

Economic Circumstances of Native People in Selected Metropolitan Centres in Western Canada

**by Stewart J. Clatworthy & Jonathan P. Gunn
1981**

The Institute of Urban Studies





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**ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES OF NATIVE PEOPLE IN SELECTED METROPOLITAN CENTRES IN
WESTERN CANADA**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

For more than two decades, Canada's native peoples have moved in increasing numbers from rural areas and reserves to major urban centres. Recently the process has been especially significant in western Canada and has led to the rapid growth of native populations in western metropolitan areas. Although systematically compiled evidence is sparse, there exist several indications that the transition of native people to urban life has been problematic and it is now widely recognized that native people represent a significant and expanding segment of western Canada's urban poor.

This study attempts to document several key parameters of the current demographic and socio-economic characteristics of native peoples residing in western Canada's major metropolitan centres. Information reported in the study derives from an extensive review of published and unpublished literature, several recently completed statistical reports, and a survey of academics, government officials, native leaders, and community workers involved with native issues in western urban areas. Major findings of the study are summarized below:

1. *With the exception of Winnipeg, there exist serious deficiencies in data and research concerning urban native people in western Canada.*
2. *'Ballpark' estimates of the total native population in western metropolitan centres range from 75,000 to 114,300, including between 31,100 and 41,700 status Indians and between 43,950 and 72,600 Metis and non-status Indians.*

3. Native migration flows to the major cities of the West remain large and may be increasing in Calgary, Regina and Saskatoon.
4. The majority of urban natives in western metropolitan centres appear to be longer term, permanent residents.
5. The vast majority of native migrants to the major western urban centres are believed to originate from within the same province as the city to which they have moved, and usually come from reserves or rural communities close to the city in question.
6. Most native migrants move to the western cities in search of employment, and in many cases, in search of better life conditions.
7. Young families represent the most common household type among recent native migrants and young singles, especially males, are believed to be most common among transient or short term urban residents.
8. Urban native populations in western Canada are characterized by very young population structures and tend to include more females than males.
9. Families represent the most common household type (except among transients) among the urban native populations in the West, with single-parent families making up a significant proportion of all native families.
10. The majority of natives in western metropolitan centres lag behind the general populations of these cities significantly in terms of levels of educational attainment.
11. Urban natives in the major western metropolitan centres experience excessively high rates of unemployment.
12. The labour force participation rate among urban native people in the West is significantly lower than that among the general urban populations. Disparity is especially pronounced among females.

13. A disproportionate number of natives are employed in low skill/low entry occupations in western cities.
14. The pattern of employment for urban natives in the West appears to be quite unstable.
15. Extreme disparity exists between the household incomes of urban natives in the West and those of the general populations of the major western centres.
16. A sizable proportion (perhaps the majority) of urban native households in the West are dependent on transfer payments of some type as a primary source of income.
17. No western province would appear to have specific policies addressing the needs of urban native populations, although some provide or plan to provide a certain degree of special programming.
18. Consistent policy thrusts pertaining to the respective urban native populations are not in evidence among the various municipal administrations.
19. There appear to be no native organizations with 'political' goals geared specifically to the general urban native population in operation in any of the major western cities.

Implications

Although many of the study's findings lack a rigorous statistical or analytical foundation, they appear sufficient to support a number of general observations which have a bearing on government policies and programs related to urban native peoples.

In general native populations form a large economically disadