unpublished Paper, Queen's University, 1992.

In this paper, the author develops an argument which suggests that ignoring the situation and role of Indian women in the urban Indian community works against developing a full understanding of the community's structure and dynamics. The author supports her arguments through the use of a data base collected by the Institute of Urban Studies in 1982. The data base provided statistical information on urban Indian households in Regina and Saskatoon. The author identifies a gender imbalance, with Indian women being over-represented in urban areas while Indian men are more likely to be found on reserves. One key finding of this study identifies a large number of mother-led families in the migrating population. The author suggests that Indian men and women have very different objectives in moving to the city. Finding employment and education was cited most often by Indian men while Indian women most often cited problems on the reserve, such as lack of housing and lack of opportunities, as primary reasons for moving. Pull factors seemed more important to Indian men while push factors seem to be key for Indian women.

The author also identified gender differences in income and employment opportunities. Caution was expressed about the conclusions of other researchers who have noted that there is a lack of formal Native institutions to serve Indians in urban areas. The author suggests that assistance methods in the urban Indian community are based on extended and multiple family structures, and that researchers should focus their attention in this direction to understand Indian adaptive strategies in urban centres.

Peters, Evelyn. "Self-Government for Aboriginal People in Urban Areas: A Literature

Review and Suggestions for Research." Unpublished Paper, Queen's University, 1992.

This paper summarizes recent proposals on Aboriginal self-government in urban centres and identifies areas of research necessary to support the evaluation of alternative approaches.

A review of the effectiveness of service organizations, both general and Aboriginal, is provided as an introduction. Three models of urban Aboriginal self-government are identified and discussed, including: self-governing urban Aboriginal institutions; citizenship models; and governing over traditional territories.

The author suggests that much more research work in the area is required and detailed information describing the various Aboriginal populations is essential for implementing self-government arrangements.

Price, John A. *Native Studies: American and Canadian Indians.* Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1978.

Chapters 9 through 13 of this book deal with the urbanization of Native people in the North American context. The first chapter is on the relationship between rural and urban communities, and shows that distance of an Indian reservation from an urban centre has a major impact on the reservation and its people. The second chapter discusses the migration and adaptation process using Los Angeles, which has the largest population of Indians, as a case study. Attention is given to differentiating between "adaptation," "acculturation" and "adjustment" processes. Indians find security "against the impersonality of the city in social enclaves" and Indian associations. The vital role of Indian institutions and voluntary associations are discussed and emphasized in the third and fourth chapters. The role and proliferation of Native periodicals are discussed in the fifth chapter.

The similarities and differences between the experiences of Native peoples in the United States and Canada is a recurring theme throughout the book. This work is designed as an introduction to Native issues.

The chapter dealing with Indian ethnic institutions is largely based on an article by the same author published two years earlier in the journal *Ethnic Groups*.

R

Reeves, W. and J. Frideres. "Government Policy and Indian Urbanization: The Alberta Case." *Canadian Public Policy*, 7,4 (1981): 584-95.

This paper analyses the effectiveness of urban organizations in assisting Natives in the transition and adaptation from rural to urban environments. Four types of organizations, and their policies, that deal with Natives migrating to urban centres are identified: public, acculturation, accommodating and member.

The author introduces the subject by discussing the roles and responsibilities of the federal government, the provincial government and Native organizations in the rural to urban transition process.

Information is derived from 100 interviews with "key informants" representing a variety of departments, agencies and programs in Alberta. Areas investigated include: housing, justice, economics, health and welfare, community and Native organizations, education and manpower.

Each of the four organization types is assessed in terms of how it handles the unique problems posed by Natives by delineating attributes such as organizational effectiveness, value representation, membership recruitment, extent of services, ethnic composition of staff and ability to place clients. The authors suggest that public and acculturating service organizations have solved their "legitimacy" problem by promoting the policies of

accommodating service organizations, while accommodating service organizations fail to help the client adjust to urban life because of their marginal legitimacy, temporary existence and lack of expertise.

The discussion presented by the authors demonstrates the need to deal with jurisdictional issues between the federal and provincial governments and the need to examine closely the effectiveness of support programs dealing with Natives.

Report on Urban Native Economic Development. Regina: Mayor's Task Force on Indian and Métis Initiatives, 1984.

This report was assembled by a special Task Force established by the Mayor of Regina. It emphasizes the need for more co-ordination of existing urban Native economic development measures. The Task Force suggests that the City should play a leading role in facilitating a process whereby all parties to an urban Native Economic Development Program are brought into a co-ordinated planning relationship to avoid costly duplication. The report recommends the creation of an Urban Native Economic Planning Co-ordination Unit to develop and implement an Urban Native Economic Development Program and Action Plan.

Ryan, J. *Wall of Words: The Betrayal of the Urban Indian*. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Ltd., 1978.

In this book, the author describes the events leading up to the May 1976 suicide of Nelson Small Legs, Jr. A detailed account is provided of the emergence of the Calgary Urban Treaty Indian Alliance (CUTIA) and its struggle to establish counselling and direct settlement assistance for Indians migrating to the city. The services were to be provided by people who spoke local Indian languages, understood the problems and were willing to help find solutions.

The book describes the confrontations encountered by the proponents of CUTIA and the tactics of civil disobedience used to fight an unresponsive establishment. Nelson Small Legs, Jr. was one of the active proponents of CUTIA. In one of his suicide notes, he states that "for 100 years Indians have suffered. Must they suffer another 100 years? My suicide should open the eyes of non-Indians into how much we've suffered."

The book provides a vivid account of a tragedy caused by years of frustration and neglect. It is one of a number of books that warn the establishment of the possible use of violence on the part of Natives in seeking solutions to poverty and powerlessness.

S

Sanderson, Gordon. "Canada's First All-Native Housing Co-op." *Habitat*, 27,4 (1984).

This article, written by a reporter for the *London Free Press*, describes the planning and development process used by Canada's First all-Native housing co-op to produce affordable shelter for urban Natives. The co-op purchased and renovated 17 residential properties scattered within a twenty-block area of southern London, Ontario. The group was able to combine assistance from the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP) with interest write-down assistance available through the 56.1 Non-Profit Housing Program to ensure the project's viability.

Saskatchewan. Indian and Native Affairs Secretariat. *Indian and Native Economic Development in Saskatchewan*. Regina: The Secretariat, November 1984.

This paper focuses on the issues surrounding the economic development of Saskatchewan's citizens of Indian ancestry. Subsequent to providing a thorough background description, its authors explore the viability of three strategic options available to the provincial

government. These options include: maintaining the *status quo* (i.e., relying on a generally unco-ordinated approach to Native economic development); withdrawing provincial involvement in the issue and thereby clarifying the jurisdictional questions with the federal government; or taking a proactive stance and assuming the lead in co-ordinating initiatives. The third option is recommended by the authors, who also propose a number of program initiatives and describe institutional responsibilities.

The situation of urban Natives is singled out in the report for specific programmatic attention.

Background information for this report is contained in *Strategies for Métis and Non-Status Indian Economic Development in Saskatchewan,* prepared for the Province of Saskatchewan by the management consulting firm of Thorne, Stevenson & Kellogg in March 1984.

Saskatchewan Senior Citizens' Provincial Council. *A Study of the Unmet Needs of Off-Reserve Indian and Métis Elderly in Saskatchewan.* Regina: Senior Citizens' Provincial Council, June 1988.

This study, founded by the Province of Saskatchewan, was designed to explore and document the unmet needs and concerns of Indians and Métis elderly (50+ years of age) living in off-reserve settings.

A "face-to-face" survey approach was adopted and the province was divided into Northern and Southern regions. A "non-random" sampling technique was chosen by the researchers because of the anticipated difficulty in generating a supportable universal list of the study population. Other than saying "all Native elderly people" were to be interviewed, it is unclear from the document how respondents were selected.

In the Southern communities of Regina, Saskatoon, Prince Albert, North Battleford and

Fort Qu'Appelle, 412 surveys were completed. Interviews were also conducted with 64 respondents in eleven communities throughout Northern Saskatchewan.

The authors document their findings under the headings of education, language, employment, economic characteristics, housing, migration, health and transportation.

Although the authors provide a thorough review of the social-economic characteristics of the elderly population surveyed, the specifics of "unmet needs" are not explicitly identified.

Saskatoon, Task Force on Housing for Native People in Saskatoon. *Report of the Task Force on Housing for Native People in Saskatoon.* Saskatoon: City of Saskatoon, 1979.

The membership of the Task Force represented major Native organizations in Saskatoon, agencies involved with housing or related services for Natives and interested citizens. The report was presented to the Chair of the City's Community Liaison Committee.

The objectives of the Task Force's work were to investigate the need for low-income housing and related services for Native people in Saskatoon, compile information on housing programs and make recommendations.

The Task Force concluded that housing issues cannot be separated from other social and economic issues facing Native people in urban areas. They also found "a lack of coordination and focus in the overall delivery of services and programs for Indian, Métis and non-status people in urban areas."

They observed that "Native people moving into Saskatoon are not homogeneous," rather there are "hundreds of variations" of household types and backgrounds. They suggested that "no single program or project can be developed to help all their various needs."

With regard to housing, the Task Force recommended the provision of "low density, single family dwellings predominantly with some duplexes" scattered throughout the city.

Shah, C.P. and C.S. Farkas. "The Health of Indians in Canadian Cities: A Challenge to the Health Care System" *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 133 (November 1, 1985): 859-63.

This is a review of the available literature on the health care needs of Native people living in Canadian cities. The authors review available data on the use of health care services, health problems, and socio-cultural barriers affecting the interface with established health care institutions.

The study concludes by identifying a need to sort out jurisdictional issues that cloud governmental health care responsibility. Further study of the health care problems, needs and barriers of Natives in cities is recommended. The authors also suggest more attention be paid to encouraging direct Native involvement in the varying health care institutions such as medical schools, hospitals and special government programs in order to provide culturally sensitive services and policies.

Shorten, Lynda. *Without Reserve: Stories from Urban Natives*. Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1991.

This book is composed of eleven autobiographical stories told by Natives who are living or have lived in the urban community of Edmonton, Alberta. The accounts were assembled and recorded by the author, a lawyer/journalist born and raised in Alberta, and are written, as much as possible, using the words of the people she interviewed. The book provides a voice for a group of individuals within urban society, many of whom are struggling to find their Native roots. It offers the reader vivid descriptions and insights into the difficult and turbulent lives of Natives living in urban centres and reminds the reader to respect the diversity of needs and desires among Native peoples.

Siggner, Andrew J. "The Aboriginal Socio-economic Situation: A Rural-Urban Comparison." In Roy D. Bollman, ed. *Rural and Small Town Canada*. Thompson Educational Publishing Inc. 1992, pp. 369-81.

This is a short paper contained in a book which examines the economic and social reality of rural and small town Canada. The paper written by Siggner collates 1986 demographic, social and economic Census data to describe the rural and urban situation of Aboriginal people.

Some key findings include:

- While the reported total Aboriginal population in Canada increased from 490,000 in 1981 to 711,720 in 1986, part of this increase is attributable to a change in the wording of the ethnic origin question contained in the Census.

- In 1986, 31% of the Aboriginal population lived in large urban areas of 100,000 population and over. This compares with 54% in the non-Aboriginal population.

The paper deals with a variety of other social and demographic characteristics including mobility, education, employment and income.

The author concludes that Aboriginal peoples still lag behind the non-Aboriginal population and that this gap is more pronounced on rural Indian reserves and other rural areas of Canada compared with urban areas.

Siggner, Andrew J. "The Socio-Demographic Conditions of Registered Indians." In J.R. Ponting, ed., *Arduous Journey: Canadian Indians and Decolonization.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986, pp. 57-83.

This book is a collection of papers written by numerous contributors, all of whom have been deeply involved in Aboriginal issues. The book deals with the "decolonization" process and the current issues confronting Indians in the 1980s. Topics such as economic and community development, Aboriginal rights and claims, and Indian self-government are addressed.

This paper reveals the social, demographic and economic changes being experienced by Canada's Indian population. The author observes that the population of status Indians living off-reserve has increased from approximately 16% in 1966 to approximately 30% in 1981, an increase that has a significant impact on the development of policy. He moves on to highlight other important trends, and notes that because of an expected influx of young adults entering the labour force age group and the family formation stage, issues such as housing, employment and economic development will continue to be major problems facing policy-makers.

The author also makes an interesting observation concerning the urban Native situation, as he identifies the beginnings of a "small-scale" de-urbanization trend with migration back to reserves and settlements occurring.

An abridged version of this paper appears in the Winter 1986 issue of *Canadian Social Trends* published by Statistics Canada.

Simon, J.L., R.R. Forster, T. Alcose, E.A. Brabec and F. Ndubisi. *A Culturally Sensitive Approach to Planning and Design with Native Canadians*. Ottawa: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1984.

This study is concerned with developing a new approach to community planning and design, one that is in harmony with the Native way of life. Its four authors, who represent the disciplines of architecture, landscape architecture and ecology, use the Ojibwa peoples of Northwest Ontario as a basis for

their study and test their assumptions on a specific initiative known as the Burwash Native Peoples Project. They propose the establishment of a new planning model, which they term as "responsive planning". This model is based on a foundation of knowledge derived after first developing an understanding of culture and its impact on the built environment, then critiquing the Euro-American approach as it has been imposed onto America Indian society, and finally identifying the fundamental principles that underpin the concept of unity held by the Ojibwa peoples of Northern Ontario and Manitoba. The authors discuss factors such as a preference for a dispersed pattern of settlement and the basic precepts of sharing, family and leadership, that differ from Euro-American visions of community.

The "Responsive Planning Approach" suggested by the authors has two fundamental characteristics:

- It is initiated by the local client group, not by an outside agency.

- It produces minimal incremental plans, not comprehensive or master plans.

The authors describe the "responsive planner" as a facilitator who learns and adapts rather than a director who imposes foreign ways. Responsive planning is a continuous process and is detached from a product.

Social Planning Council of Winnipeg. *SPeCifics Newsletter, Urban Aboriginal Perspectives*, 2,4 (May 1991).

This special issue of the Social Planning Council's newsletter focuses on some urban Aboriginal issues as seen through the eyes of Aboriginal people. Articles contained in the newsletter highlight issues such as the search for justice by Aboriginal peoples through achieving rights to self-determination, a system of education which reflects Aboriginal values, heritage and culture, stereotypes and media misconceptions, culture and spirituality,

sensitive health care, Aboriginal women's issues and the challenge for Native youth.

The range of articles in the newsletter reminds the reader of the broad spectrum of issues encountered by Aboriginal peoples in the urban environment, while at the same time highlighting the diversity in the urban Aboriginal community itself. Threaded throughout the articles are references to the unique heritage and culture of Aboriginal peoples which must be reflected in any attempts to address issues.

Social Planning Council of Winnipeg. *Winnipeg Census Data. Insights and Trends: Aboriginals*. Information kit. Winnipeg: 1989.

In this paper, the Social Planning Council uses results from the 1986 Census to highlight the socio-demographic and economic characteristics of Natives living in Winnipeg. A comparison is provided between inner-city and non-inner city areas.

Key findings include:

- The Native population of Winnipeg increased from about 16,000 (2.9% of Winnipeg's population) to over 27,000 (4.7% of Winnipeg's population) between 1981 and 1986. The authors caution however, that changes to the "ethnic origin" question may have caused some of this increase.

- The Native population is much younger than the non-Native population.

- Native households are much larger than non-Native households (3.1 persons per Native household compared with 2.5 persons per non-Native household).

- There are more than three times the proportion of single parents among Natives than non-Native families.

The proportionate disadvantages of Native people compared with non-Native people in the areas of education, labour force participation, income and housing are also revealed.

The report concludes that Natives are in a disadvantaged position in all socio-economic areas. Higher frequencies of unemployment and single-parent families, lack of education, and the low income levels of Natives living in the Inner City mean that assistance is required to advance their standard of living.

Sorkin, Alan L. *The Urban American Indian*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1978.

This is one of the few books devoted entirely to explaining issues surrounding urban Natives in the United States.

The book is divided into sections that categorize issues into historical influences, economies, employment, health, housing and social services, education, urban institutions and "acculturation." A litany of social and economic problems confronting urban Indians is documented. The author makes a number of recommendations to address these problems. He bases his recommendations on two primary assumptions. First, he suggests that the federal government must recognize its obligations to urban Indians by extending special services. Second, one agency should be established to administer all "Indian programs for both reservation and urban Indians" to eliminate duplication, contradiction and confusion caused by numerous agencies operating programs for the same, relatively small client group.

Sprague, D.W. *Canada and the Métis, 1869-1885*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988.

In this study, the author re-examines the relationship between the Government of Canada and the Métis people during the period between the "Riel Rebellions" of 1869-70 and 1885. The author focuses his study on developing an understanding of why large

numbers of the Métis people migrated west from the Red River Settlement in Manitoba to parts of Saskatchewan and Alberta and the related issue of land ownership. The author's work is based largely on information contained in the papers of Sir John A. Macdonald dating from this period.

The author questions previous written work on this period in Canada's history and questions the assumptions made by previous authors related to the government's agenda regarding land ownership for the Métis people. He suggests that the government manipulated the Manitoba Métis in order to "unlock the territory for actual settlers."

This book provides a necessary counterweight to the work done by Flanagen (cited earlier in this report) which suggests that the federal government fulfilled its responsibility to the Métis people in terms of land ownership. The story of the Métis, and their exodus from the Red River Settlement is important to under-standing some of the fundamental arguements affecting Métis—government negotiations today.

Stanbury, W.T. *Success and Failure: Indians in Urban Society*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1975.

This book details one of the first comprehensive ethnographic studies undertaken in Canada of Indians living in urban centres. This publication has made Stanbury one of the most often quoted Canadian authors on the subject of Native urbanization.

The social and economic conditions of British Columbian Indians living off-reserve in urban centres was the subject of the author's research. The objective was to understand the process of change and adjustment endured by Indians as a result of the "urbanization" process. Socio-economic data, or "hard data" as described by the author, were obtained through interviews with a sample of 1,095 B.C. Indians living off-reserve for a period of at least

one month prior to being interviewed. Interviews were undertaken during the summer of 1971 in over 50 towns and cities throughout B.C. Band lists formed the primary tool for identifying survey respondents and as a result the study was limited to "status" Indians. However, the author was able to compare the study's results with those from a similar study of non-status Indians also completed in the summer of 1971.

Various chapters in the book explore topics such as: reasons for living off-reserve, the urban adjustment process, demographic characteristics, education levels, health indicators, labour force, income and welfare dependency, and retention of cultural identity.

The results described in this study have become comparative "benchmarks" for more recent researchers. Some of these results include:

- 35% and 20% of Indian men and women respectively cited employment as the most important reason why they live off reserve.

- An average of 5.4 people lived in off-reserve Indian households compared with 3.1 for the total B.C. population.

A summary of this study is reprinted in Elliot, Jean Leonard, ed., *Two Nations, Many Cultures: Ethnic Groups in Canada* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1979).

Statistics Canada. *A Profile of the Aboriginal Population Living in Selected Off-Reserve Areas,* 1986 Census. Volume 2, February 1990.

This document was prepared by the Aboriginal Data and Native Issues Unit of Statistics Canada. It identifies selected numerical statistics characterizing the Aboriginal population residing off reserves. Data are presented at the following levels:

- Provincial and Territorial;

- Census Metropolitan Area;

- Census Agglomerations;

- Selected Census Subdivision.

Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Output Program. *Aboriginal Population by Census Subdivision from the 1986 Census of Canada.* March 1989.

This is a data book prepared by Statistics Canada using information from the 1986 Census. Data are provided on the Census subdivision level.

The 1986 Census encouraged respondents to mark as many ethnic/cultural origin categories as applied to their heritage. This differed from previous years, and caused a significant variance between total numbers reported in 1981 (491,460) and those reported in 1986 (711,720). The report suggests that this 45% increase is due to many more people choosing to acknowledge their Aboriginal roots.

Some numbers identified for larger Prairie urban centres include:

	Total with Aboriginal Origins	Percent of Total Population
Calgary	14,350	2.3
Edmonton	20,970	3.7
Saskatoon	9,410	5.4
Regina	8,290	4.8
Winnipeg	27,485	4.7

Strain, Laurel A. and Neena L. Chappell. "Social Networks of Urban Native Elders: A Comparison with Non-natives." *Canadian Ethnic Studies,* 21,2 (1989): 104-17.

This paper documents the results of the authors' examination into the social networks of urban Native elders compared with networks of non-Native elders. Specifically, the number of household members, the relationship of household members, the number of relatives outside the household and the interaction with those relatives, friends and neighbours are all investigated. The authors found that the social networks of Natives tend to be larger and to involve more interaction than non-Natives.

Data used for the paper came from two separate studies carried out independently on populations living in Winnipeg. The first study analyzed the socio-demographic and interaction patterns of 193 urban Natives aged 50 years and over. It was conducted by two Native groups, the Manitoba Indian Nurses Association and the Indian and Métis Senior Citizens Group of Winnipeg in co-operation with the Centre on Aging, University of Manitoba in 1984. The second study analyzed similar aspects for 469 non-Native individuals aged 65 and over.

The authors found significant differences between the social networks of urban Natives and non-Natives. They suggest that this uniqueness demands increased recognition by policy-makers and those involved in service delivery. Although mentioned only briefly, the authors suggest that the provision of apartments for urban Native elders without including accommodation for children or grandchildren may be inappropriate.

T

Tizya, Rosalee. "Comments on *Urban Aboriginals and Self-Government.*" In Douglas Brown, ed., *Aboriginal Governments and Power Sharing in Canada.* Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University, 1992.

This paper describes a possible model for Aboriginal self-government in urban settings. It was delivered by the author at a conference on Aboriginal Governments and Power Sharing held in Kingston, Ontario in February, 1992. The book, edited by Douglas Brown, describes the conference proceedings.

In the paper, the author draws upon her experience in working with the United Native Nations of British Columbia to illustrate a model of self-government based on biculturalism. She suggests that Aboriginal self-government can benefit from merging the values and ideas of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal societies into a unique system. The author foresees the evolution of non-profit societies going from separate functioning institutions to an amalgamation into one society, to a legislative model with statutory powers.

W

Waddell, J.O. and O.M. Watson, eds. *The American Indian in Urban Society*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971.

This book is composed of a series of essays written by nine anthropologists involved with the study of Native peoples in the United States. The authors use traditional ethnographic and case study research methods to help understand the urbanization process of Natives.

The book is divided into three sections that attempt to address the following three questions: What is the historical and current character of Indian urbanization trends? What is the character of Indian participation in the social institutions found in the city? Why do some Indians "succeed" in adapting to urban life and remain in the city while others seemingly fail and decide to move back to their largely rural home communities? The editors of the book note that the essays raise as many questions as they answer.

Although this is one of the few books devoted entirely to the analysis of Natives in the urban environment, it is somewhat dated. Given the nature of the research methods used in many of the essays, some of the conclusions are now questionable.

Waldram, J.B. and M.M. Layman. *Health Care in Saskatoon's Inner City: A Comparative Study of Native and Non-Native Utilization Patterns*. Native Issues 3. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1989.

This report examines the health care utilization patterns of urban Natives and non-Native people in the west core area of Saskatoon. The study tests the hypothesis that Natives tend to "under-utilize" or "inappropriately utilize" urban health care facilities and services relative to non-Natives.

Data for the study were gathered through 226 interviews of persons using the medical services of the Westside Clinic and the Friendship Inn. The interviews were undertaken between November 1987 and April 1988. As the authors point out, care must be used in interpreting the results as being representative of the urban Native population as a whole.

The authors found no support for the hypothesis, as both Natives and non-Native respondents demonstrated similar health care behaviour patterns. They suggest that health care patterns for the entire study population are the result of socio-economic circumstances. As such, the conclusions reached by many researchers in the early 1970s that supported the test hypothesis were found to be lacking.

Weinfeld, Morton. "An Urban Option for Native People." *Policy Options*, 6,2 (1985): 10-12.

This article/commentary links the current goals of autonomy with a revival of Indian heritage and culture in urban communities.

The author cautions against the total embrace of an autonomist solution to the exclusion of other options when dealing with Native problems. Native people should recognize that by linking their future to the reserve land-based system, with little regard to the constraints of reserve life and the continuing attraction of urban environments, they may well be

foreclosing options for successful integration in "American-Canadian" urban life.

The author suggests that recent debates on Native self-government and self-determination have been framed in the short term, and concerned more with autonomy as an end rather than as a means. There is a need for Native leaders and government agencies to address the urban Native issues at the same time they are discussing autonomy for Native people on reserves. He believes that the future of Native people is tied to improvements both on reserves and within cities and that both must occur simultaneously before there can be real improvements in the living conditions of all Native peoples.

Wherrett, J. and D. Brown. *Self-Government for Aboriginal Peoples Living in Urban Areas.* Prepared for the Native Council of Canada, Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University, April 1992.

The Native Council of Canada (NCC) represents Métis and Indian peoples outside reserves, regardless of status. This paper was prepared for NCC by the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations at Queen's University, which in recent years has devoted considerable resources to exploring issues surrounding Native self-government.

The purpose of the paper is to provide a framework for understanding the issues involved with applying Aboriginal self-government within large Canadian cities. The paper suggests that while a land base is not a prerequisite to self-government, its absence makes it more difficult to comprehend.

Three forms of self-government within an urban setting are explored, including:

■ a neighbourhood model dealing with concentration of Aboriginal peoples and including elements of territory;

■ the extra-territorial model, where Aboriginal self-government institutions act directly or indirectly on behalf of governments based elsewhere;

■ the community of interest model, where all Aboriginals within a given community are included.

The paper also examines six issues that must be addressed, including: membership governing structures, jurisdiction of powers, access to land and resources, financing and intergovernmental relations.

The paper concludes that Aboriginal self-government will evolve differently in centres across the country. This evolution will depend on the needs and desires of the Aboriginal community itself and the dynamics of relationships between Aboriginal groups and with non-Aboriginals. Existing Aboriginal organizations functioning in urban centres are identified as providing a foundation for this process to occur.

Y

Yarnell, Jennifer. *Urban Aboriginal Issues: A Literature Review.* Winnipeg: The Aboriginal Justice Inquiry, February 1990.

This report, prepared for Manitoba's Aboriginal Justice Inquiry, provides an overview of the literature on Aboriginal issues with emphasis on research concerning Winnipeg. The author summarizes information from reports into the following categories: rural-urban migration and assimilation, employment/unemployment, housing, poverty/welfare/ghettoes, women, family, alcohol/drug use, health, the justice system, youth and the law, and child welfare.

In her conclusion, the author points to recent efforts by the Manitoba government to develop an "Indian and Métis Urban Strategy" to address the numerous and interrelated problems many Aboriginal people face in the urban environment.

In addition to Canadian publications, the bibliography section of this report contains references for books and articles published on Aboriginal issues in the United States, Australia and New Zealand.

Yerbury, J.C. "British Columbia Native Nations in Transition: The Urbanization Process." *Urban Anthropology,* 9,3 (1980): 319-39.

Using a number of different data sources, the author suggests that poverty within the rural reservation system is the largest factor encouraging the migration of Indians to urban centres. The author suggests that because on-reserve conditions "are not going to improve for rural and remote reserves . . . migration to off-reserves metropolises such as Vancouver" will continue.

York, G. *The Dispossessed: Life and Death in Native Canada.* Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989.

This book provides an extensive and well-assembled overview of the paternalistic relationship between non-Native and Native societies within Canada. Drawing upon numerous interviews with Native people in communities across the country, the author describes a wide assortment of first-hand experiences, revealing a legacy of cultural and physical dislocation that continues to this day. Underlying many of these accounts, however, is the resilience of the Native culture which has survived, and today is emerging as a force supporting a new generation unwilling to play victim.

The author provides the reader with vivid accounts of alcohol and drug abuse on reserves, the destructive effects of the residential school system, a justice system that has failed to understand and accommodate Natives, the destruction of the traditional Native subsistence economy and the breakdown of the child welfare system.

The author also describes the new militancy of Natives led by well-educated and informed leaders capable of focusing public attention on Native issues through the manipulation of the media. These new leaders have helped their communities deal with the problems by becoming masters at negotiation and political strategy.

The book concludes with a warning to elected officials not to ignore the signs of anger and frustration which present themselves as hunger strikes, sit-ins, and blockades. He points to the failure of the Meech Lake Accord as a prime example of Native peoples' new-found power.

The author, who is currently a journalist with *The Globe and Mail*, provides the reader with a good balance of the historical evolution of the non-Native and Native relationship and offers circumstantial evidence supported by some statistical data to support his thoughts.

York G. "Fighting a losing battle: slums and racism: Native migrants land in city's broken-down heart." *The Globe and Mail*, January 6, 1988, p. A12.

Regina is the focus of the article. The reporter relates a number of factors that influence Natives to move from their home communities to the city, and describes the slum housing conditions urban Natives are forced to tolerate. Special attention is given to the activities of three Native non-profit housing corporations (Silver Sage, Namerind and Gabriel) and the problems they encounter with community resistance and government cutbacks.

The policy of scattering new social housing units, purchased and renovated by Native non-profit corporations, is also discussed. Unfortunately another policy of restricting new unit costs to "about $58,800" forces Native organizations into a limited number of low-income neighbourhoods, directly affecting the scattering policy.

Citing "expert" opinions, the author notes that Indian and Métis peoples account for 20% of Regina's population. There are an estimated 500 to 750 Indian migrants arriving each year, and over 80% of the city's Native households live below the poverty level. In detailing Regina's situation, the reporter describes a serious urban problem desperately in need of attention.

SECTION 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

1.0   INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this section is to provide a brief assessment of the literature as it relates to urban Aboriginal issues. It is not intended to summarize all the findings of previous researchers. Rather, a selective process has been used to identify from the literature consistent themes, important findings of past researchers, identify gaps in available research, examine data sources and make recommendations for future research projects.

The following assessment of the literature is divided into seven topics:

- Overview of the Literature

- Historical Context

- Data Sources

- Profile of the Urban Aboriginal Population

- Urbanization/Migration

- Needs and Services

- Future Research

2.0   OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The literature on urban Aboriginal issues in Canada is sparse, limited in scope, largely dated in relevance and contains numerous assumptions derived from questionable research methodologies.

The bulk of the literature was produced in the 1970s in response to a heightened awareness of a growing rural to urban migration trend occurring within the Aboriginal community which the literature identifies as beginning in the early 1960s. Initial research on the topic consists of a small group of reports written by Nagler (1970), Dosman (1972), McCaskill (1970), Denton (1972) and Brody (1971). These reports still form the bulk of the research work undertaken in the field. The dominant research methodology employed in these early works involved the use of "participant observation" techniques.

Later works, conducted by Stanbury (1975) and Clatworthy (1979-1983), reflect an effort to apply socio-scientific questionnaire based research methods to the issue of Aboriginal urbanization. They represent the most thorough research on the topic undertaken to date. Clatworthy's work in particular is noteworthy for its attention to research methods and techniques. Since this time, however, there has been virtually no new empirical research undertaken and published in this field.

Given the significant changes which have occurred in Canada, as well as within the Aboriginal communities themselves since the mid 1980s, the existing literature is of limited use for contemporary policy and program development purposes.

The literature does, however, provide some background information for those interested in gaining a basic understanding of the issues. The process of urbanization occurring in the 1960s and 1970s, why it was happening and who was migrating to urban centres are all discussed in the literature. Unfortunately, many questions such as the levels of migration, the needs of those arriving, differences between groupings within the Aboriginal community, the availability and effectiveness of accommodating services (both traditional government and Aboriginal based), and appropriate government responses are not well documented or discussed in the literature, particularly in the contemporary context.

The relative lack of substantive and original research on urban Aboriginal issues, particularly current research, has created a significant gap in society's understanding of the special needs and demands of this population. Much research work needs to be done to fill this gap, and to support future policy and program decisions by governments as well as by Aboriginal peoples and organizations.

3.0   HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Throughout the literature, the historic relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal societies, particularly the relationship between Indian societies and the government of Canada, surfaces as a major theme of considerable importance and relevance to current issues. As one researcher suggests "a proper understanding of the contemporary situation of Indians in Canada is impossible without some . . . flavour of the history of Indian non-Indian relations since the mid-nineteenth century" (Ponting, 1986, p. 18). There is undoubtedly a consensus in the literature that suggests a basic understanding of the history of Aboriginal peoples in this country is a prerequisite to research in the field.

As a result, many of the publications, particularly the more general textbook-type documents such as those edited by Ponting (1986) and written by Frideres (1988), contain detailed dissertations on the history of relations between Indian and non-Indian societies in Canada. A consistent pattern for the historical exploration of these issues is evident in virtually all of the discussions. This pattern guides readers through the evolution of the Indian Act including discussions of policies, highlighted by such poignant terms as "protection", "assimilation" and "enfranchisement"; changing interpretation of treaties and the related issue of land claims; and, the effects of the push towards Christianity and the related problems with the residential school system. These three areas form significant components of the historical framework contained in the literature. They represent a complex web of interconnected affairs which are not easily summarized. Without question, however, the literature suggests that these historical policies can be directly linked to the current situation of poverty and disillusionment which characterizes a sizable percentage of the Aboriginal population living in Canada, including many of those living in urban centres. Suitable discussion of these issues is beyond the scope of this review; however, for those interested, both of the general textbook type of publications cited above provide concise historical overviews.

In terms of discussing the history of Indian urbanization, the literature suggests that significant movement of people to urban centres began to occur in the early 1960s and lasted through most of the 1970s. By the early 1980s, however, some researchers, began to record a "levelling off" of migration trends. For example, while studying the 1981 Census data, Siggner (1986) noted the emergence of a "small cycle de-urbanization phenomenon" (Ponting, 1986, p. 80).

While the impetus for the original movement in the early 1960s and the reasons for its "levelling off" in the early 1980s are not well documented in the literature, some theories are discussed. One of the few researchers that has explored these questions is Falconer (1985). He suggests that the "phenomenon of migration" can be directly linked to past federal government policies, and that these policies are best understood by highlighting historical actions in the areas of economic development,

social development and jurisdictional disputes. His arguments are based primarily on assessments of two major research/policy documents; "A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada" (1966) known throughout the literature as the Hawthorn Report and the 1969 federal government White Paper entitled "The Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy." Both documents were published and debated at what the literature suggests was a crucial juncture in the evolution of Indian affairs in this country. Both surface repeatedly throughout the literature and in fact are used as a starting point for a number of researchers exploring urban Aboriginal issues. The recent book written by Comeau and Santin (1990) is a good example of a document which begins by analyzing these two reports.

Falconer's assessment and ideas help shed light on the "structural" factors contributing to the emergence of large-scale migration from reserves to urban centres beginning in the early 1960s. Because these arguments are fundamental to understanding the issues and serve to provide a good historical framework, they are summarized and expanded upon below.

3.1   ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In 1966, the Hawthorn Report suggested that many Indian reserves throughout the country were not viable economic units capable of being sustained in a modern industrial society. The Report claimed that "primary resource modes of livelihood [such] as trapping, fishing and farming exert a negative influence on Indian prosperity" (Hawthorn, 1966, p. 7). The authors of the report concluded that migration and ultimately the urbanization of Indians was an inevitable and necessary step in their future economic development. The Hawthorn Report unabashedly stated:

> . . . any substantial improvement in the economic position of Indians generally will require the movement of large and increasing numbers from the overcrowded low-income, resource based industries and locales in which they now work and reside into better paid wage and salaried employment in other industries which, in most cases, will probably be beyond commuting distance from their reserves. More efficient development and utilization of resources accessible to their home reserves should be deemed distinctly secondary in importance and designed essentially for the residue who have special skill or promise in working in local resource-based industries or who, for various reasons, will be unable to adjust to migration and relocation (Hawthorn, 1966, p. 141).

It seems that during the late 1960s at least, any real economic development for Indians was directly tied to the migration of a significant number to urban centres.

To demonstrate that this linkage found its way into government policy, Falconer (1985) uncovered the following statement made in a 1974 document published by the Department of Indian and Northern Development (DIAND):

> Given the location and limited economic potential of many reserves, it appears evident
> that if an Indian person wishes to achieve economic self-sufficiency, he or she most
> likely has to leave the reserve and relocate elsewhere (Falconer, 1985, p. 36).

In reviewing this document further, Falconer identifies another important finding that may help explain
why some researchers began to see evidence of a declining level of migration in the late 1970s and
early 1980s. The DIAND report identified a direct correlation between the rate of migration off reserves
and the level of expenditures by the federal government on reserves. It seems that rapidly increasing
expenditures by DIAND during the 1970s may have played a significant part in lowering migration rates
from reserves to urban centres. Unfortunately, this concept is not explored further by Falconer, or any
other researcher in the available literature.

Based on these observations, it seems that migration was, at least in part, seen as an economic
development tool intended to compensate for a reserve system which had not been designed to
accommodate the economic needs of a rapidly growing Indian population.

More contemporary documents dealing with the economic development of Indians no longer
focus on migration as an economic development tool. In fact, mention of this avenue is noticeably
absent from literature published since the early 1980s. Attention is now directed towards shifting
control of economic development to Aboriginal peoples themselves and providing special funding for
efforts undertaken within the Aboriginal community regardless of location. Recent initiatives such as
the Canadian Aboriginal Economic Development Strategy and the Canadian Council for Native Business
exemplify this direction.

3.2   SOCIAL POLICY

The social goal of "assimilating" Indians into mainstream society has a long history in Canada.
Discussion of this theme is contained in numerous places throughout the literature and is represented
by the following statement which is quoted in more than one publication dealing with the history of
Indian affairs in this country:

> If there has been a central pillar to Canadian Indian policy, it has been the goal of
> assimilation. While the terminology has varied among "assimilation," "integration,"
> "civilization," and "moving into the mainstream," the policy has remained virtually
> unaltered; Indians were to be prepared for absorbtion into the broader Canadian society
> (Ponting, 1986, p. 25).

Analysis of this social goal was a key component in the Hawthorn Report. Its authors proposed a break
from past assimilationist policies by recognizing that the operative principle of social policy should be
a respect for the values, institutions, languages and religions within Indian societies. The Report
recommended a different approach to dealing with social issues by combining Indian culture with
modern society. It identified its proposal as a "citizens plus" approach. A short time later, however,

the 1969 White Paper rejected the Hawthorn Report's approach in favour of a different approach based on equality. This approach was summarized in a 1969 speech given by the then Prime Minister which included a statement that "we must all be equals under the laws and we must not sign treaties amongst ourselves . . . They (Indians) should become Canadians as all other Canadians" (Falconer, 1985, p. 18). The reaction to the White Paper by both Indian organizations and provincial governments was largely negative, and it was withdrawn shortly after it was introduced. These two contrary views of social/cultural policy as well as variations on a spectrum between the preservation of "dual cultures" and "assimilation" are represented and discussed throughout the literature. They continue to be the subject of much discussion and thought for those writing on Aboriginal issues. The work of Hanson (1985) is noteworthy in this area.

The rejection of the White Paper is seen throughout the literature as a turning point in Indian Affairs in this country. Ponting suggests that the:

> . . . 1969 white paper was the capstone of a policy of assimilation that can be traced back to pre-confederation years. . . the page was being turned on what had been a central theme of Indian Policy . . . The rejection of the white paper therefore opened up a new and confused policy era [where] the direction of Indian policy was suddenly "up for grabs" (Ponting, 1986, p. 34).

Many researchers also point to the 1969 White Paper as being the prime instigator behind the rapid growth of effective national and provincial Aboriginal organizations. Ponting refers to this growth as a "quiet revolution" and equates it with the emergence of "nationalism" in Quebec society during the 1960s. In addition, as suggested by Comeau and Santin (1990), "the withdrawal of the White Paper from the political arena left the issue of Aboriginal rights without an over-riding political scheme or agenda" (p. 19). Some have suggested this policy vacuum has been filled to a large degree by Aboriginal organizations themselves which, in recent years at least, have successfully shifted the "agenda" towards the pursuit of constitutional amendments and the pursuit of self government.

According to Falconer, the migration of significant numbers of Indian people to urban centres was a crucial element in achieving the social goal of assimilation. In the following statement he suggests that by not extending services to cities to help Indian people adjust to urban living, the federal government, by default, has continued to pursue an assimilationist social strategy towards Indians:

> Off-reserve migration has . . . been the administrative means of removing the substance of special status from Indians, a policy the government was not able to achieve through legislative action. . . The loss of special status . . . has profound implications for the viability of traditional Indian culture in the urban environment (Falconer, 1985, p. 19).

It seems that in some circles at least, migration was viewed as a tool for continuing past assimilationist efforts which had not been achieved, and apparently could not be achieved, through legislation.

3.3   JURISDICTION

Encompassing the issues of economic development and social assimilation, is the area of jurisdictional responsibilities. The Constitution Act, 1982 (formerly the British North America Act, 1867), the Indian Act and various treaties have effectively structured a special relationship between the Government of Canada and Indian societies across the country.

Back in 1966, the Hawthorn Report contained a well developed strategy for the federal government to follow in reducing its responsibilities towards Indians. The report suggested that:

> . . . the federal government can alter the nature of its Indian responsibilities [by] determin[ing] the circumstances in which Indian status persons will be subject to its policies with reference to their on-reserve or off-reserve location. To the extent the federal government accepts a lesser responsibility for off-reserve Indians, it can effectively reduce its responsibilities by pursuing a vigorous policy of out-migration (p. 251).

As partial justification for this action, the Hawthorn Report also suggested that the federal government had assumed more responsibilities for Indian people than provided for under treaties and within the Constitution. The Report stated:

> The Indian responsibilities assumed by the federal government are significantly greater than what is required under treaties or the British North America Act. . . there is considerable scope for an enlargement of provincial concern for Indians, and a widespread extension of normal provincial services to Indians without encountering either treaty or constitutional problems (p. 251).

The 1969 White Paper developed this argument further by stating that it was the government's intention to negotiate agreements with the provinces to share the cost of programs for all registered Indians no matter where they lived. The federal portion of the cost would as a matter of principle eventually decline, the provinces ultimately assuming the same responsibility for services to Indian residents as they do for services to others.

It seems that migration was also viewed, at least in the early literature, as a method for limiting federal expenditures and responsibilities.

In a more current assessment of jurisdictional issues, Breton and Grant (1984) writing on government policies and programs for persons with Indian ancestry in Manitoba suggest that:

> The federal government has been quietly implementing some of the recommendations of the 1969 White Paper on Indian policy, which it has officially abandoned. In fact, it has 'unloaded' federal responsibilities for Indian health, education and welfare onto the Manitoba government or the province's municipal governments and local school boards . . . Urban Indians are the losers because they are caught in the middle of an unending jurisdictional dispute between two levels of government. The provinces cannot be held responsible for urban Indians because they have neither the constitutional authority nor the financial resources required . . . The past ten years of circular jurisdictional squabbling have permitted the situation of Manitoba's Indians to

become progressively worse. If we have ten more years of inconclusive action, the results, in human terms, will be too disastrous to contemplate (pp. xxix-xx).

Past experiences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal societies have obviously had a significant impact on shaping the attitudes and lives of Aboriginal peoples across Canada. An appreciation of this past and how it effects the current dynamics within the Aboriginal community and between the Aboriginal community and the non-Aboriginal community is vital to understanding and developing future research activities concerned with urban Aboriginal issues. The interpretation of this relationship is a large subject which goes well beyond the scope of this report. It is, however, particularly relevant in the study of Aboriginal issues including urbanization.

As seen in the previous discussion, government actions related to economic development, social changes and jurisdictional disputes have affected migration patterns in the past and have the potential to have a significant impact on the magnitude and trend of Aboriginal migration to urban centres in the future. Unfortunately, the impact of these actions is not well documented or analyzed in the literature. The lack of discussion in this area represents a major gap in the literature. Further research is needed to achieve a better understanding of the relationship between government policies/ programs/expenditures and migration trends.

4.0   DATA SOURCES

Virtually every research document devoted to analyzing and profiling the urban Aboriginal population begins by noting the lack of reliable statistical information. This problem is identified throughout the literature as having a significant impact on the ability of researchers to understand and quantify the Aboriginal population generally, and the urban Aboriginal population specifically. As noted by Clatworthy and Gunn (1982):

> . . . the paucity of urban native research reflects serious data deficiencies which make it difficult and in many instances impossible to identify the relationship between native peoples and the urban economic system . . . available data do not even permit reliable estimates to be made of the size of native populations, let alone the analysis of demographic structures, socio-economic attributes and patterns of labour force behaviour. . . (p. 1)

The literature identifies two main sources of data on urban Aboriginal people in Canada; the Census of Canada and independent research specific data bases. These sources are briefly discussed below.

4.1   CENSUS INFORMATION

The Census of Canada collects information on the country's Aboriginal population primarily through an ethnic origin question asked of a 20 percent sample of Canadian households on the "2B" Census Form. The wording of this question and the interpretation of results has been the subject of considerable discussion in recent years. Changes to the question between census years presents a problem for researchers, particularly those attempting to conduct an analysis of trends. (The ethnic origin questions contained in the 1981, 1986, and 1991 censuses are quoted in APPENDIX E).

In his assessment of the 1981 census data based on the ethnic origin question, Boxhill (1985) cautions users by suggesting that because the concept of ethnicity is extremely complex, the data produced are likely to contain some anomalies. He advises:

> Ethnic pride notwithstanding, self-identification, self-reporting and the perception of distinctiveness/non-distinctiveness from other members of the population, all combine to add dimensions of complexity and influence on what is provided as a response to census inquiries into ethnicity (p. vi).

The issue is still evident in 1991, as Statistics Canada seems to agree with this view and elaborates on the effect the current political/social environment has on self-perceived ethnicity:

> Measures of ethnicity are complex, and can be affected by changes in the environment in which the questions are asked as well as by changes in respondents' understanding or views about the topic. Changes in such factors as awareness in family background . . . [and] confusion with other concepts such as citizenship, nationality, language or cultural identity. In the case of the 1991 Census, public attention on Aboriginal issues in the year leading up to the Census may have contributed to increased reporting of Aboriginal origins . . .[1]

Another problem with the Census concerns changes which have been made to the wording of the ethnic origin question over the years. The major change, which came between 1981 and 1986, relates to the fact that in 1986, respondents were encouraged to identify as many ethnic or cultural groups as applicable while in 1981 the wording of the question encouraged a single response. This undoubtedly had an effect on the difference between the total Aboriginal population numbers reported in the 1981 and 1986 Censuses.

Reporting rates also affect the data contained in the Census. A large number of Indian bands across Canada refuse permission for enumerators to enter onto reserve lands. Statistics Canada estimates that in 1986, 44,733 Indians living on reserves and in settlements were not included in the Census. The estimate of under-reporting in 1991 is 38,000 persons. For purposes of researching migration trends between reserves and urban centres, this deficiency in the Census data must be recognized and taken into account.

In dealing with these data deficiencies, researchers such as Siggner (1986) and Frideres (1988) have resorted to what appears to be more firm data generated for status or registered Indians by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. These data, which record trends in on- and off-reserve locations for registered Indians, are then used by extension to develop conclusions about the entire urban Aboriginal population. This method of data extension, while one of the few hard data mechanisms available to demographers, is somewhat questionable as a large segment of the Aboriginal population is composed of persons other than registered Indians.

In 1991, Statistics Canada implemented the first post-censual survey of Aboriginal persons in Canada, called the Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS). The sample population surveyed was derived from the census population reporting Aboriginal origins and/or those who reported being registered under the Indian Act. Approximately 110,000 persons living on reserves and in settlements and 50,000 persons living off reserves were interviewed in the fall of 1991 and early 1992.[2] This survey is intended to profile the lifestyle and living conditions of Aboriginal persons in Canada, including such information as housing conditions, health, employment history, schooling, mobility, and the use of Aboriginal language(s).[3]

The 1991 Census of Canada and its post-Censual Aboriginal Peoples Survey should help address the data problems encountered by researchers in the past. However, as previously noted, reporting problems related to self identification, self reporting and perceived distinctiveness inherent within Census Canada's ethnic origin data are not likely to be resolved. These three factors are fluid and changeable over time as perceptions change both within society as a whole and on an individual basis. They contribute to the raising of some doubt about quantifying trends over time. This problem will continue to plague the census data and effect their reliability.

4.2   RESEARCH SPECIFIC DATA BASES

Given the limits of past Census information, particularly with respect to the urban Aboriginal population, many researchers interested in studying urbanization issues have been compelled to develop their own data bases.

Many of the early empirical or academic studies employing survey instruments such as McCaskill (1970), Denton (1970), Nagler (1970) and Dosman (1972) dealt with very small sample sizes. Most also used informal methods for identifying survey respondents. For example, Nagler used informants that he happened to come into contact with during his "participant observer" role. McCaskill identified "Indian sounding" names from a voters list in two electoral districts. The use of these informal research techniques was recognized and rationalized by Dosman (1972) in the following manner:

> In the case of Indians and Métis . . . it is not possible to conduct a scientifically valuable survey based on long questionnaires, or to interview a large or representative sample of the major Indian or Métis groupings in the city . . . After a century of ruthless analysis, Indians are unanimous in their rejection of surveys, whether conducted by Whites or Indians (pp. 10-11).

Clatworthy (1983) employs methodological arguments to dismiss this early work by suggesting that:

> . . . small sample sizes and unscientific sampling methodologies render the findings of such studies inconclusive (p. 4).

Later survey work completed by Stanbury (1975) and Clatworthy (1979) attempted to address these methodological deficiencies. However, the inherent problem of gaining a statistically valid sample from a population universe which is difficult, if not impossible to quantify, continued to be a problem. Even later survey work undertaken by The City of Calgary (1984) and Alberta Native Affairs Secretariat (1985) suffer from this methodological weakness.

Since these survey-based studies were completed, there has been a noticeable absence of similar types of research on the urban Aboriginal population. Although some statistical information has been published by provincial government agencies using information from the 1981 and 1986 Census (Alberta Policy and Planning Branch, 1985; Manitoba Bureau of Statistics, 1989; Saskatchewan Indian and Native Affairs Secretariat, 1984), meaningful and inquisitive empirical research work has not occurred.

While there are significant gaps in the literature related to the availability of reliable statistical information, the Census supplemented by the Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS) should be capable of filling most of these gaps over the next few years as the data are released and evaluated. The APS

should yield results which are both current and statistically valid. The APS has the potential to be used in numerous research projects.

5.0   PROFILE OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

The literature contains little reliable information describing Canada's overall urban Aboriginal population. While a number of studies have been completed in the past, they have usually been confined to analyzing and researching the population in particular communities. Very little work has been completed on a national or regional basis. Moreover, the vast majority of the existing published work in the area of demographics is dated.

With this in mind, the following section has been prepared from base data taken directly from the 1986 and 1991 Census of Canada. Given the objectives of this study, emphasis is placed on profiling the Aboriginal population living in Prairie cities.

5.1   POPULATION

■   The 1991 Census reports the Aboriginal population of Canada as being 1,002,675. This represents approximately four percent of the country's total population.

■   Three quarters (783,980) of the Aboriginal population in Canada identifies its ancestral origin as North American Indian, while 20 percent (212,650) identifies its ancestral origin as Métis (see Figure 1 - Appendix F).

■   Of the total 1991 population reporting Aboriginal origins, 23 percent or 226,270[4] lived on Indian reserves or settlements across the country.

The total population figure of 1,002,675 represents a 41 percent increase since the 1986 Census when 711,720 people reported Aboriginal ancestral origins. Statistics Canada provides the following explanation for such a dramatic increase:

> Demographic factors, such as changes in fertility and mortality, cannot explain an increase of this size over a five year period. Clearly, significant numbers of people who had not previously reported an Aboriginal origin did so in 1991, most likely due to heightened awareness of Aboriginal issues arising from the extensive public discussion of these matters in the period leading up to the 1991 Census.[5]

As suggested in the previous section on data sources, the problem with the ethnic origin question on the Census stemming from issues of self-identification raises some questions about the reliability of the data. This issue is particularly important for those attempting to conduct trend analyses.

■   Interestingly, the Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS) found that only 625,710 people, or 62 percent of the total Aboriginal population reporting Aboriginal ancestral origins on the 1991 Census and/or who were registered under the Indian Act, *identified* with an Aboriginal group when approached to participate in the Aboriginal Peoples Survey.

Statistics Canada explains this anomaly in the following manner:

The main difference between the census and the APS definitions is that the census measures Aboriginal origins, while the APS measures those with Aboriginal origins who also identify with their Aboriginal origins and/or are registered under the *Indian Act*. For example, a person may report in the census that he or she has Métis origin from an ancestor, such as a grandmother, but on the APS indicates that he or she does not identify with the Métis nation. In this instance, this person would be counted as part of the census population with Aboriginal origins, but would not be included as part of the APS population.[6]

■   In 1991, approximately 36 percent (361,000) of the total Aboriginal population lived in the three Prairie provinces. (See Figure 2 - Appendix F).

■   On a provincial basis, the majority of the Aboriginal population in 1991 lived in Ontario (24%) followed by British Columbia (17%). (See Figure 3 - Appendix F).

■   When the Aboriginal population is calculated as a percentage of the total population, the two Northern territories and the three Prairie provinces record the highest proportionate levels. Approximately 11 percent and 10 percent of the Manitoba and Saskatchewan population respectively are made up of those reporting Aboriginal ancestral origins. (See Figure 4 - Appendix F).

■   Census data for 1991 indicate that for a select group of 12 Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs), Winnipeg, Montreal, Vancouver and Edmonton are home to the largest number of Aboriginal peoples. (See Figure 5 - Appendix F).

■   When CMA populations are translated into percentages of the overall population, however, Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Regina record the highest concentration of residents reporting Aboriginal ancestral origins. (See Figure 6 - Appendix F).

■   Approximately 39 percent of the Aboriginal population living in the Prairie provinces live in the five major metropolitan areas of Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary and Edmonton. The reported 1991 Aboriginal population figures for these centres were:

Urban Centre	Population
Winnipeg	44,970
Regina	12,765
Saskatoon	14,225
Calgary	24,375
Edmonton	42,695

5.2   AGE/SEX PROFILE

Researchers throughout the literature cite significant differences between the age/sex profile of the Aboriginal population compared with the total Canadian population. Unfortunately, due to

insufficient and unreliable data sources many researchers have had to use data describing the off-reserve registered Indian population to support this claim.

The evaluative work by Clatworthy and Gunn (1982) is an exception to this tendency. They combined a number of different methodologies including specific questionnaire-based data and expert opinion to conclude that in Canada's Western provinces, at least:

> The age structure of native people is markedly different from that of the general population. Almost half of the native population [of the western provinces and two territories] is under 15 years of age, while for the general population, only about 25 percent are in this age group. These figures reflect a combination of fertility rate and mortality rate differences between these population groups (p. 15).

In his various studies on the Aboriginal population in Winnipeg, Clatworthy found a marked sex bias towards females which he estimated comprised approximately 57 percent of the city's Native population. His findings also suggested that "for the most part the demographic composition and economic conditions of status Indians and MNSI [Métis non-status Indians] were found to be similar" (Clatworthy and Gunn, 1982, p. 11).

These observations are supported in recently released 1991 census data. Figures 7 through 12 - Appendix F provide separate age/sex profiles for Canada and each of the five major Prairie urban centres.

■ On both a national level and for each of the five major Prairie cities, Aboriginal peoples consistently record close to twice the percentage of children (persons <15 years of age) than the population as a whole.

■ The older Aboriginal population (persons 55+ years of age) consistently record differences which are three times lower than that recorded by the total population in Canada and the five major Prairie urban centres.

■ On a comparative basis, the age/sex profiles for the Aboriginal population living in the five major Prairie urban centres are very similar.

5.3   OTHER SOCIAL/ECONOMIC DATA

Throughout the literature, the Aboriginal population, whether living on reserves, in rural/remote communities or in urban areas, is cited as being relatively disadvantaged in all social and economic statistical categories. This has become common knowledge and is accepted as fact without dissension in the literature. As such, a detailed discussion highlighting statistical information contained in the literature, which is frequently dated in any case, would be of limited use. As evidence, however, six charts (See Figures 13 - 18 - Appendix F) illustrating the extent of the disparity between the Aboriginal population and the population as a whole for Canada, provinces/territories and major CMAs in the areas

of education, employment and income are provided. These figures provide a comparative profile of a population which is characterized by consistently lower levels of formal education, higher levels of unemployment and lower incomes.

Unfortunately, it seems that little has changed since Dosman (1972) made the following observation over two decades ago:

> The appearance of Indian poverty in Canadian cities has produced unprecedented problems. Native people form the hard core of the urban dispossessed; almost the entire minority lies outside the socio-economic structure of the city. The Indian sub-culture is not merely low in status and income; it is not merely at the bottom of the pile; its situation is becoming increasingly worse (p. 8).

While some researchers point to "some progress and improvement in Indian conditions . . . in recent years, at least as measured by the various national demographic, social, and economic indicators" (Siggner, 1985, p. 81), significant disparity continues to exist. Moreover, regional differences are apparent in many of the indicators. The Prairie provinces in particular consistently report higher than average disparities. A detailed exploration of the changes to the socio-economic and demographic profile of the urban Aboriginal population and regional variations is absent from the literature and represents a major gap in our understanding of the urban Aboriginal population.

6.0   URBANIZATION/MIGRATION

Although some researchers use the terms interchangeably, it is important to distinguish between "urbanization" and "migration." Gurstein (1977) suggests that urbanization represents a transition from one form of social and cultural organization to another and that value judgements are inherent in this transition. He concludes that urbanization is not a neutral term, but in fact represents a shift in a way of life from rural (i.e., simple, peaceful, low division of labour, close kinship and personal relations, and a close relationship to the land and nature) to urban (i.e., complex, diverse, impersonal, high degree of specialization of labour). Migration on the other hand, is a neutral concept simply referring to the movement of people. Thus, in using the term urbanization, researchers are inevitably making some value assumptions about social and cultural transition. The extent to which "urbanization" is occurring within the migrant Aboriginal population is the subject of diverse opinions in the literature.

Early reports, prepared by Davis (1965), Indian and Eskimo Association (1962), and the Hawthorn Report (1966), provide initial documentation and analysis of how the Aboriginal population was adjusting to urban life. As discussed previously, these reports generally viewed urbanization as an inevitable precursor to the economic development and assimilation of Aboriginal peoples into the larger Canadian society. They were soon followed by a number of studies attempting to assess and understand the adjustment process itself. Nagler (1970), Dosman (1972), Brody (1971) and Kerri (1976) all deal primarily with the adjustment issue.

Krotz (1980) places the issue of Aboriginal migration in a larger context by suggesting that:

What is happening in Canadian cities is not unusual. All over the world indigenous peasant peoples are moving to urban areas in massive numbers. Once there, they face cultural, economic and social struggles as they cope with their new environments. And the cities are forced to cope with an onslaught of new people; people to be housed, fed, educated, and fitted into the economic, social, political and cultural life. . . . It could be, it ought to be, a dynamic movement in the history of the world, a movement filled with all sorts of welcomed possibilities. But it is more often a disturbing, paralysing time. We continue as two worlds, the Indians and the other city people; we/they (p. 10).

A theory shared by all of these early reports was that given time, adaptation and ultimately assimilation would take place. It appears that they based this assumption on earlier, largely North American, sociological and anthropological research into the process of migration, adjustment and integration of peoples moving from rural to urban centres and immigrating from one culture to another. The term "acculturation," adopted from the field of anthropology, is used throughout the early literature to describe the process of adjustment experienced by many Aboriginal migrants to urban centres.

In evaluating the early work on Aboriginal urbanization, Gurstein (1977) proposed a continuum of urban Indian integration based on the assumption that two variables—length of residence and urban integration—were directly related. He described this assumption in the following manner:

> It is presumed that the longer the individual Indian person is resident in the urban area, the more successful will be the adaption process and the more effective will be the integration of the individual into the urban community (p. 7).

Gurstein proposed the following continuum:

FIGURE 1			
Transient	Migrant	Resident	Urban Settler
1 Month	6 Months	2 Years	>2 Years

As pointed out by Gurstein himself, however, the acculturation assumption had not been tested or even questioned relative to the urban Aboriginal population.

Some of the early researchers attempted to quantify the adjustment process by establishing adjustment criteria. Dosman (1972) for example developed a list of "conventional indicators of personal adjustment" which included such factors as job stability, housing, mobility, family stability, personal disintegration, identity, and others which he used to quantify the adjustment process encountered by the Aboriginal population.[7]

More recent researchers have placed the acculturation concept under closer scrutiny and have questioned its applicability to the urban Aboriginal situation. McCaskill (1981) for example suggested that:

> Native people are not, to any large degree, extending their participation into the institutions of the larger society. New channels of communication with the wider society do not appear to be forming. Migrants do not seem to be changing their reference group and acquiring new roles, expectations, and values. Assimilation is not occurring (p. 89).

In his analysis on the effects of length of residency on Native labour market behaviour, Clatworthy (1982) found that:

> . . . no substantial differences exist between longer term native residents and recent native migrants with respect to several dimensions of labour market behaviour. The severe employment difficulties experienced by native newcomers to the city have been found to occur to the same degree amongst native individuals who have resided continuously in the city for more than ten years. The absence of length of residence effects on native employment patterns clearly raises questions about the utility of the acculturation thesis in terms of explaining native adaption to urban life and the urban labour market (pp. 41-42).

McCaskill (1981) also suggests that because Indians come to urban areas primarily in search of employment and not dissatisfaction with reserve life:

> . . . they do not commit themselves to an urban lifestyle. Rather, they often exhibit a dual-orientation pattern of urban accommodation, exploiting the city for economic purposes while at the same time looking to the reserves in terms of ideology, cultural identity, and social ties. This is, perhaps, the most striking feature of Indian urban migration which distinguishes it from that of other ethnic groups (p. 89).

In his examination of the "transition" process, Frideres (1988) suggests that "Natives are exposed to a funnelling effect: although most have some contact with service organizations, few become independent of the organizations and even fewer are successfully placed in the city" (p. 220).

He developed the following model to illustrate his position:

STAGES OF ADVANCEMENT OF NATIVE PEOPLE IN FINAL ADAPTATION TO URBAN MILIEU

RETURN TO
RURAL HOME

"FINAL"
PLACEMENT IN
THE CITY

1   2   3   4
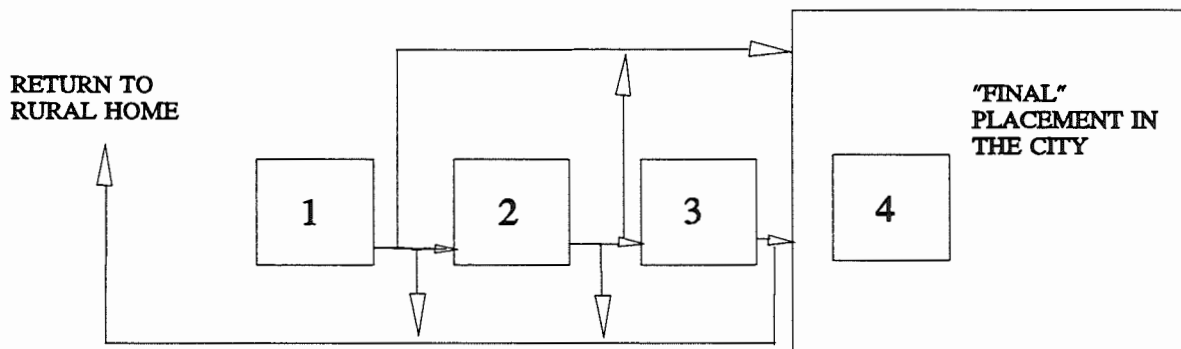
1. Entering the city.
2. Becoming a client of a service organization.
3. "Graduating" from the service organization.
4. "Final" placement in the city.

The literature also suggests that the urbanization process is affected by cultural and philosophical differences between "Native and White" societies. One researcher who has explored this issue is Frideres (1988). He points to the following Table which summarizes the "value differences that exist between Natives and Whites:"

TABLE 1	
Indian Values	**White Values**
Group emphasis	Individual emphasis
Co-operation (group concern)	Competition (self-concern)
Present oriented	Future oriented
Non-Awareness of time	Awareness of time
Age	Youth
Harmony with nature	Conquest of nature
Giving	Saving
Practical	Theoretical
Patience	Impatience
Extended family	Immediate family
Non-materialistic	Materialistic
Modest	Overstates (over-confident)
Silent	Noisy
Low self-value	Strong self-value
Respects other religions	Converts others to own religion
Religion a way of life	Religion a segment of life
Land, water, forests and other resources belong to all, and are used reasonably	Land, water, forests and other resources belong to the private domain, and are used in a greedy manner
Equality	Wealth
Face-to-face government	Representative democracy

In addition, Frideres highlights philosophical differences stemming from contrasting views of the universe—"cosmocentric" (i.e., individuals subordinate to the whole) *vs.* "homocentric" (i.e.,

individuals as superior to the whole). While he recognizes that these value systems are in a state of flux and not all Natives or Whites fully subscribe to either, they do help explain some of the inherent cultural difficulties many Natives experience when migrating to the city.

In many respects, these differences shed light on the previous discussion of integration and "acculturation."

Unfortunately, the above represents the extent of the discussion on the integration question contained in the literature. Given that this is a fundamental issue affecting policy development at all levels, and given rapidly changing economic and political environments, more work in this area is required in order to understand the urbanization process and its effects on Aboriginal peoples choosing to migrate to urban centres.

6.1   PROFILE OF THOSE CHOOSING TO MIGRATE

Although the literature notes some variation depending on the urban centre under study, researchers are generally consistent in their findings regarding the social-demographic profile of Aboriginal peoples migrating to Canadian urban centres.

When Gurstein (1977) reviewed the literature available up to the mid 1970s, he concluded:

> . . . the migrating population tends to be young . . . slightly more likely to be male than
> female and with relatively low levels of education . . . most were apparently not married
> (p. 16)

Based on his own work in Winnipeg, Clatworthy (1980) suggested that the migrant population differed from the total inner-city Native population in "that the majority of recent migrants were status Indians . . . [and] the sex composition of recent migrants is biased towards females . . .[and] the majority of recent migrants were young or mature families, especially single parent families" (p. 17).

A few years later, Clatworthy and Gunn (1981) described the Aboriginal migrant population in the following manner:

> Young families represent the most common household type among recent native
> migrants and young singles, especially males, are believed to be the most common
> among transient or short term urban residents (p. iii).

Unfortunately, none of the studies has analyzed whether this characterization is different from other non-Aboriginal rural to urban migrants. Nor have other socio-economic factors such as differences in incomes, education, and employment prospects been analyzed in a reliable fashion (Clatworthy's work is an exception). Understanding the differences (if any) between Aboriginal migrants and non-Aboriginal migrants would seem to be integral to helping understand the unique problems faced by the migrating Aboriginal population.

6.2   THE DECISION TO MIGRATE

Similar to the question of who is migrating, there seems to be general concurrence in the literature about the reasons for migration. Early reports prepared by Davis (1965) and Hawthorn (1966), provided the first documentation and assessment of the reasons for migration. They suggested that the primary factor behind rural to urban migration of both Métis and Indian people was the pursuit of better living conditions and employment opportunities.

In reviewing the literature McCaskill (1981) found:

> Virtually all studies of the urban Indian in Canada have discovered that the principal reason for migrating to the city was for economic gain, and that the other significant reason was for education (p. 83).

In his analysis of Winnipeg's Aboriginal population, Clatworthy (1980) found that reasons varied depending on sex and migrant status. He concluded:

> In general the desire for employment was the dominant reason cited for migrating. Our analysis, however, suggests that primary reasons for migration vary by sex and migrant status. Female respondents, for example, were more likely to cite problems on the reserve or in their previous home community and family ties in the city as reasons underlying migration to the city. Recent [male] migrants tended to place more emphasis on the desire for employment, and the use of medical services. The pattern of responses do not differ significantly by native sub-group [status Indians vs. Métis/ non-status] suggesting that both sub-groups are subjected to the same types of conditions and pressures which induce stress and migration (p. 19).

Building upon differences by gender, Peters (1992) suggests that:

> Push factors encouraging women to leave the reserve may also be gender specific . . . women leave the reserve because their economic needs are given low priority in the reserve community . . . single parents had difficulty obtaining housing and money for housing repairs . . . other reasons women move appear to be a stigma attached to being a single parent on the reserve or in rural areas (p. 9).

The work undertaken by Gerber (1977), reveals a slightly different perspective on the migration process. Her analysis, which concentrated on the role of the reserve community itself in the migration process, revealed that the structure of particular reserves (i.e., size, location, access, level of community development, retention of Native language) were important determinants affecting migration patterns. Although Gerber's work begs a number of questions regarding the factors chosen to be analyzed, it does suggest that migration patterns differ from reserve to reserve and the decision to migrate depends to a large degree on the opportunities within the home community.

In his assessment of the decision to migrate, Frideres (1988) suggests that migration is:

> . . . much more the result of push factors than of pull factors. The urban setting is attractive only to those who are qualified to participate actively in it; few Natives are able to do so. Most Natives decide to leave the reserve only when they are forced to by an absence of housing and employment opportunities (p. 215).

As seen above, a number of researchers have dealt with urbanization/migration issues. Although this research provides a foundation, further work is required to fully understand the issues. The relationship between migration levels and the home community, migration levels themselves, differences between sub-groups, adaption and integration *vs.* dual existence all need to be explored and re-explored in the current economic and political environment.

7.0   NEEDS AND SERVICES

The literature is consistent in finding that Aboriginal people migrating to urban centres are, for the most part, not breaking out of the cycle of poverty.

7.1   NEEDS OF THE URBAN ABORIGINAL POPULATION

Most studies describing the needs of the urban Aboriginal population develop a common integrated description of needs. They stem from a relative lack of formal education leading to unemployment or low-wage/low-skill jobs, insufficient levels of income, poverty and ultimately dependency on social assistance. The vast majority of needs in much of the urban Aboriginal population related to housing, health care, recreation and child care are not that dissimilar from other disadvantaged groups which make up the urban poor. The literature does, however, suggest that the urban Aboriginal population has unique features which distinguish it and which require special attention.

Gurstein (1977) suggested that the needs of Aboriginal migrants should be considered in light of his continuum of integration. These needs are described in the following table.

TABLE 2: A CONTINUUM OF URBAN MIGRATION - TIME/ADJUSTMENT PERIOD			
1 Month	6 Months	2 Years	>2 Years
Transient	Migrant	Resident	Urban Settler
Short term residence needs: - lodging - "Crash pads" - food - out of pocket money - detoxification - language assistance - cultural mediation - drop-in facilities - crisis intervention - agency contact	**Impermanent residence needs:** - housing - employment - short term - alcohol rehabilitation - adjustment assistance - recreational facilities - agency services - counselling & referral - day care & home care	**Permanent Residence Needs:** - housing - employment - long term - training/upgrading - alcohol rehabilitation - recreation - agency advocacy - social services - education advocacy	**Long Term Residence Needs:** - housing - employment - alcohol rehabilitation - cultural support - ethnic organizational development - agency advocacy - educational advocacy - anti-discrimination activity
Sources: Johnson (1976) Brody (1972)	**Sources:** Johnson (1976)	**Sources:** Price (1971), Graves (1971), Stanbury (1972)	**Sources:** Davis (1962), van Boek & van Boek (1959)
Programs: Friendship Centres	**Programs:** Friendship Centres Legal Aid	**Programs:** Provincial Manpower Alcohol Rehabilitation	**Programs:** Friendship Centres Manpower Programs Alcohol Rehabilitation

As seen in this continuum, Gurstein (1977) believed that people's needs change as they pass through various stages of integration and that service agencies must recognize these changes by adjusting their programs. He summarized his observations in the following manner:

> Each of these stages or steps involves a quantitatively different kind of interaction between the Indian person and his environment . . . When the individual first arrives in the city he or she may require "emergency" assistance for shelter, food, employment . . . Speed, flexibility and accessibility are required . . . as [the individual] stays in the community and becomes adjusted to it [she/he] undergoes a shift in the qualitative nature of the service which he requires (p. 39).

Gurstein (1977) was also one of the few researchers in the literature to note the importance of the pre-migration phase as being crucial for successful adaptation to urban life. In this regard he suggested:

> The skills, training and experience which individuals take with them when they begin to migrate, to a very great degree determine the success which will be encountered on arrival . . . It would appear that little or no pre-migration counselling is taking place, nor is the kind of education which young people are receiving appropriate to their needs should they become urban migrants (p. 19).

In its assessment of urban Aboriginal needs, the City of Calgary (1984) found that the following additional services were required to meet the needs of the urban Aboriginal population living in, and moving to, Calgary:

> . . . long and short term accommodation; alcohol and drug abuse programs; services for native women; child care and youth services; vocational and job skills training programs; employment opportunities program; life skills training; more information on available social services for urban native people; referral, social and recreational programs, and programs for the enhancement of native cultural awareness (p. 116).

In their report dealing with the housing conditions of registered Indians in Canada, Clatworthy and Stevens (1987) concluded the following regarding housing issues in the urban setting:

> Our understanding of the housing conditions experienced by Indians living off-reserve is particularly weak, in spite of the fact that approximately 40 percent of Canada's Indian population was reported to be living off-reserve on June 3, 1981. Apart from a few isolated studies conducted in specific localities, off-reserve Indian housing conditions remain largely undocumented (p. 1).

Although their analysis is limited to registered Indians, Clatworthy and Stevens' (1987) detailed analysis of 1981 Census Data concluded by profiling urban housing conditions in the following manner:

> Residency off-reserve clearly results in improved housing conditions among the Indian population, however Indians living off-reserve also lag far behind the non-Indian population in terms of housing well-being . . . Approximately one-third of all off-reserve Indian households . . . pay in excess of 30 percent of their incomes toward shelter. Off-reserve Indian households are also much more likely than non-Indian households to acquire housing which is need of major repairs, lacks basic facilities or is too small to accommodate their space needs (pp. xxii-xxiii).

In assessing the factors affecting housing consumption, they found that:

> Geographic location represents a major factor in the likelihood of an Indian household experiencing housing deficiencies . . . households living in the Prairie provinces, especially Manitoba and Saskatchewan, tend to be particularly poorly housed (p. xxiii).

Woods Gordon Management Consultants (1983) completed a study in Alberta which concluded

that:

> There is an urban Native housing issue, distinct in kind or degree . . . which needs attention and action. We have identified characteristics of the urban Native and his or her circumstances in seeking accommodation, which in our view, distinguish this population from other groups with income, training, life-skills and other disadvantages (p. 1).

This study also identified the necessity of linking counselling services with housing programs and the need for transitional housing for those entering the urban environment.

7.2   SERVICES FOR THE URBAN ABORIGINAL POPULATION

The literature identifies a number of problems related to the systems in place to help Aboriginal peoples adjust and cope with life in the urban environment.

In a study of Native needs in Calgary (1984) a number of factors which have an impact upon the use of existing social service by Natives were identified:

> . . . attitudinal characteristics (not wanting help, lack of trust in social service agencies), knowledge (not knowing where to go for help, thinking they could not get help), institutional characteristics (agency does not understand the problem, help provided did not solve the problem, had to wait for service, did not qualify for help, staff not interested or helpful, lack of cultural orientation), and external factors (received help elsewhere) (p. 115).

Gurstein (1977) suggests that because Indian people are leaving the reserves ill-prepared and ill-equipped for successful integration into urban communities they are unable to cope with the demands of the urban area and must fall back on the resources of their urban relatives and friends, voluntary agencies or government in seeking to adjust to the harsh reality of urban poverty (p. 27). He identifies a number of options for the provision of these services, including: kinship ties (family and friends), ethnic organizations (Indian Friendship Centres), non-government service agencies, and government agencies. In the same way as needs shift over time, so does the nature of the agency capable of providing those services and their related programmatic and delivery strategies.

Frideres (1988) discusses organizations that attempt to deal with Aboriginal urban problems by separating them into four categories: public service organizations (traditional functionally specific bureaucratic organizations serving the general public); acculturating service organizations (e.g., post-secondary educational institutions); accommodating service organizations (special programs established

by public or acculturating services to deal with groups of problematic clients); and member organizations (Friendship Centres and Aboriginal political organizations). Member organizations are distinct from the other three as they tend to work against the assimilation of Natives into the mainstream of Canadian society. Table 3 outlines Frideres' categorization. He notes that the emergence of the accommodating service organizations in recent years have "tended to enhance the legitimacy of existing service organizations" but because they are typically small, less well organized than "public service" and "acculturation service" organizations and dependent on insecure funding sources, they tend to have limited success (pp. 227-28).

Peters (1987) suggests that Aboriginal peoples living in urban centres have developed natural and logical coping mechanisms which reflect Indian cultural interpretations, goals and values that may seem "inappropriate" and "bewildering" for many researchers, planners and policymakers. Strategies such as sharing of income and doubling up of families in a single household are representative of the "conditions they face in the city" (p. 8) and are appropriate when viewed as a strategy for coping with poverty and exclusion (p. 185).

The work of both Frideres and Gurstein raise a number of questions regarding the existing service structure established to help Aboriginal people adjust to urban living. Breton and Grant (1984) dealt with this issue in detail during their work on government programs for urban Indians in the Prairie provinces. Unfortunately, given the practical program evaluative nature of this work, much of it is of limited use in today's rapidly changing policy and programmatic environment.

In the 1970s, the Manitoba Métis Federation (1976) suggested that:

> The root cause of Native migration lies in the rural communities and homes from which the migrants originate, and preventative and remedial action must be applied at that source. To deny this is perpetuating a band-aid program in urban centres that will continuously fail to meet its commitment (Fulham, 1976, p. 17).

They proposed the establishment of a continuum of co-ordinated service delivery, or a "comprehensive migration service," covering both large urban centres and isolated rural communities. Unfortunately, this idea seems to have been lost over the years and little is said about it in the literature. The principle of linking services between rural communities and urban centres, however, seems sound and worthy of further discussion. It may be time to reintroduce these ideas given recent changes in the economic and political environments.

TABLE 3: ATTRIBUTES OF TYPES OF SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

ORGANIZATIONAL TYPE	SELECTED ATTRIBUTES OF ORGANIZATIONS					
	Organizational Effectiveness	Value Representative	Membership Recruitment	Extent of Services	Ethnic Comp. of Staff	Ability to Place Clients
Public Service	High	Middle-class	Mass*	Singular	Middle-class; White	High
Acculturating Service	High	Middle-class	Very** selective	Multiple; integrated	Middle-class; White	High
Accommodating Service	Low	Native	Mass	Singular	Mixed-Native; middle-class; White	Low
Member	Moderate	Native	Mass; Native	Singular	Native	Low

*Recruitment is selective, yet the services offered are considered the right of all citizens.

**Recruitment is usually based on a sponsorship basis.

8.0   FUTURE RESEARCH

The Terms of Reference (see Appendix A) for the literature review section of this report request that suggestions be made for future research.

As highlighted throughout the previous sections, the published material on urban Aboriginal issues is limited in scope, largely dated in relevance and in many cases contains assumptions based on questionable research methodologies. In recent years, Aboriginal urbanization issues have received little attention from researchers despite the fact that the social, economic and political problems within the urban Aboriginal community represent, by all accounts, one of the most serious and complex set of issues currently affecting urban environments.

Recent changes in the political environment related to the inclusion of Aboriginal rights in the Constitution Act (1982) and the movement towards Aboriginal self-government have resulted in a basic shift in the discussion framework which is not yet reflected in the published literature. In addition, changes in the economic environment related to the restructuring of the economy's industrial base and rationalization within government funded agencies represent additional factors which are also not considered in the literature.

As a result, the future research needs in this area are extensive. With few exceptions, past research efforts are of limited use in helping to develop policy and programs in the present environment. Conclusions and assumptions contained in the published literature on urban Aboriginal issues should *all* be re-examined in the contemporary economic and political context.

The following are recommended organizational guidelines for future research activities:

1.   "Holistic" Approach

Future research should be "holistic" and multi-disciplinary in its approach to analyzing the situation, problems, needs and demands of the urban Aboriginal population. One of the lessons learned from past research efforts in this area is that traditional social-scientific research techniques based on breaking down complex multi-faceted problems into small components with little regard for the relationship between components is a practice which is both foreign to Aboriginal peoples and of questionable value for policy makers and those seeking a better understanding of the issues. The "holistic" approach to examining social, economic and political issues seems particularly appropriate for research into problems faced by the urban Aboriginal population. In this respect, there is a need to put in place a research framework which recognizes the integrated nature of the myriad of issues facing the urban Aboriginal population and one which links separate research activities in a co-ordinated and complementary fashion.

2.   **Involvement of Aboriginal Persons**

For far too many years, the non-Aboriginal community has probed and studied the Aboriginal community with little if any input from Aboriginal peoples themselves. Inevitably, this research reflects the values, experience, and cultural background of the researchers, who in the majority of cases are non-Aboriginal. Policies and programs which have been developed, at least in part, from this research invariably reflect these views. This approach is no longer acceptable to many persons within the Aboriginal community. For research into urban Aboriginal issues to have creditability among Aboriginal peoples, it must be initiated, planned, and undertaken by persons possessing the values, experiences and cultural awareness of the various Aboriginal communities affected. As Aboriginal organizations at both national and provincial levels continue to develop, the road to greater self-determination will become increasingly difficult and complex. Research, and the institutions conducting research into Aboriginal issues, will become an important and vital structural component supporting and justifying decisions and directions in the future.

3.   **Independence**

The urban Aboriginal subject area is clouded by a number of political/jurisdictional issues. Each of the parties involved in developing policy and implementing programs, be they government, non-government/non-Aboriginal or Aboriginal, have inherent agendas on the issue. For research to have value and credibility, it must be conducted in an independent environment by persons without subordinate linkages to the established parties involved in the formulation of policy.

4.   **Co-ordination**

One of the problems with most research efforts is the lack of co-ordination between persons and agencies conducting the research as well as between researchers and those agencies which are positioned to make use of the research. Co-ordination is the key to solving this linkage problem, to enhance research efforts and to ensure the maximum utilization of research products. Co-ordination is best achieved through the establishment of research networks and the establishment of a stable focal point to guide the discussion.

As stated previously, the available research concerned with the urbanization of Aboriginal peoples is of limited use to policy makers. A new body of research, assembled using the organizational guidelines identified above, is required. The first area of concern relates to migration and settlement patterns. Questions related to magnitude, timing, origin-destination (rural-urban, urban-urban, and within urban centres), future trends (particularly related to the effects of Bill-C31), social-demographic/economic characteristics of migrants *vs.* residents (including employment, education, health, *etc.*), patterns of housing consumption and housing needs all need to be addressed.

Comparisons of findings with the conclusions of previous researchers would help identify new trends and refine our currently dated understanding of Urban Aboriginal needs.

Once this initial research is complete, a number of additional research initiatives could be undertaken related to a list of issues including but not limited to the following:

- An examination of the relationship between the home reserve/rural community and the forces of migration.

- The structure and effectiveness of existing service agencies involved with helping Aboriginal persons adjust to urban living.

- The effectiveness of existing urban Native housing agencies and their role in providing affordable housing options for both the migrant and resident urban Aboriginal population.

NOTES

1.   Statistics Canada. The Daily. March 30, 1993. Catalogue 11-001E. p. 3.

2.   Statistics Canada. Information Package on Aboriginal Products from the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey and the 1991 Census of Population, presented March 17, 1992 meeting in Winnipeg (p. 5).

3.   Statistics Canada. User's Guide to 1991 Aboriginal Data (p. 3).

4.   This 226,270 number has been adjusted upwards by 38,000 to compensate for those reserves and settlements where enumeration was not permitted, was interrupted before being completed, was late or the quality of data was unacceptable (Statistics Canada Update, p. 6). It should also be noted that this number is significantly different from figures provided by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada in their report on Basic Departmental Data - 1991, which suggests that approximately 300,000 registered Indians live on reserves in Canada (p. 5). Unfortunately the reason for this discrepancy is unclear in the literature.

5.   Statistics Canada, *The Daily*, March 30, 1993, p. 2.

6.   Statistics Canada, *User's Guide to 1991 Aboriginal Data*, p. 6.

7.   These factors are discussed throughout Dosman's book and are used to differentiate his classification of the urban Native population into "Affluent," "Anomic" and "Welfare."

APPENDIX A

RESEARCH PROJECT
TERMS OF REFERENCE

APPENDIX A

RESEARCH PROJECT
TERMS OF REFERENCE

Title: Future of Aboriginal Urbanization in Prairie Cities - Phase 1.

Introduction: The Institute of Urban Studies (IUS) and the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) have agreed to undertake a study on the Future of Aboriginal Urbanization in Prairie Cities. The nature of the partnership agreed upon by IUS and CMHC is outlined in the record of agreements from the September 22, 1992 meeting and in subsequent correspondence between IUS and CMHC.

Objectives: The first objective of the study is to review the existing research and literature to highlight and synthesize the current knowledge on the following issues:

- Demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, housing preferences, housing needs and spatial distribution of the urban Aboriginal population in the Prairies;

- Magnitude, pattern and trend of Aboriginal migration to Prairie cities and to gain insight into factors which influence Aboriginal migration;

- Factors which influence the spatial distribution of the Prairie Aboriginal population;

- Emerging issues and trade-offs related to urban Aboriginal populations, for housing and social needs, neighbourhood planning and quality of life.

The second objective is to identify data sources, analytical methods as well as data needs for future research.

Work Detail: The IUS will conduct and extensive literature review of past studies on urban Aboriginal issues with particular emphasis on Canadian Prairie and American Plains cities. In particular, the literature review should focus on:

1. Demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the urban Aboriginal population. Demographic and socioeconomic characteristics include age/sex distribution, household size, household composition, income distribution, wealth, employment status, ethnic and cultural background.

   Special interest should be paid to differences which may exist between the status Indian population and other Aboriginal groups. The availability of data on the various Aboriginal groups should also be examined. IUS will discuss the advantages and disadvantages of separate analysis for these groups and recommend which approach should be taken in future research initiatives.

2. Magnitude, patterns, trends and factors which influence Aboriginal migration to urban areas. Explore the characteristics of Aboriginal migrants and how they compare to other facets of the population.

3. Characteristics and needs for social housing services for the urban Aboriginal and migrant Aboriginal population and how they differ from the overall population.

4. Spatial distribution of urban Aboriginal peoples. To identify the spatial distribution and characteristics of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal households as well as the distribution of Urban Native social housing units. In addition, to explore the potential causes or explanations of these spatial distributions.

5. Social needs of the Aboriginal population as well as formal and informal support systems that exist within the community.

6. Housing needs, including special needs, and preferences of the urban Aboriginal population. Explore the cost and benefits of different city locations and housing structure types. Explore how Aboriginal people are housed in Canadian cities outside of the Prairies.

7. Aboriginal population projections for Prairie urban centres.

In its report, IUS will provide the following:

A. In an annotated bibliography, for each report reviewed:

　　1. Summarize the key findings of past research on issues listed above;
　　2. Summarize the key findings of past research on other issues;
　　3. Summarize major data sources, methods of analysis and future research issues identified; and
　　4. Provide a short assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the report.

B. In a literature review (published as conclusion or under separate cover):

　　1. Provide an overall assessment of the state of knowledge in the subject areas;
　　2. Provide and overall assessment of research needs related to the social and housing needs as well as living environments of Aboriginal peoples in Prairie cities;
　　3. Provide an assessment of data sources; and
　　4. Make recommendations for future research initiatives.

APPPENDIX B

LIST OF AGENCIES CONTACTED

APPENDIX B

LIST OF AGENCIES CONTACTED

ALBERTA

- Aboriginal Urban Affairs Committee
- Métis Nation of Alberta
- Department of Native American Studies, University of Lethbridge
- School of Native Studies, University of Alberta
- Indian Association of Alberta
- Edmonton Family Centre
- Government of Alberta
  - Advisory Committee on Native Issues Library
  - Municipal Affairs Library
  - Multiculturalism Library
- Native Council of Canada (Alberta)
- Family Service Association of Edmonton

SASKATCHEWAN

- Department of Native Studies, University of Saskatchewan
- Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations
- Native Council of Canada (Saskatchewan)
- Indian And Métis Affairs Secretariat

MANITOBA

- Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (Winnipeg)
- Manitoba Métis Federation
- Native Studies Department, University of Manitoba
- Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg
- Treaty and Aboriginal Rights Association
- Canadian Council for Native Business (Winnipeg)
- Native Affairs Secretariat

APPPENDIX C

PUBLICATIONS REVIEWED

APPENDIX C

PUBLICATIONS REVIEWED

Alberta. Native Counselling Services of Alberta and Native Affairs Secretariat. *Demographic Characteristics of Natives in Edmonton.* Edmonton: Native Affairs Secretariat, 1985.

Alberta. Policy and Planning Branch, Native Affairs Secretariat. *A Demographic Overview of the Native Population in Alberta.* Edmonton: Native Affairs Secretariat, July 1985.

Antony, Wayne, "Urban Native Housing Policy." Draft Report. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, n.d.

Archer, Paula. *Urban Native Social and Housing Conditions: An Annotated Bibliography.* Ottawa: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1991.

Bailey, Norma, Director. *It's Hard to Get It Here.* National Film Board of Canada. Videocassette. Order Number 0184 042, 1991.

Baril, E.J. "Native Households in Winnipeg: Strategies of Co-Residence and Financial Support." Master's Thesis, Queen's University, 1981.

Bourne, L.S. et al. *Canada's Ethnic Mosaic: Characteristics and Patterns of Ethnic Origin Groups in Urban Areas.* Major Report No. 24. Toronto: Centre for Urban and University Studies, University of Toronto, 1986.

Boxhill, Walter O. "1981 Census Data on the Native Peoples of Canada." *Canadian Statistical Review* (February 1985).

Brascoupé, Simon. *Native Awareness Workshop: Handbook of Canada's Native Peoples.* 3 Vols. Ottawa: Department of Regional Economic Expansion, 1980-81.

Breton, Raymond and Gail Grant, eds. *The Dynamics of Government Programs for Urban Indians in the Prairie Provinces.* Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1984.

Breton, Raymond and Gail Grant Akian. *Urban Institutions and People of Indian Ancestry: Suggestions for Research.* Occasional Paper No. 5. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1978.

Brody, Hugh. *Indians on Skid Row.* Ottawa: Northern Science Research Group, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1971.

Calgary. Social Services Department. *Native Needs Assessment.* Calgary: City of Calgary, March 1984.

Canada. Interdepartmental Steering Committee on Native Economic Development. *The Indian Socio-Economic Environment: Annex 5,* June 1987.

Canada. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. *Basic Departmental Data: 1991.* Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, December 1991.

Canada. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. *Aboriginal Peoples in Urban Centres: Report of the National Round Table on Aboriginal Urban Issues.* Ottawa: Canada Communications Group, 1993.

98

Canada. Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs. *A Time for Action: Aboriginal and Northern Housing,* Fourth Report of the Committee. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1992.

_____. *Unfinished Business: An Agenda for all Canadians in the 1990s, Second Report.* Ottawa: Queen's Printer, March 1990.

Canadian Council for Native Business. *Against the Odds: The Role of Native Peoples in Canada's Business Economy*. Toronto: Canadian Council for Native Business, 1990.

Canadian Council for Native Business. *Standing Alone: The Role of Canada's Native Peoples in the Business Economy.* Toronto: Canadian Council for Native Business, April 1989.

Cassidy, Michael. *Overview of the First Round*. Report prepared for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. October 1992.

Chu, J.W.I. "Urban Native Housing: Problems, Policies, Programs and Prospects." Master's Thesis, Department of City Planning, University of Manitoba, 1991.

Clatworthy, Stewart. *The Demographic Composition and Economic Circumstances of Winnipeg's Native Population*. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1980.

_____. *The Effects of Education on Native Behaviour in the Urban Labour Market*. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1981.

_____. *The Effects of Length of Urban Residency on Native Labour Market Behaviour*. Research and Working Papers. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1983.

_____. *Issues Concerning the Role of Native Women in the Winnipeg Labour Market*. Technical Study 5. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1981.

_____. *Native Housing Conditions in Winnipeg*. Paper 81. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1983.

_____. *Patterns of Native Employment in the Winnipeg Labour Market*. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1981.

Clatworthy, Stewart and Harvey Stevens. *An Overview of the Housing Condition of Registered Indians in Canada*. Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1987.

Clatworthy, Stewart and Jeremy Hull. *Native Economic Conditions in Regina and Saskatoon*. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1983.

Clatworthy, Stewart and Jonathan P. Gunn. *Economic Circumstances of Native People in Selected Metropolitan Centres in Western Canada*. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1982.

Comeau, Pauline and Aldo Santin. *The First Canadians: A Profile of Canada's Native People Today*. Toronto: James Lorimer, 1990.

Damas and Smith Limited. *Neeginan: A Feasibility Report*. Winnipeg: Neeginan (Manitoba) Incorporated, April 1975.

Dansys Consultants Inc. *Aboriginal People in Manitoba: Population Estimates for 1986 and 1991.* Winnipeg: The Manitoba Inquiry into Justice and Aboriginal People, October 1990.

Davis, Arthur K. *Edging into Mainstream: Urban Indians in Saskatchewan.* Calgary: University of Alberta, 1965.

De Jourdan, Alan. "Native Housing: The Focus is Self-Help." *Habitat,* 18,2 (1975).

Denton, Trevor. "Migration from a Canadian Indian Reserve." *Journal of Canadian Studies.* 7,2 (1972): 54-62.

Djao, Angela Wei. *Housing Needs of Urban Native Families: A Comparative Study of Children's and Parent's Perceptions.* Research Project No. 6. Ottawa: CMHC Children's Environments Advisory Service, 1980.

Dosman, Edgar J. *Indians: The Urban Dilemma.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1972.

Evalucan Limited. *Urban Native Referral Program—Evaluation.* Edmonton: Native Secretariat, Province of Alberta, February 1982.

Falconer, Patrick. "The Overlooked of the Neglected: Native Single Mothers in Major Cities on the Prairies." In J. Hull and J. Silver eds., *The Political Economy of Manitoba.* Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, 1990, pp. 188-210.

_____. "Urban Indian Needs: Federal Policy Responsibility and Options in the Context of the Talks on Aboriginal Self-Government." Winnipeg: Unpublished discussion paper, 1985.

Family Service Association of Edmonton. *Adjustment Factors in the Indian Moving to the Urban Community.* Edmonton: Family Service Association of Edmonton, 1966.

Farkas, C.S. and C.P. Shaw. "Public Health Departments and Native Health Care in Urban Centres." *Canadian Journal of Public Health,* 77 (1986): 274-76.

Flanagan, Thomas. *Métis Lands in Manitoba.* Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1991.

Frideres, James S. "Institutional Structures and Economic Deprivation: Native People in Canada." In B. Singh Bolaria and Peter S. Li, *Racial Oppression in Canada.* Toronto: Garamond Press, 1988, pp. 71-100.

_____. *Native People in Canada: Contemporary Conflicts.* Third Edition. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1988.

Fulham, Richard Scott. *Economic Strategies for Urban Indians.* Winnipeg: Urban Indian Association of Manitoba, October 1987.

Fulham, Stanley A. *In Search of a Future: A Submission on the Migration of Native People.* Winnipeg: Manitoba Métis Federation Press, 1976.

Gerber, Linda M. "Community Characteristics and Out-Migration from Canadian Indian Reserves: Path Analyses." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology,* 21,2 (1984): 145-65.

_____. *Trends in Out-Migration from Indian Communities Across Canada: A Report for the Task Force on Migrating Native Peoples.* Ottawa: Department of the Secretary of State, March 1977.

Gibbon, Roger and J.R. Ponting. "Historical Overview and Background." In J.R. Ponting, ed., *Arduous Journey: Canadian Indians and Decolonization*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986, pp. 18-56.

Graham, Katherine. *An Overview of Socio-Demographic Conditions of Registered Indians Residing Off-Reserve*. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1987.

Grant, Gail. *The Concrete Reserve: Corporate Programs for Indians in the Urban Work Place*. Montreal: Institute for Research and Public Policy, 1983.

Guillemin, J. *Urban Renegades: The Cultural Strategy of American Indians*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1975.

Gurstein, Michael. *Urbanization and Indian People: An Analytical Literature Review.* Ottawa: Development Planning Associates, 1977.

Hagey, N.J., G. Larocque and C. McBride. *Highlights of Aboriginal Conditions 1981-2001. Part 1, Demographic Trends*. Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1989.

_____. *Highlights of Aboriginal Conditions 1981-2001. Part 2, Social Conditions*. Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1989.

Hagey, N.J., G. Larocque and C. McBride. *Highlights of Aboriginal Conditions 1981-2001. Part 3, Economic Conditions*. Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1989.

Hanson, Bill. *Dual Realities, Dual Strategies: The Future Paths of Aboriginal People's Development: A Programmer's Handbook*. Saskatoon: Bill Hanson, 1985.

Hawkes, David C., ed. *Aboriginal Peoples and Government Responsibility: Exploring Federal and Provincial Roles*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989.

Hawthorn, H.B. ed. *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: A Report on the Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies* - Two Volumes. Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1966.

Holland, Peter. *Management Training Needs of Urban Native Housing Projects*. Ottawa: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1988.

Hull, Jeremy. *An Overview of the Educational Characteristics of Registered Indians in Canada*. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1987.

_____. *Native Women and Work*. Report 2. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1984.

_____. *Natives in a Class Society*. Saskatoon: One Sky, 1983.

Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada. *The Challenge of Assisting the Canadian Aboriginal People to Adjust to Urban Environments.* Report of the First Western Canada Indian-Métis Seminar. Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1962.

James, Becky M. *Something to Live For, Something to Reach For*. Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1989.

Johnston, Frank. *Core Area Report: A Reassessment of Conditions in Inner City Winnipeg*. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1979.

Kerri, James N. "Indians in a Canadian City: Analysis of Social Adaptive Strategies." *Urban Anthropology*, 5, 2 (1976): 143-56.

Krotz, Larry. *Urban Indians: The Strangers in Canada's Cities*. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers Ltd., 1980.

Linklater, Clive. *Native Migration: Phase Two*. Ottawa: Department of the Secretary of State, October, 1972.

Lipman, Marvin and Clare Brandt. *Urban Native Housing in Canada*. Research and Working Papers 19. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1986.

Lithman, Y.G. *The Community Apart: A Case Study of a Canadian Indian Reserve Community*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1984.

Little Bear, L., M. Boldt and J.A. Long, eds. *Pathways to Self Determination: Canadian Indians and the Canadian State*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.

Lockhart, A. and D. McCaskill "Toward an Integrated, Community Based Partnership Model of Native Development and Training." *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 6,1 (1986).

Maidman, F. *Native People in Urban Settings: Problems, Needs and Services*. A Report of the Ontario Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting. Toronto: Government of Ontario, 1981.

Manitoba. Department of Northern and Native Affairs. *Developing an Indian and Métis Urban Native Strategy for Manitoba*. Winnipeg: Resource Initiatives Limited, June 1989.

Manitoba Bureau of Statistics. *Manitoba Aboriginal Persons: A Statistical Profile*. Winnipeg: Manitoba Bureau of Statistics, May 1989.

McArthur, Doug. "The New Aboriginal Economic Development Institution." In Paul Kariya, ed., *Native Socio-Economic Development in Canada: Change, Promise and Innovations*. Native Issues 2. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1989: 33-46.

McCaskill, Don N. "Migration, Adjustment and Integration of the Indians into the Urban Environment." Master's Thesis, Carleton University, 1970.

_____. "The Urbanization of Indians in Winnipeg, Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver: A Comparative Analysis." *Culture*, 1, 1 (1981): 82-89.

McGahan, Peter. *Urban Sociology in Canada*. Second Edition. Toronto: Butterworths, 1986, pp. 93-103.

McMillan, Alan D. *Native Peoples and Cultures of Canada: An Anthropological Overview*. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntrye, 1988.

Meadous, Mary Lea, "Adaption to Urban Life by Native Canadian Women." M.A. Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Calgary, June 1981.

Morinis, E. Alan. "Skid Row Indians and the Politics of Self." *Culture*, 2,3 (1982): 93-105.

Nagler, M. *Indians in the City: A Study of the Urbanization of Indians in Toronto*. Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, St. Paul's University, 1970.

Obomsawin, Alanis, Director. *No Address*. National Film Board of Canada. Videocassette. Order Number C 0188 057, 1988.

Peters, Evelyn. *Indians in Regina and Saskatoon, 1982: Some Strategies of Household Organization*. Ph.D. Thesis, Queen's University. Ottawa: CMHC, 1987.

_____. "Native Women's Adaptive Strategies in Urban Milieux." Department of Geography, Queens University, Unpublished Paper, 1992.

_____. "Self-Government for Aboriginal People in Urban Areas: A Literature Review and Suggestions for Research." Queen's University, Unpublished Paper, 1992.

Price, John A. *Native Studies: American and Canadian Indians.* Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1978.

Reeves, W. and J. Frideres. "Government Policy and Indian Urbanization: The Alberta Case." *Canadian Public Policy*, 7,4 (1981): 584-95.

Report on Urban Native Economic Development. Regina: Mayor's Task Force on Indian and Métis Initiatives, 1984.

Ryan, J. *Wall of Words: The Betrayal of the Urban Indian.* Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Ltd., 1978.

Sanderson, Gordon. "Canada's First All-Native Housing Co-op." *Habitat*, 27,4 (1984).

Saskatchewan. Indian and Native Affairs Secretariat. *Indian and Native Economic Development in Saskatchewan*. Regina: The Secretariat, November 1984.

Saskatchewan Senior Citizens' Provincial Council. *A Study of the Unmet Needs of Off-Reserve Indian and Métis Elderly in Saskatchewan*. Regina: Senior Citizens' Provincial Council, June 1988.

Saskatoon. Task Force on Housing for Native People in Saskatoon. *Report of the Task Force on Housing for Native People in Saskatoon.* Saskatoon: City of Saskatoon, 1979.

Shah, C.P. and C.S. Farkas. "The Health of Indians in Canadian Cities: A Challenge to the Health Care System." *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 133,1 (1985): 859-63.

Shorten, Lynda. *Without Reserve: Stories from Urban Natives*. Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1991.

Siggner, Andrew J. "The Aboriginal Socio-economic Situation: A Rural-Urban Comparison." In Roy D. Bollman, ed., *Rural and Small Town Canada.* Thompson Educational Publishing Inc., 1992, pp. 369-81.

Siggner, Andrew J. "The Socio-Demographic Conditions of Registered Indians." In J.R. Ponting, ed., *Arduous Journey: Canadian Indians and Decolonization.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986, pp. 57-83.

Simon, J.L., R.R. Forster, T. Alcose, E.A. Brabec and F. Ndubisi. *A Culturally Sensitive Approach to Planning and Design with Native Canadians*. Ottawa: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1984.

Social Planning Council of Winnipeg. *SPeCifics Newsletter, Urban Aboriginal Perspectives*, 2,3-4 (May 1991).

_____. *Winnipeg Census Data. Insights and Trends: Aboriginals*. Information kit. Winnipeg: 1989.

Sprague, D.W. Canada and the Métis, 1869-1885. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988.

Sorkin, Alan L. *The Urban American Indian*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1978.

Stanbury, W.T. *Success and Failure: Indians in Urban Society*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1975.

Statistics Canada. *A Profile of the Aboriginal Population Residing in Selected Off-Reserve Areas*, 1986 Census, Volume 2, February 1990.

Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Output Program. *Aboriginal Population by Census Subdivision from the 1986 Census of Canada.* March 1989.

Strain, Laurel A. and Neena L. Chappell. "Social Networks of Urban Native Elders: A Comparison with Non-Natives." *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 21,2 (1989): 104-17.

Tizya, Rosalee. "Comments on Urban Aboriginals and Self-Government." In Douglas Brown, ed., *Aboriginal Governments and Power Sharing in Canada.* Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University, 1992.

Waddell, J.O. and O.M. Watson, eds. *The American Indian in Urban Society*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971.

Waldram, J.B. and M.M. Layman. *Health Care in Saskatoon's Inner City: A Comparative Study of Native and Non-Native Utilization Patterns*. Native Issues 3. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1989.

Weinfeld, Morton. "An Urban Option for Native People." *Policy Options*, 6,2 (1985): 10-12.

Wherrett, J. and D. Brown. *Self-Government for Aboriginal Peoples living in Urban Areas*. Prepared for the Native Council of Canada, Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University, April 1992.

Yarnell, Jennifer. *Urban Aboriginal Issues: A Literature Review.* Winnipeg: The Aboriginal Justice Inquiry, February, 1990.

Yerbury, J.C. "British Columbia Native Nations in Transition: The Urbanization Process." *Urban Anthropology*, 9,3 (1980): 319-39.

_____. *The Dispossessed: Life and Death in Native Canada*. Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989.

York G. "Fighting a losing battle: slums and racism: Native migrants land in city's broken-down heart." *The Globe and Mail*, January 6, 1988, p. A12.

APPENDIX D

ABORIGINAL PEOPLES OF CANADA: A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

APPENDIX D
ABORIGINAL PEOPLES OF CANADA:
A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

Throughout the first section of this report the term Aboriginal is used as an inclusive term to describe all persons of at least one Aboriginal origin (i.e., North American Indian, Métis, or Inuit).

The majority of literature reviewed for this report, however, uses the term "Native" which generally refers to the same population group as the term Aboriginal. As a result, the term Native frequently appears in both the annotated bibliography and literature review sections of this report and can be used interchangeably with Aboriginal.

The distinctions made between different segments of the Aboriginal community have played, and will continue to play, an important role in Aboriginal issues, particularly at the urban level. A cautionary note is provided by Frideres (1988) when he suggests that differences within the Aboriginal community can be exaggerated or ignored at will to suit specific purposes (p. 17). Readers of the literature dealing with Aboriginal issues must be aware of these differences and cautious about misinterpreting conclusions based on analysing one segment of the Aboriginal population and applying the results to the entire Aboriginal population. A basic comprehension of the various terms used in the literature is necessary to begin understanding the literature as well as many of the current dynamics within the Aboriginal community and between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities.

Throughout the literature, many terms are used by researchers to describe different segments of the Aboriginal population of Canada. These terms, which are based on several legal, cultural and/or locational factors, are described in the following discussion.

The terms "legal," "registered" and "status" are used interchangeably throughout the literature to refer to a specific group of individuals having a special relationship with the government of Canada. These individuals are defined "legally" within the Indian Act and "fall under the legislative and administrative competence of the federal government" (Frideres, 1988, p. 9). They have "status" within the Act and their names are included on a "registry" kept by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (Ponting, 1986, p. 18). Because the term status Indian is essentially a legal definition, it has been subject to change as amendments have occurred to the Act. The most recent of these changes is related to Bill C-31 which was passed by the Parliament of Canada in June of 1985. This Bill amended the Indian Act to allow for the restoration of Indian status and membership rights to individuals and their children who had lost them because of discriminatory clauses contained in the Act. Thus, the term status Indian refers to a segment of the Aboriginal population which is subject to change as the legal definition in the Indian Act changes. Awareness of these changes is particularly important for researchers attempting to quantify and analyze this segment of the Aboriginal population.

An important distinction made throughout the literature, particularly in documents dealing with urban Aboriginal issues, is the categorization of status Indians into those residing "on reserve" and those residing "off reserve."[1]

In 1990, 60 percent of the status Indian population lived on reserves with 40 percent living off reserves. This split has changed considerably over the last few decades as evidenced by the equivalent 1966 figures which indicate an 80 percent on-reserve, 20 percent off-reserve split. This shift in location for a large segment of the status Indian population provides the fundamental evidence supporting the occurrence of an Aboriginal urbanization trend in Canada.

An additional distinction frequently used in the literature refers to "treaty" and "non-treaty" Indians. Treaty Indians are those whose ancestors signed a treaty with the government of Canada (Frideres, 1988, p. 9). Contrary to the frequent usage of the term, not all status Indians are treaty Indians. In

many parts of the country treaties were never signed between Indians and the government of Canada. Only about 57 percent of all status Indians are also treaty Indians (Ponting, 1986, p. 19). For the most part, however, status Indians living in the three prairie provinces are treaty Indians.

An important observation contained in the literature suggests that the Indian population cannot be viewed as a homogeneous group. One researcher notes the following:

> The Indian population is incredibly diverse ethnically. Indeed, different peoples whom Canadians of European ancestry lump together under the term "Indian" have long thought of themselves as quite different peoples (e.g., Micmacs, Haudenosaunee, Cree, Haida, Dogrib). This self-definition of separateness is reinforced by different ecological adaptations to quite different physical environments (for instance, Plains Cree versus Woodland Cree versus West Coast), with resultant vast differences in symbolic and material culture and in economics in earlier times (as illustrated by the sedentary agricultural way of life in southern Ontario compared to the migratory buffalo-oriented life on the Prairies) (Ponting, 1986, p. 19).

Another segment of the Aboriginal population frequently identified in the literature is Non-status Indians. These people are either former status Indians who have lost their status through marriage or "enfranchisement,"[2] or the off-spring of such individuals (Ponting, 1986, p. 18).

Persons of mixed ancestry are defined as Métis. Initially the name was used to define those with a combination of French and Indian backgrounds. The term is now generally used in a broader sense to refer to people with partial Indian ancestry (Frideres, 1988, p. 15). Non-status Indians and Métis are frequently combined into a single group in the literature to refer to Aboriginal people who are not defined as status Indians.

A further distinction noted in some reports refers to "on-colony" and "off-colony" Métis. This seems to be a particularly important distinction in Alberta and B.C. where a number of Métis live on specified land areas similar to Indian reserves.

Another segment of the Aboriginal population identified in the literature is the Inuit. As with status Indians, the definition of Inuit has changed over time. In the past a "disk" number was used and allotted to each Inuk. In recent years, other definitions have surfaced in the literature such as "those people known as Inuit, Eskimo or Inuvialuit who claim traditional use and occupancy of the land" (Frideres, 1988, p. 16).

Without question, the Aboriginal population in Canada is a diverse group of peoples representing a wide assortment of cultural and ethnic backgrounds.

NOTES

1.   The term "on reserve" is used in various government publications and refers to Crown lands and settlements. "Off reserve" is a residual term referring to all other locations.

2.   Enfranchisement was the "principal reward held out to Indians contemplating assimilation" (Ponting, 1986, p. 29). In the past, enfranchisement could occur in several different ways. Until 1960, an Indian had to give up legal status, and legal status of all heirs, in order to vote in a federal election. Another way of losing Indian status was through intermarriage. Indian females who married non-Indian males lost Indian status for herself as well as her children. With the passage of Bill C-31, the concept of enfranchisement was abolished and reinstatement provisions were established for those people who had previously lost their status (Frideres, 1988, pp. 11-12).

APPENDIX E

CENSUS CANADA - ETHNIC ORIGIN QUESTIONS

APPENDIX E
CENSUS CANADA - ETHNIC ORIGIN QUESTIONS

1981 Ethnic Origin Question (2B Form)

26.   To which ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestors belong on first coming to this continent?
(see Guide for further information)

Native Peoples

☐	French	☐	Inuit
☐	English	☐	Status or registered Indian
☐	Irish	☐	Non-status Indian
☐	Scottish	☐	Métis
☐	German		
☐	Italian		
☐	Ukrainian		
☐	Dutch (Netherlands)		
☐	Polish		
☐	Jewish		
☐	Chinese		

Other - specify

_____

1986 Ethnic Origin Question (2A Form)

7.   Do you consider yourself an aboriginal person or a native Indian of North America, that is, Inuit, North American Indian, or Métis?
(see Question Guidelines)

☐   No, I do not consider myself Inuit, North American Indian or Métis
☐   Yes, Inuit
☐   Yes, status or registered Indian
☐   Yes. Métis

1986 Ethnic Origin Question (2B Form)

17. To which ethnic or cultural group(s) do you or did your ancestors belong? (see Guide)

Mark or specify as many as applicable

☐ French
☐ English
☐ Irish
☐ Scottish
☐ German
☐ Italian
☐ Ukrainian
☐ Dutch (Netherlands)
☐ Chinese
☐ Jewish
☐ Polish
☐ Black
☐ Inuit
☐ North American Indian
☐ Métis

Other ethnic or cultural group(s). For example, Portuguese, Greek, Indian (India), Pakistani, Filipino, Japanese, Vietnamese. (specify below)

_____

_____

_____

1991 Ethnic Origin Question (2B form)

15. To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person's ancestors belong?

Mark or specify as many as applicable.

Note:
*While most people of Canada view themselves as Canadian, information about their ancestral origins has been collected since the 1901 Census to reflect the changing composition of the Canadian population and is needed to ensure that everyone, regardless of his/her ethnic or cultural background, has **equal opportunity** to share fully in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada. Therefore, this question refers to the origins of this person's **ancestors.***

See Guide

☐ French
☐ English
☐ German
☐ Scottish
☐ Italian
☐ Irish
☐ Ukrainian

☐   Chinese
☐   Dutch (Netherlands)
☐   Jewish
☐   Polish
☐   Black
☐   North American Indian
☐   Métis
☐   Inuit/Eskimo

Other ethnic or cultural groups(s) - specify

Examples of other ethnic or cultural groups are: Portuguese, Greek, Indian from India, Pakistani, Filipino, Vietnamese, Japanese, Lebanese, Haitian, etc.

_____

_____

16.   Is this person a registered Indian as defined by the Indian Act of Canada?

     ☐   No
     ☐   Yes, registered Indian

     Specify Indian Band or First Nation (for example, Musqueam)

     _____

APPENDIX F

SELECTED DATA ON THE URBAN ABORIGINAL POPULATION

FIGURE 1
ABORIGINAL PEOPLES OF CANADA, 1991

Total Canadian
Population

Total Aboriginal
Population

Non-Aboriginal
96%

Aboriginal
4%

N. American
Indian
783980 75%

Inuit
49255 5%

Metis
212650 20%
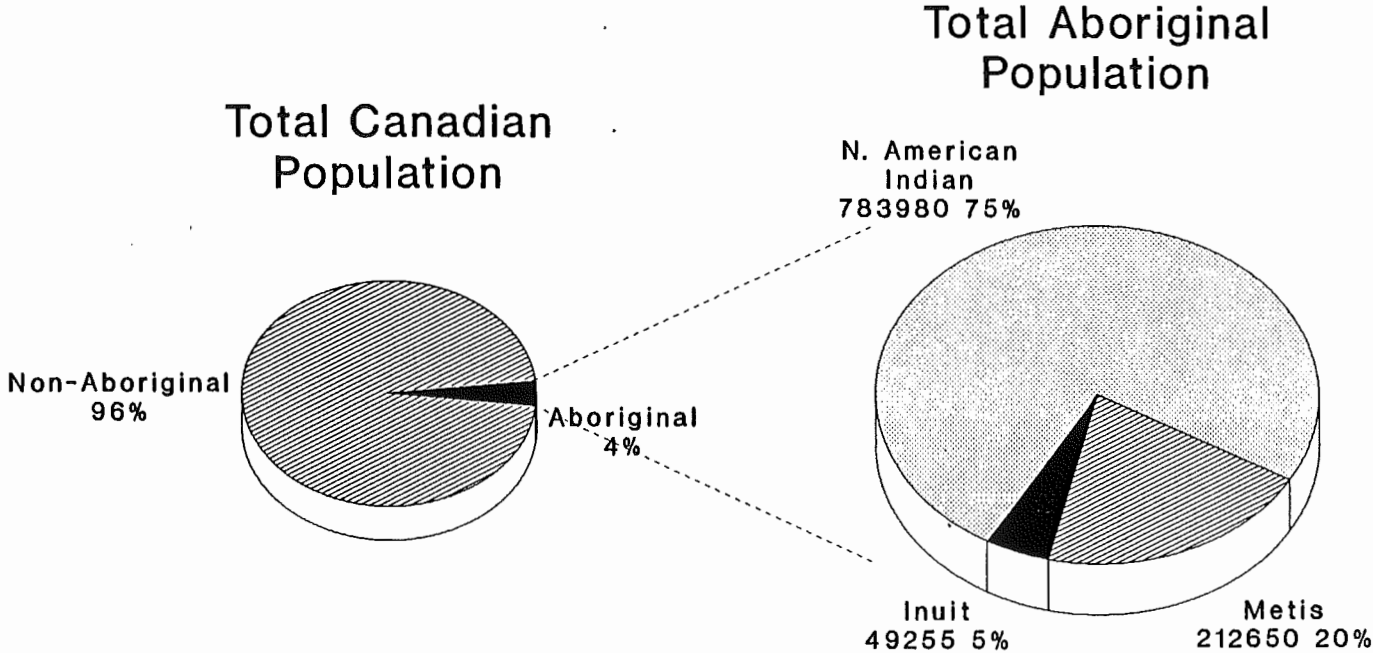
Data Source: 1991 Census of Canada

FIGURE 2
TOTAL ABORIGINAL POPULATION, 1991
REGIONS

B.C.
169,035 17%

N.
Territories
41,780 4%

Atlantic
49,690 5%

Quebec
137,615 14%

Ontario
243,550 24%

Prairie
Provinces
361,000 36%

Alberta
148,220 41%

Saskatchewan
96,580 27%

Manitoba
116,200 32%

Total Aboriginal Population
1,002,675
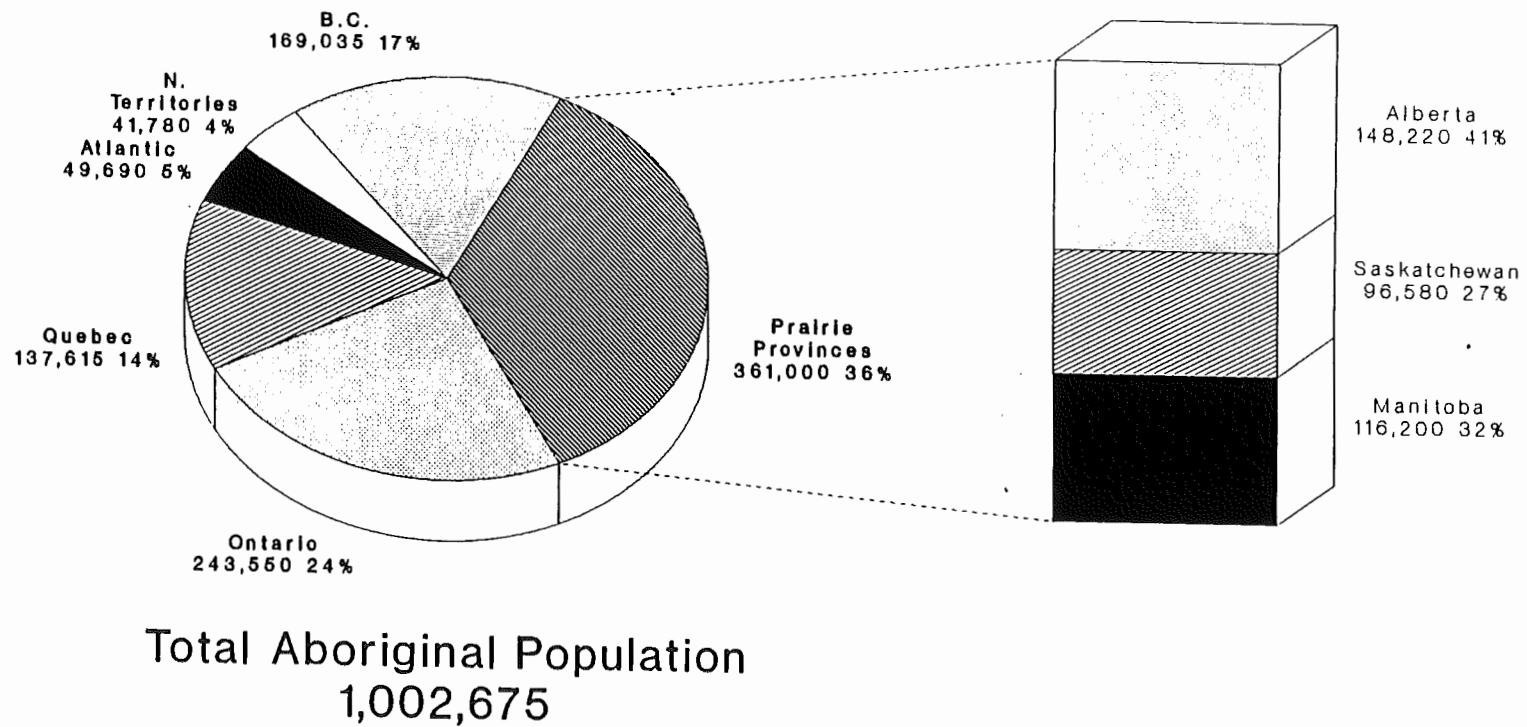
DATA SOURCE: 1991 CENSUS OF CANADA

FIGURE 3
ABORIGINAL POPULATION, 1986 & 1991
PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES
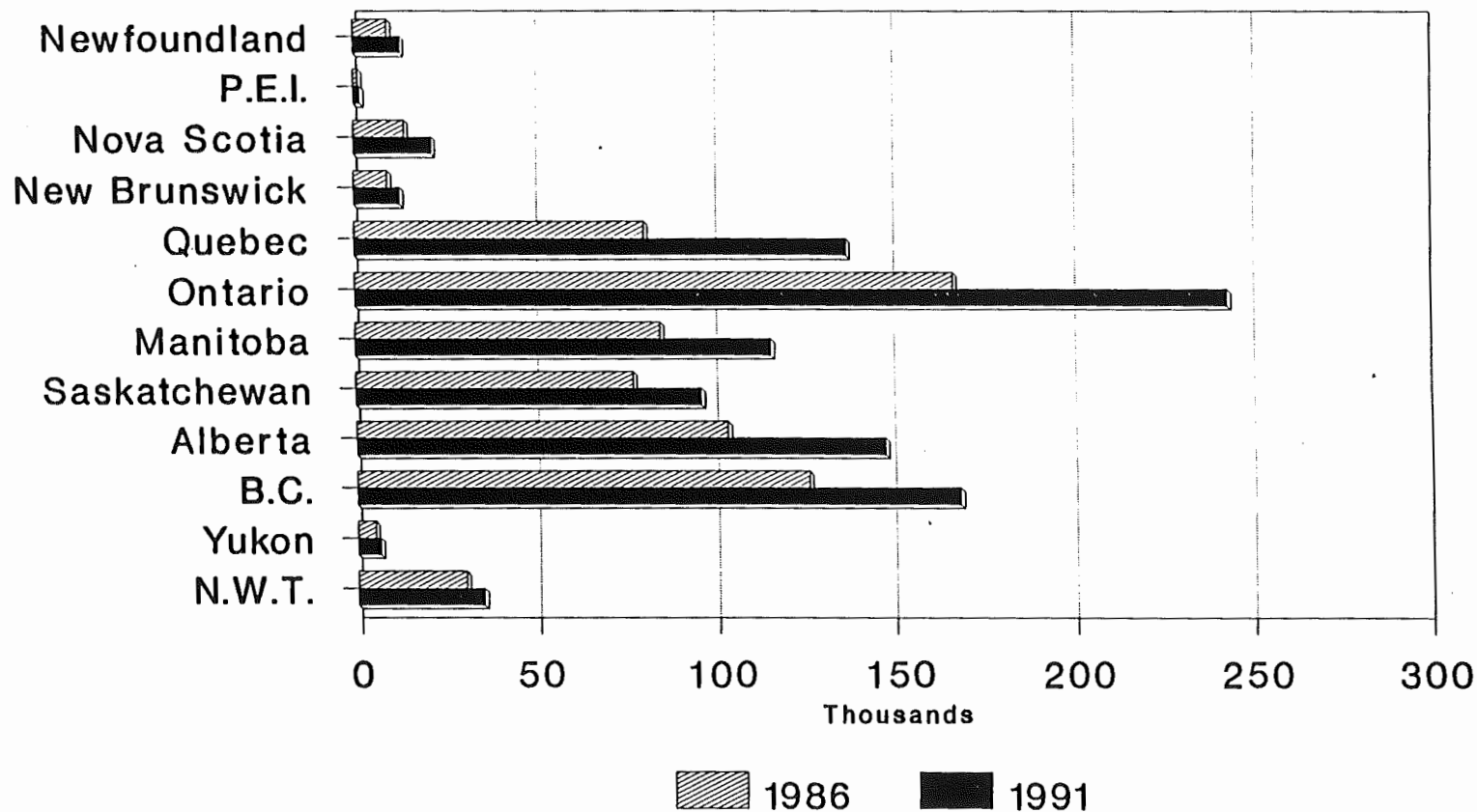
Data Source: 1986, 1991 Census of Canada

FIGURE 4
ABORIGINAL POPULATION, 1986 & 1991
CANADA, PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES

Percent of Total
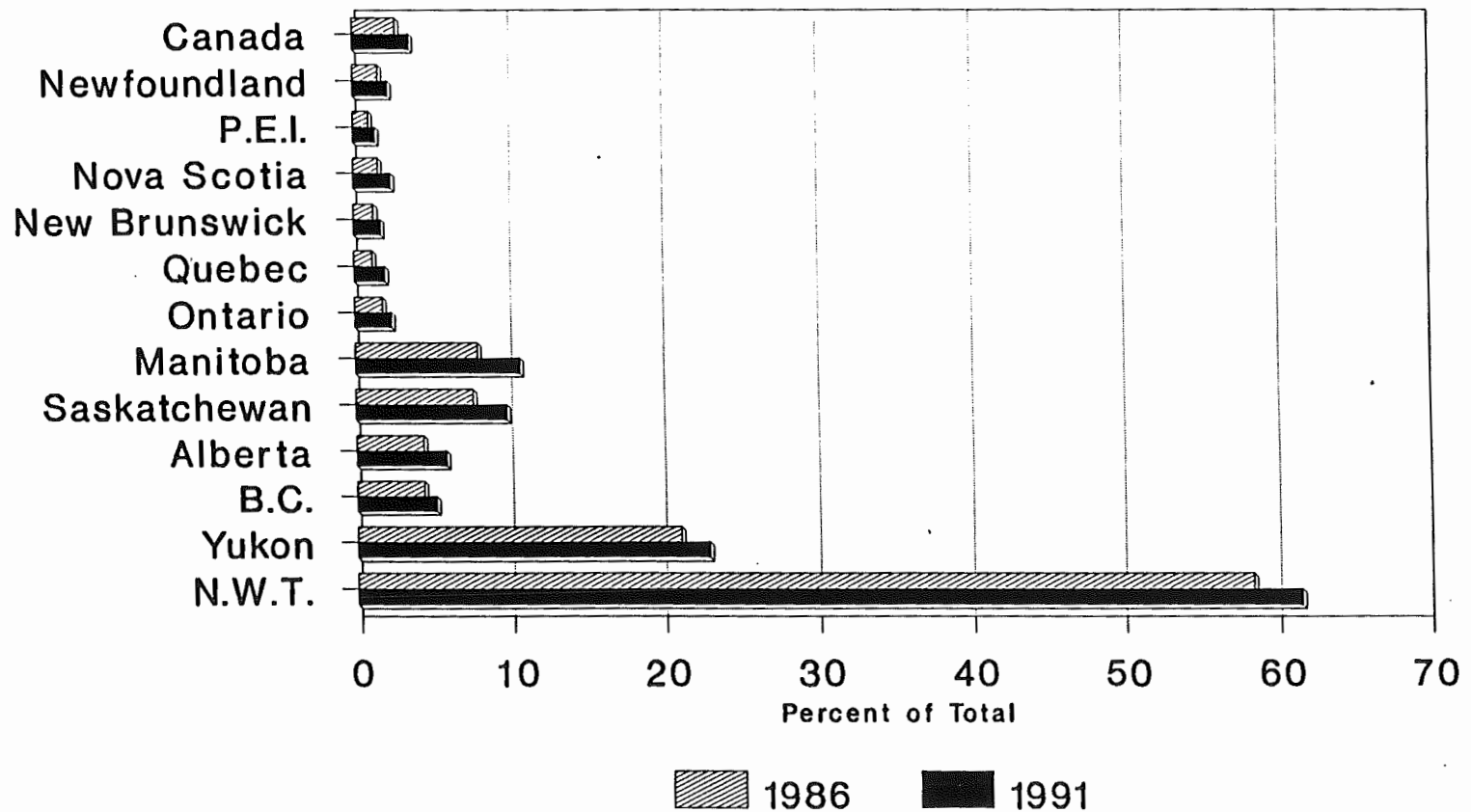
1986   1991

Data Source: 1986, 1991 Census of Canada

FIGURE 5
ABORIGINAL POPULATION, 1986 & 1991
SELECTED METROPOLITAN AREAS

Thousands
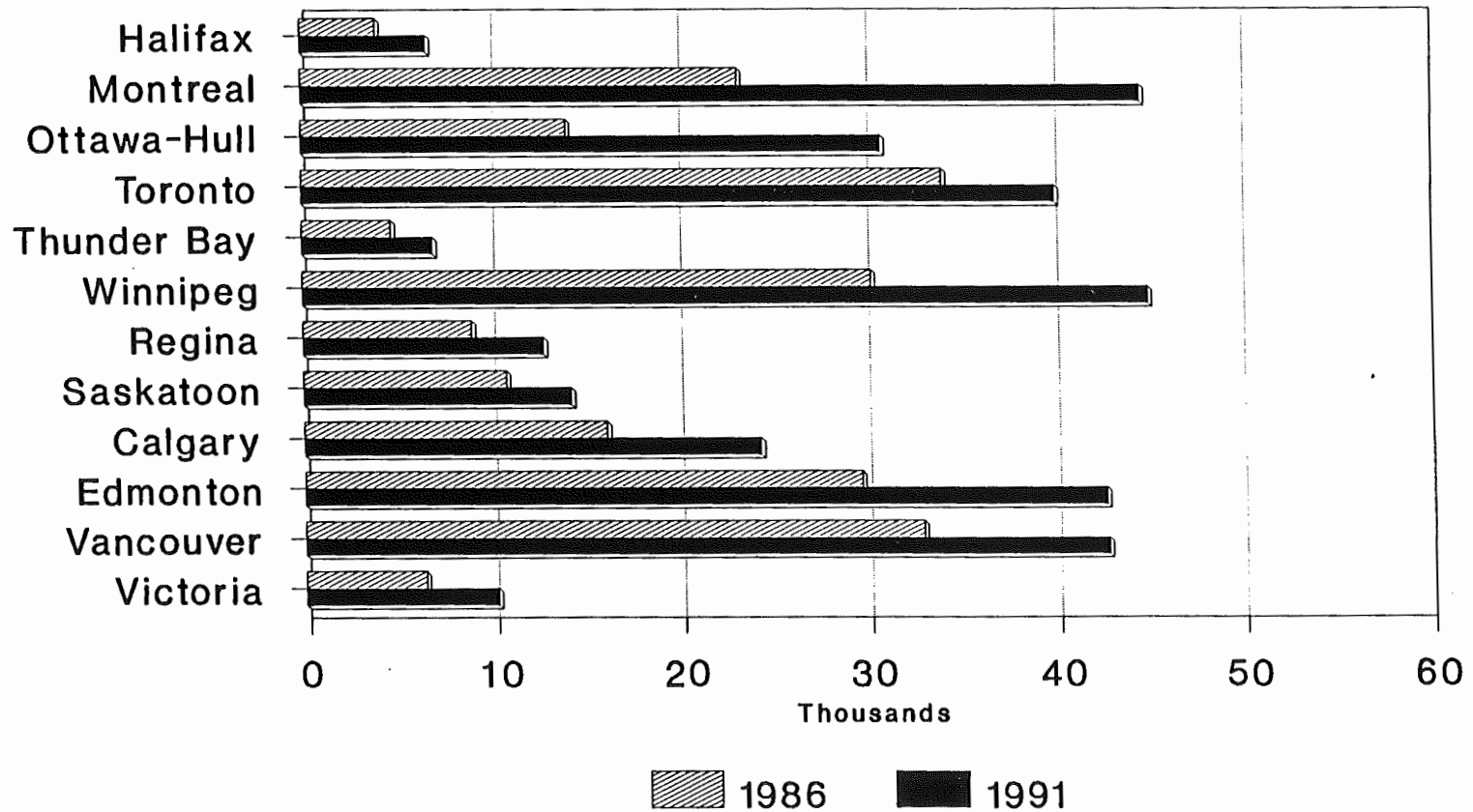
1986   1991

Data Source: 1986, 1991 Census of Canada

FIGURE 6
ABORIGINAL POPULATION, 1986 & 1991
PERCENT - SELECTED METROPOLITAN AREAS

Percent of Total
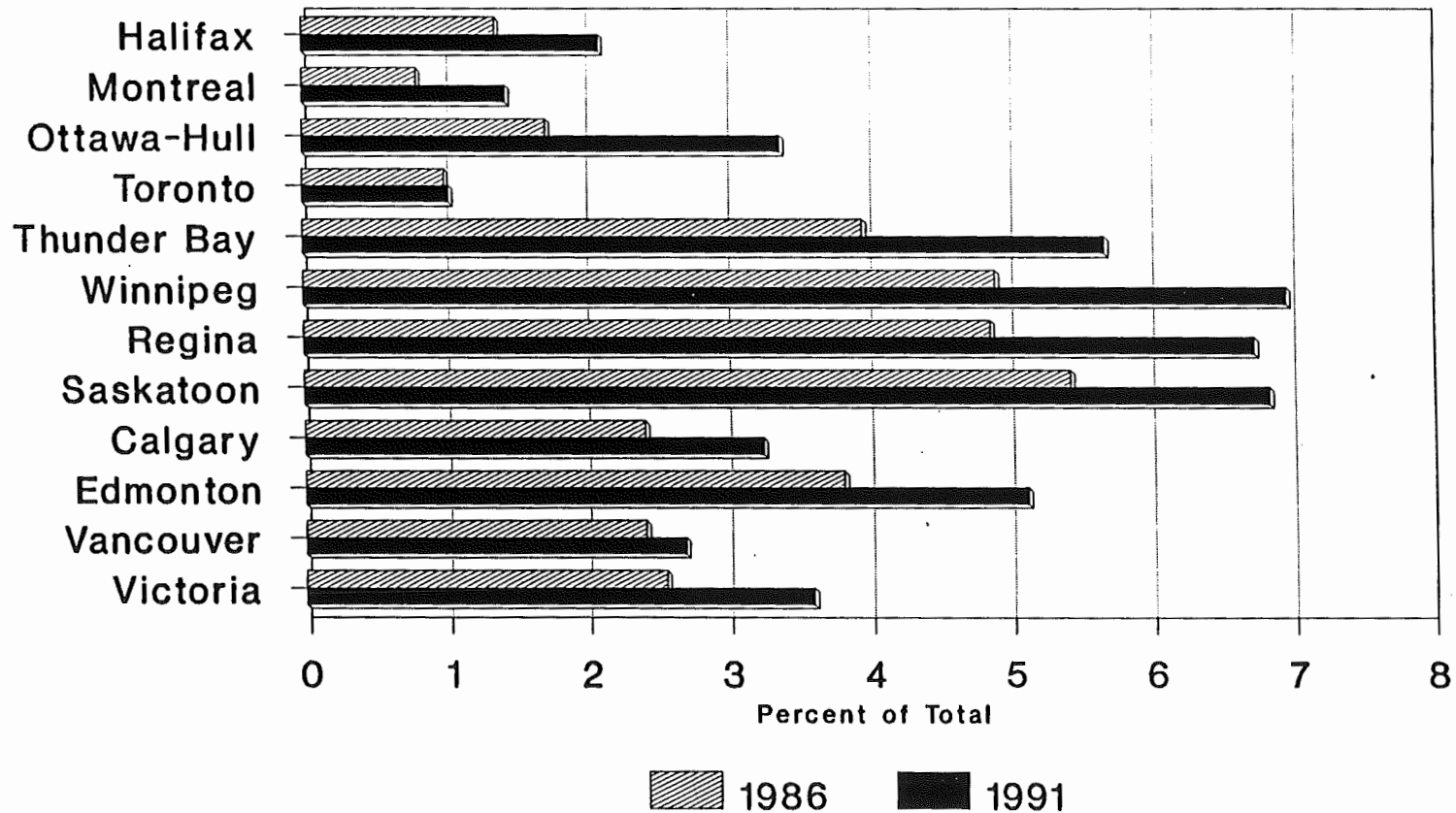
1986   1991

Data Source: 1986, 1991 Census of Canada

FIGURE 7
CANADA - AGE-SEX PROFILE, 1991
ABORIGINAL VS. TOTAL POPULATION

Percent of Total

AGE

Male

Female

■ Aboriginal Peoples   ▨ Total Population
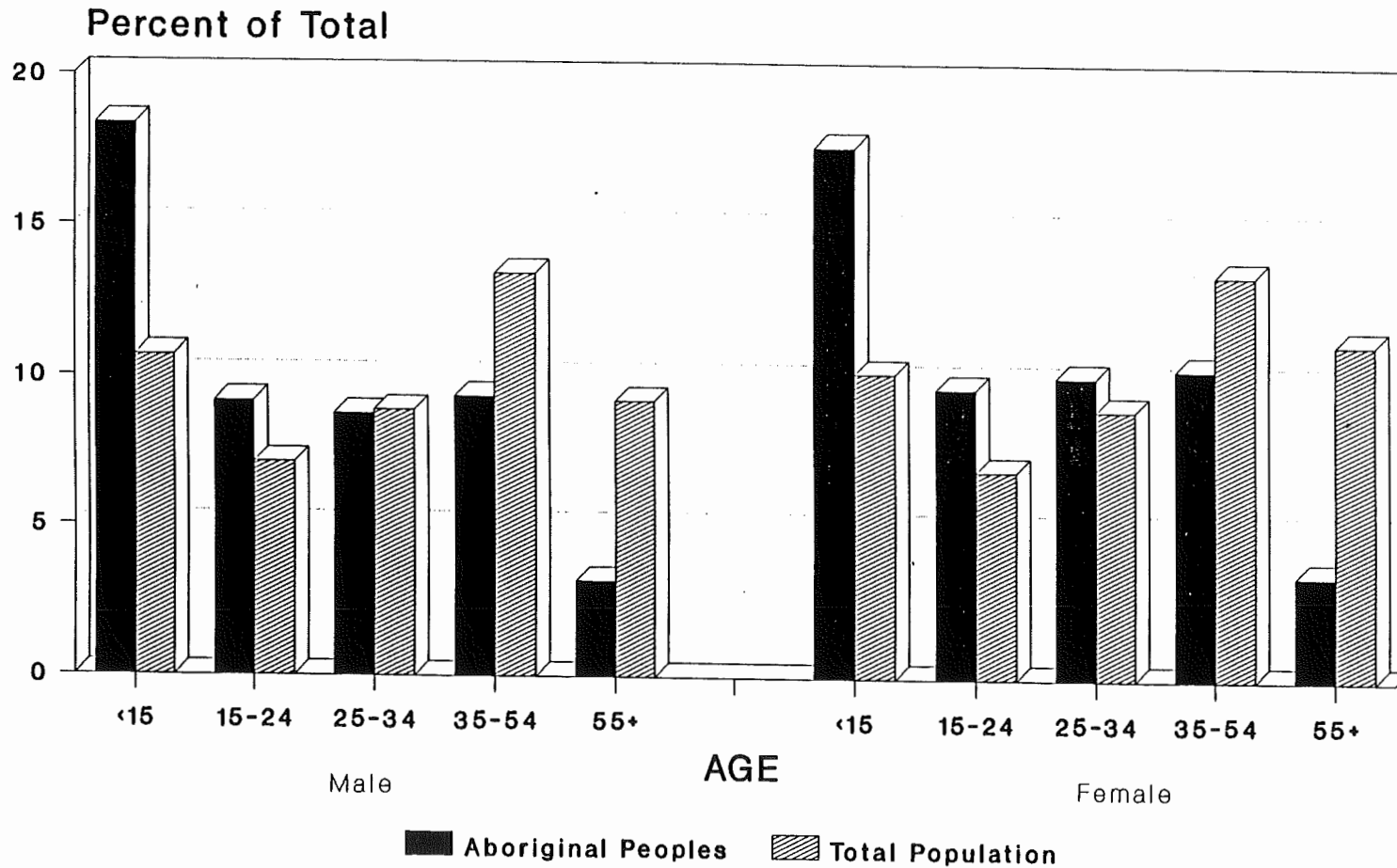
DATA SOURCE: 1991 CENSUS OF CANADA

FIGURE 8
WINNIPEG - AGE-SEX PROFILE, 1991
ABORIGINAL VS. TOTAL POPULATION
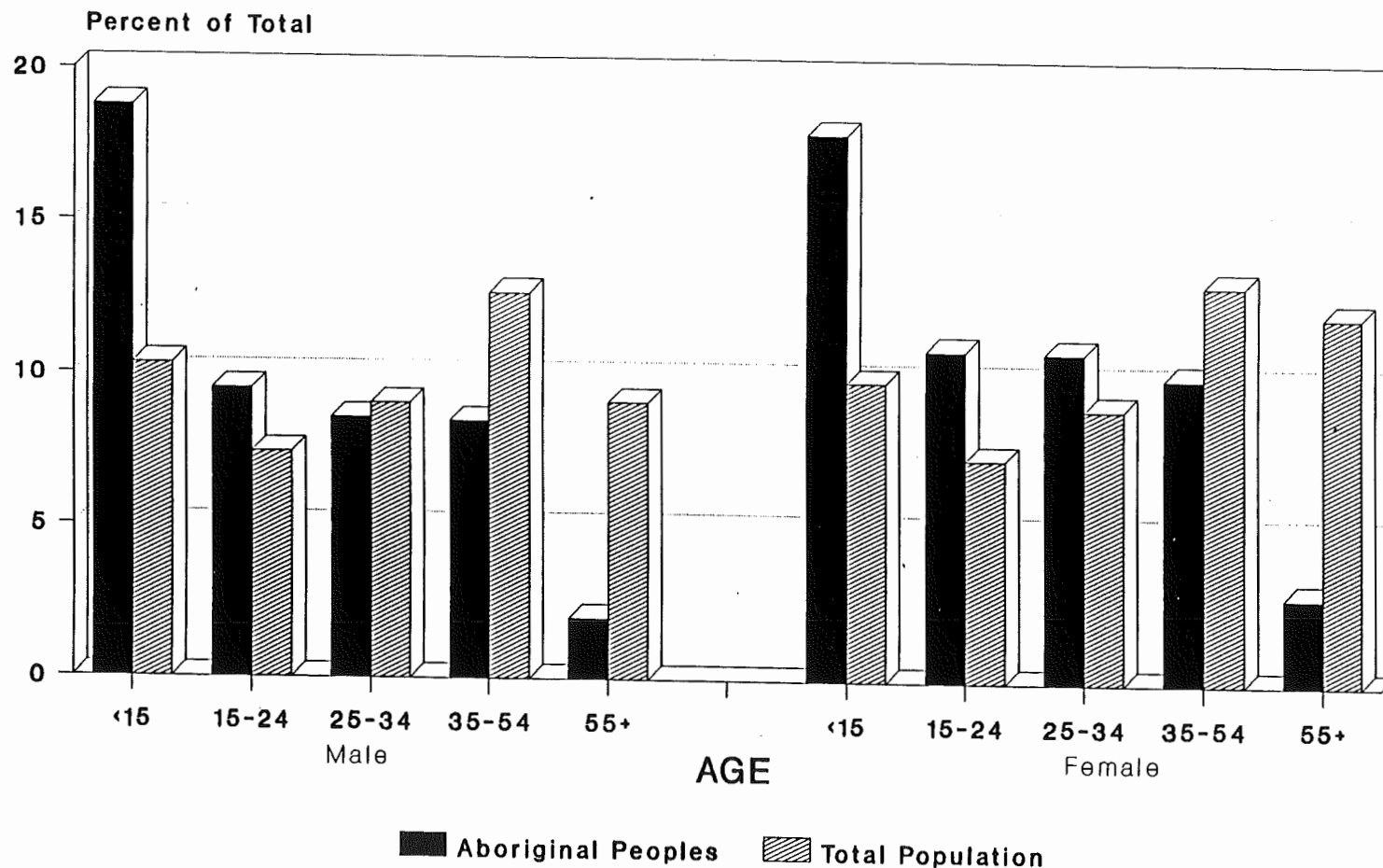
DATA SOURCE: 1991 CENSUS OF CANADA

FIGURE 9
REGINA - AGE-SEX PROFILE, 1991
ABORIGINAL VS. TOTAL POPULATION

Percent of Total

Legend: ■ Aboriginal Peoples ▨ Total Population
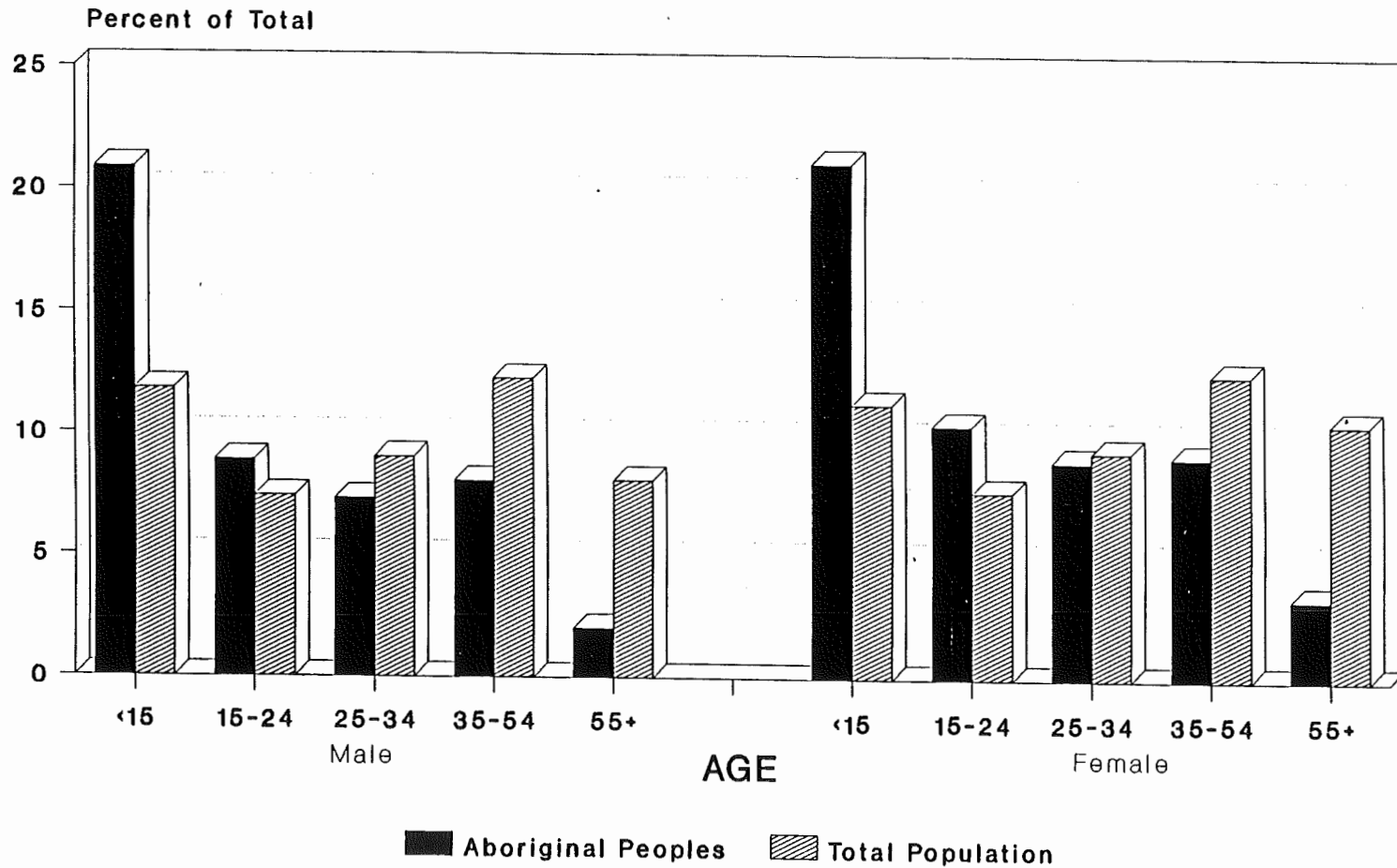
DATA SOURCE: 1991 CENSUS OF CANADA

FIGURE 10
SASKATOON - AGE-SEX PROFILE, 1991
ABORIGINAL VS. TOTAL POPULATION

Percent of Total

Aboriginal Peoples   Total Population
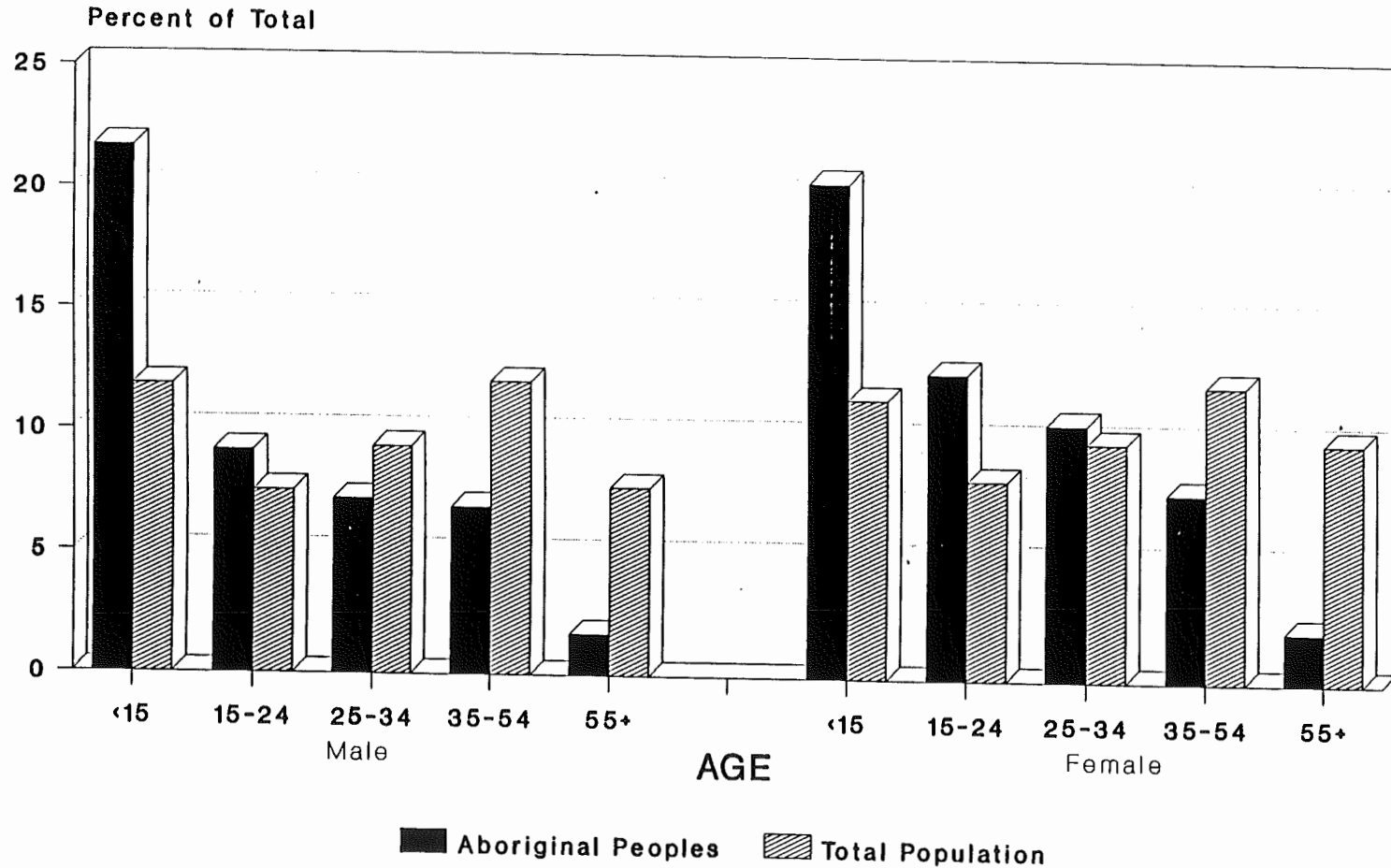
DATA SOURCE: 1991 CENSUS OF CANADA

FIGURE 11
CALGARY - AGE-SEX PROFILE, 1991
ABORIGINAL VS. TOTAL POPULATION
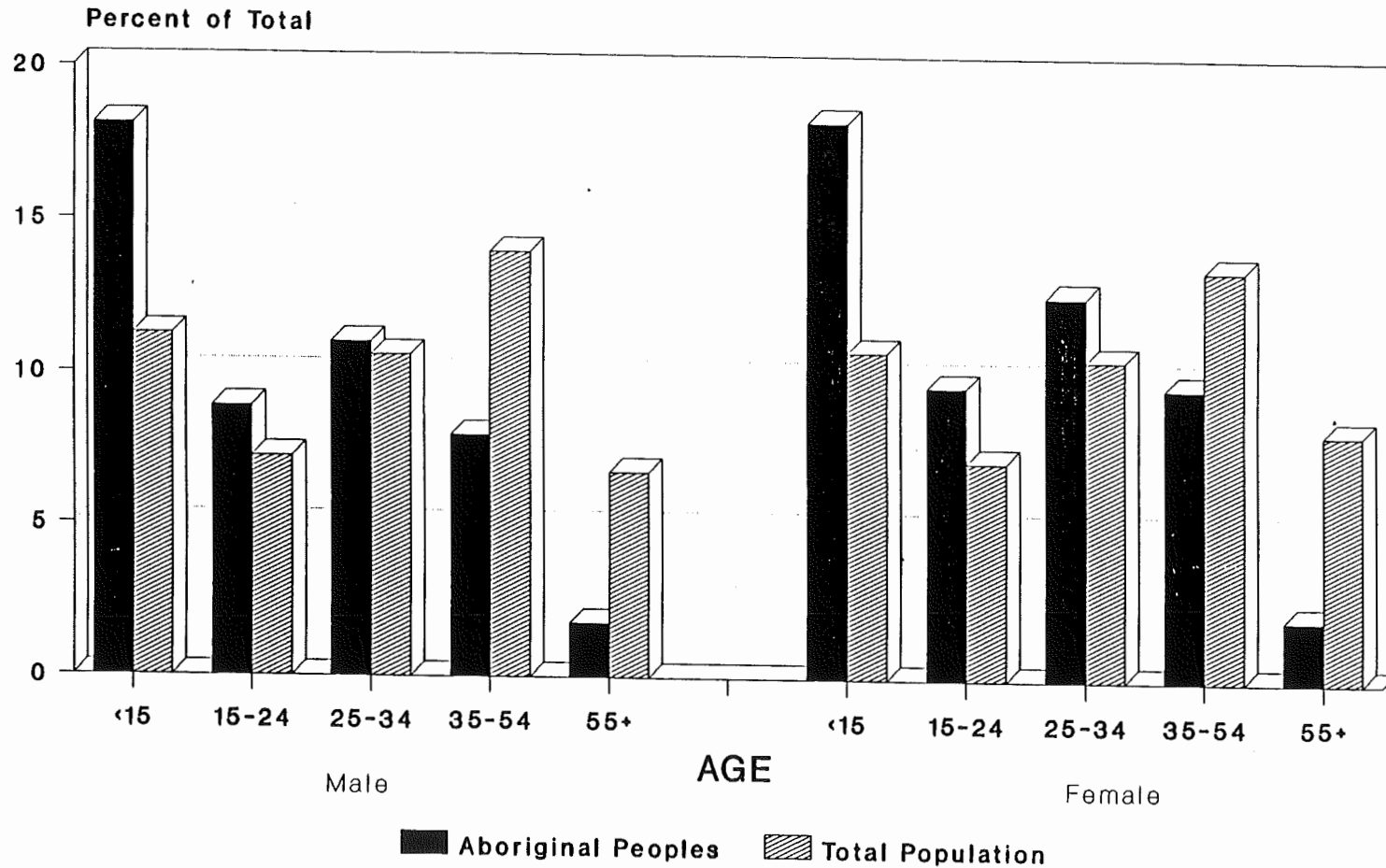
DATA SOURCE: 1991 CENSUS OF CANADA

FIGURE 12
EDMONTON - AGE-SEX PROFILE, 1991
ABORIGINAL VS. TOTAL POPULATION

Percent of Total

Male

AGE

Female

■ Aboriginal Peoples   ▨ Total Population
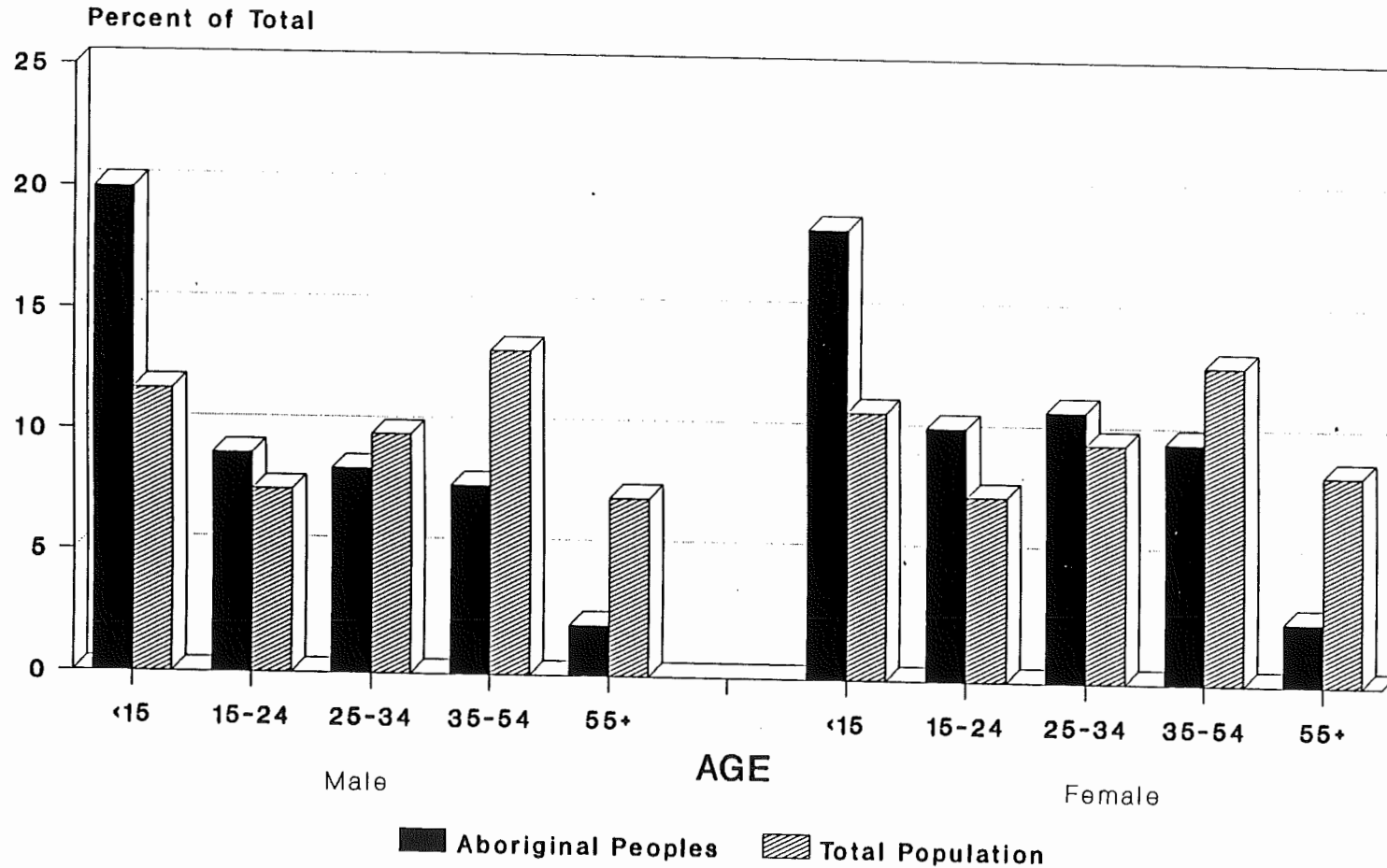
DATA SOURCE: 1991 CENSUS OF CANADA

FIGURE 13
EDUCATION - PERCENT ‹ GRADE NINE, 1986
CANADA, PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES

Off Res. Aboriginal   Total Population
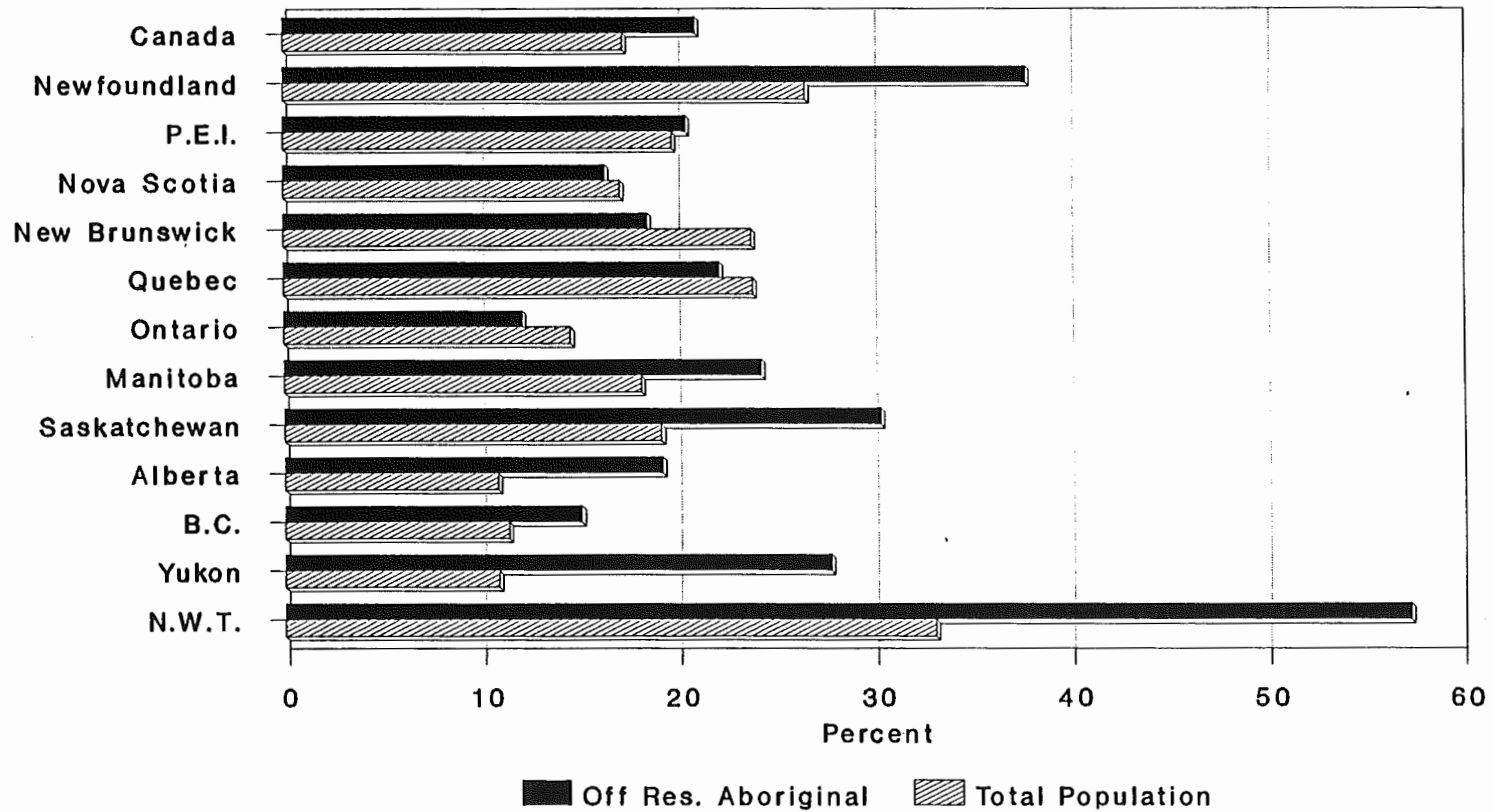
Source: 1986 Census of Canada
NOTE: Data for population 15+ years

FIGURE 14
EDUCATION - PERCENT ‹ GRADE NINE, 1986
SELECTED METROPOLITAN AREAS

Percent

■ Aboriginal   ▨ Total Population
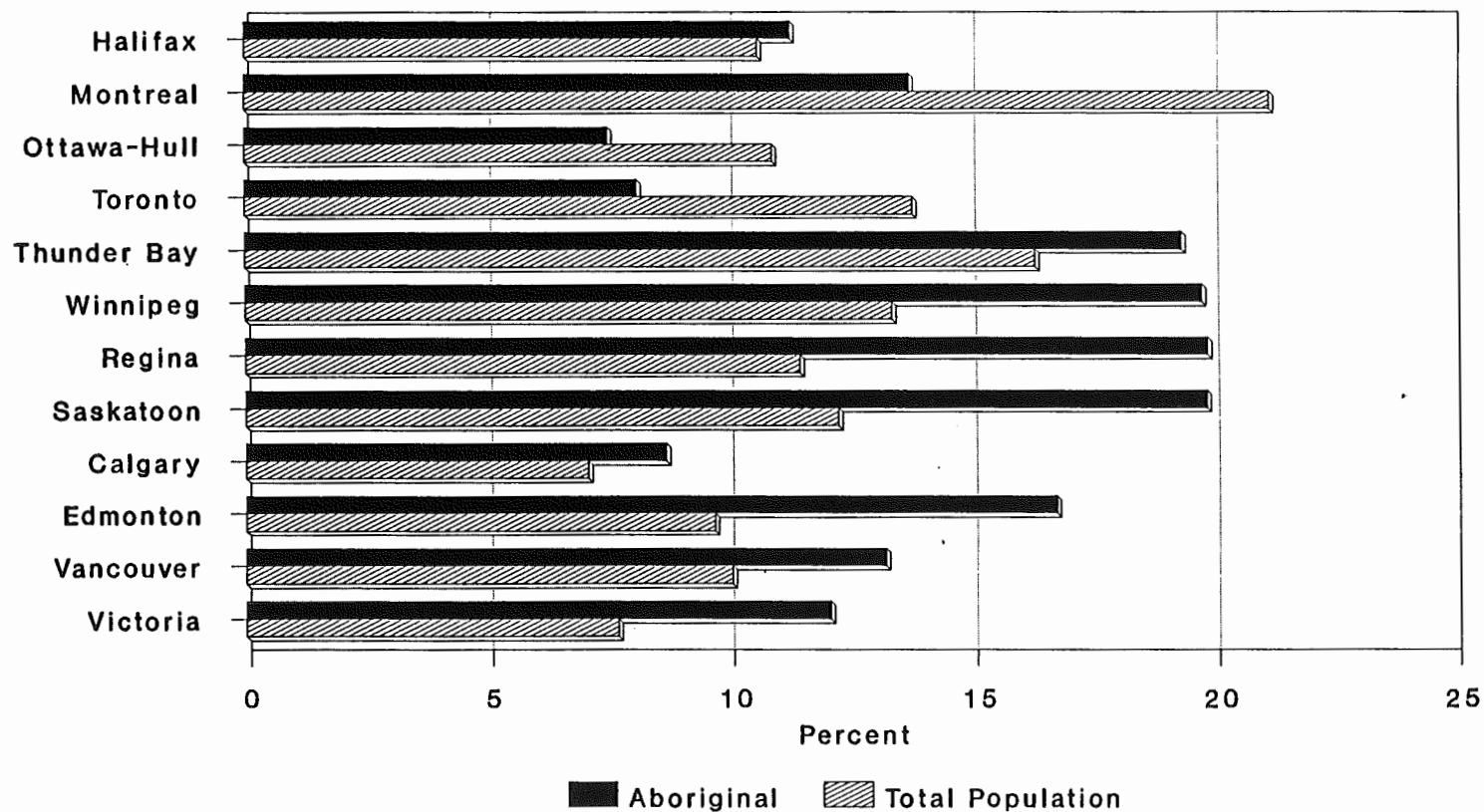
Source: 1986 Census of Canada
NOTE: Data for population 15+ years.

FIGURE 15
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, 1986
CANADA, PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES

Percent

■ Off Res. Aboriginal   ▨ Total Population
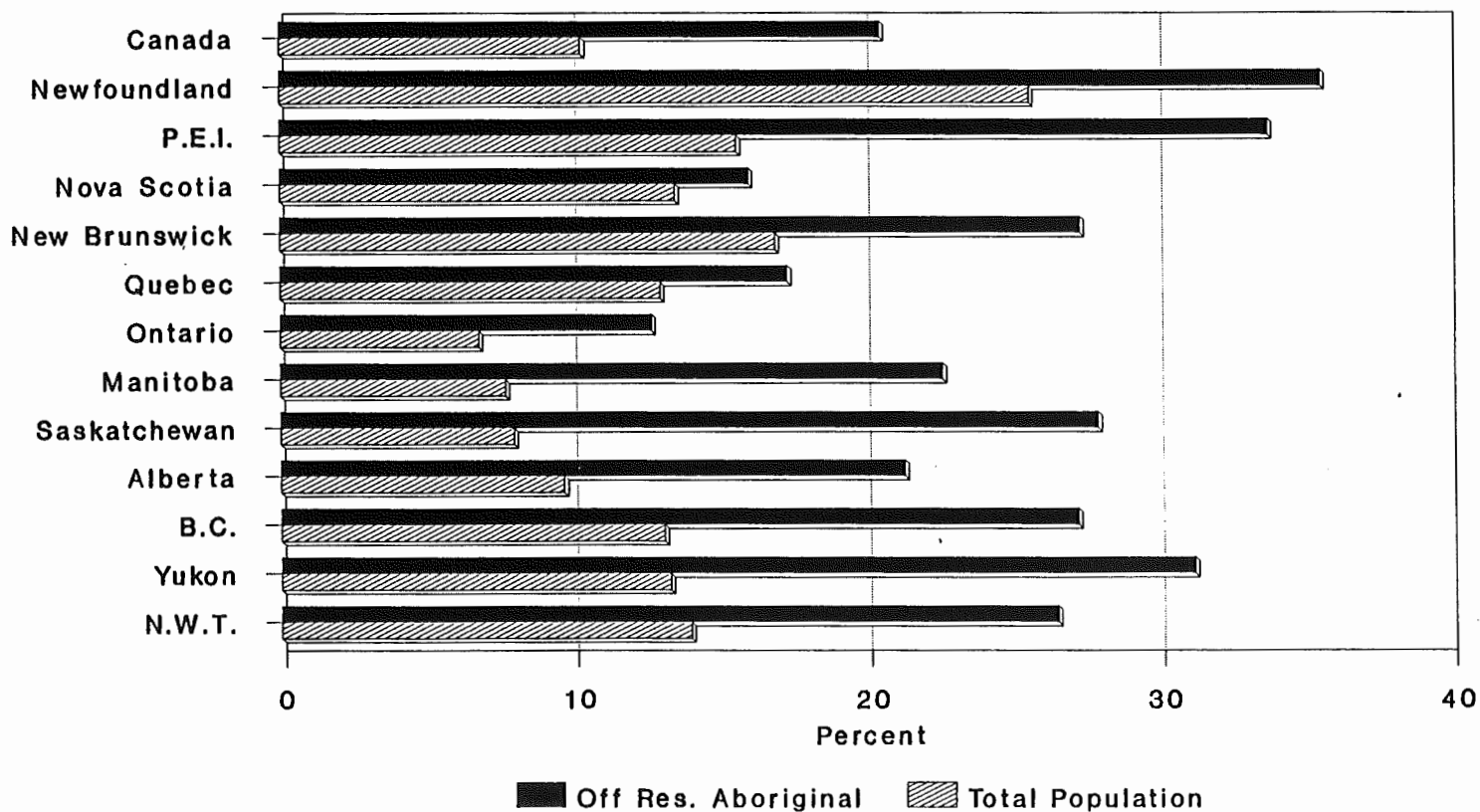
Data Source: 1986 Census of Canada
NOTE: Data for Population 15+ years.

FIGURE 16
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, 1986
SELECTED METROPOLITAN AREAS
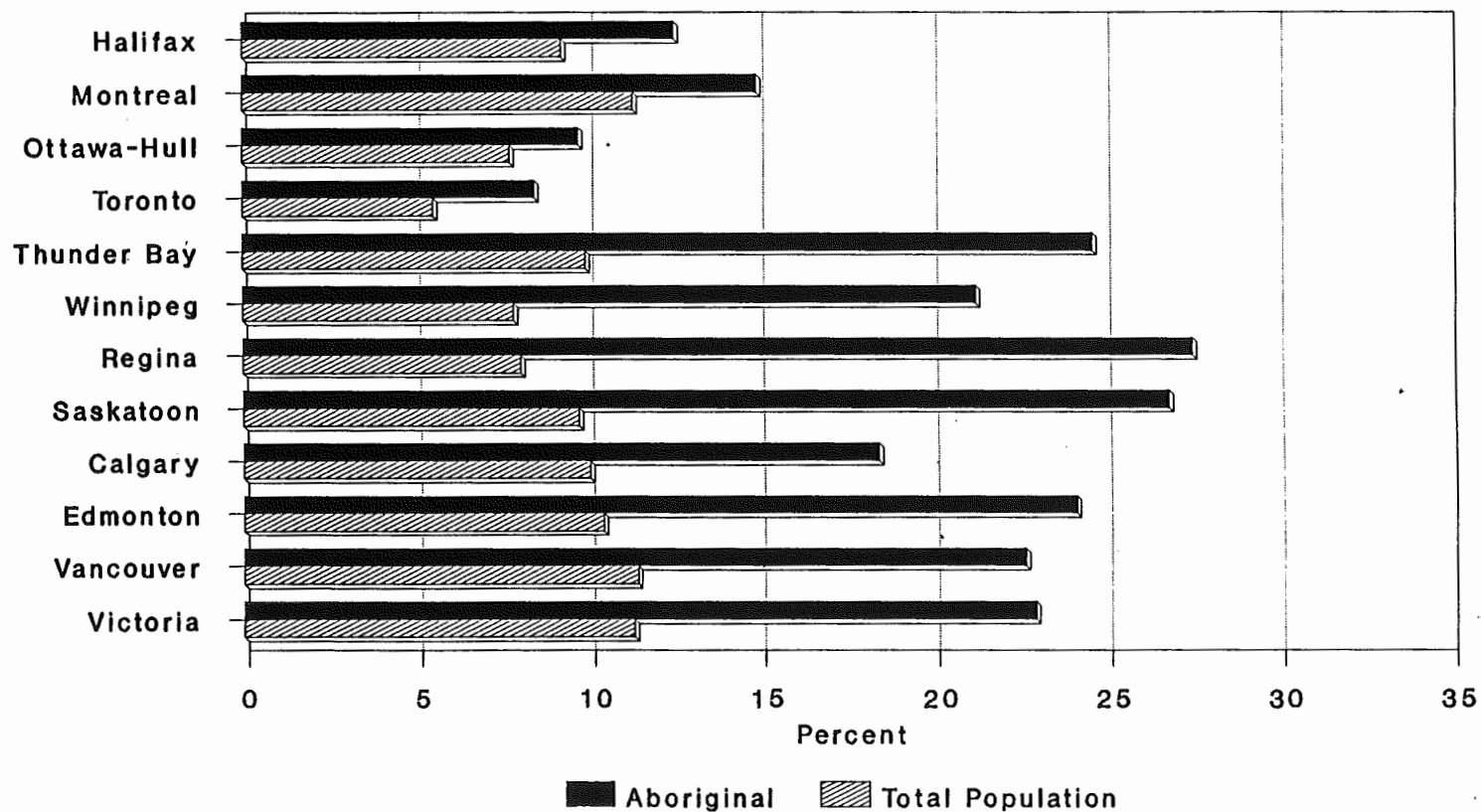
Data Source: 1986 Census of Canada
NOTE: Data for population 15+ years.

FIGURE 17 - MEDIAN INCOME
OFF RESERVE ABORIGINAL VS. TOTAL POP.
CANADA, PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES

MALES

Canada
Newfoundland
P.E.I.
Nova Scotia
New Brunswick
Quebec
Ontario
Manitoba
Saskatchewan
Alberta
B.C.
Yukon
N.W.T.

FEMALES

Canada
Newfoundland
P.E.I.
Nova Scotia
New Brunswick
Quebec
Ontario
Manitoba
Saskatchewan
Alberta
B.C.
Yukon
N.W.T.

0   5   10   15   20   25

Thousands

▨ Total Population   ■ Off-Reserve Aborig.
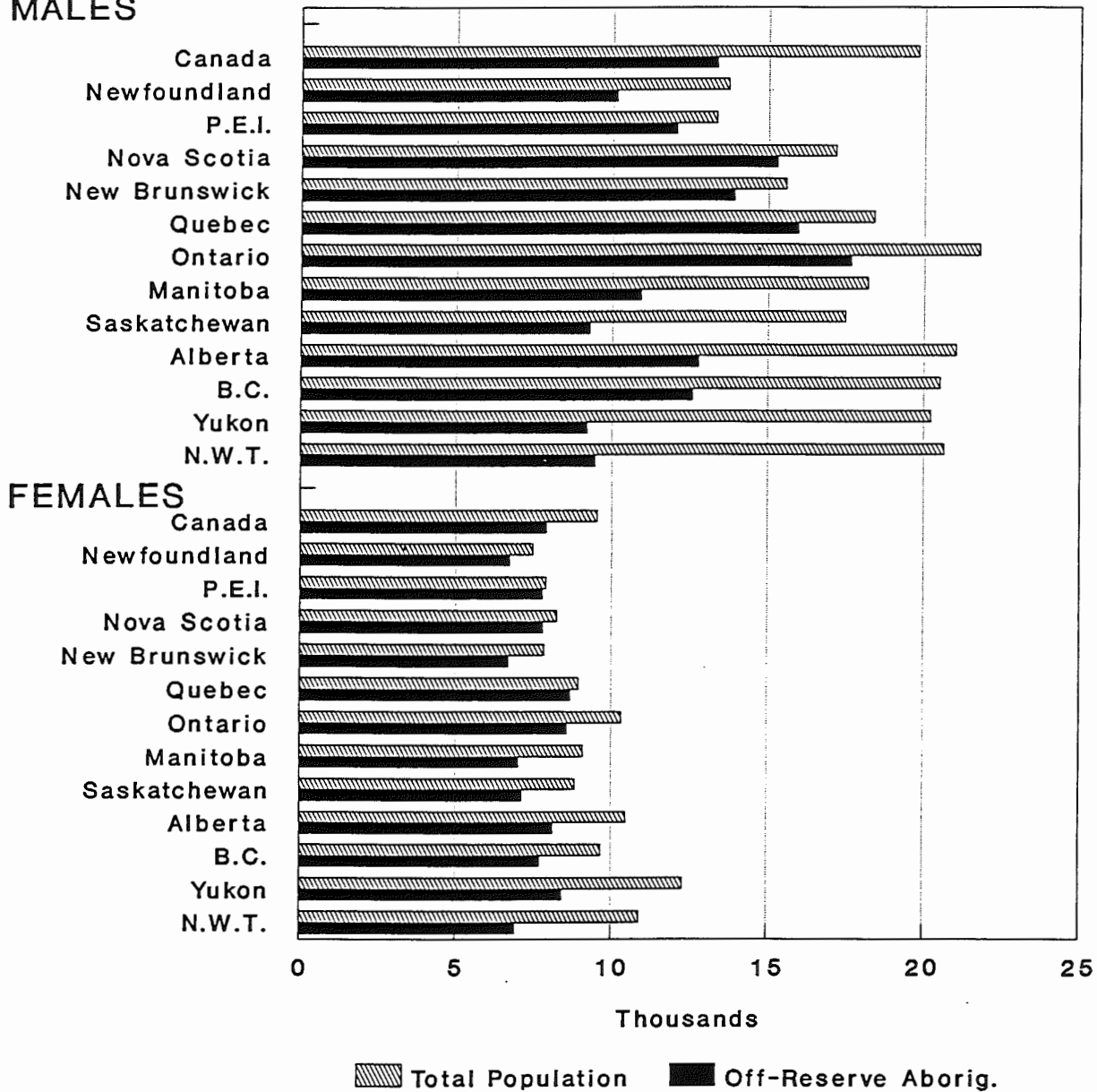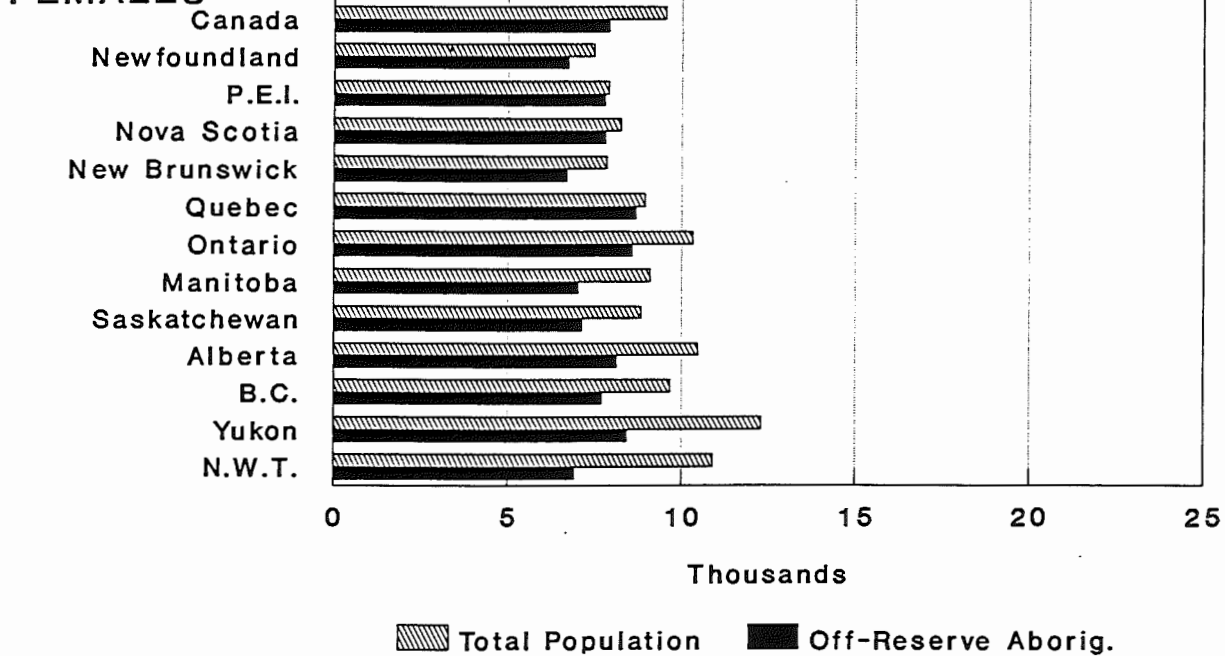
DATA SOURCE: 1986 CENSUS OF CANADA

FIGURE 18 MEDIAN INCOME
ABORIGINAL VS. TOTAL POPULATION
SELECTED CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREAS

DATA SOURCE: 1986 CENSUS OF CANADA

INDEX
(Numbers indicate Page #)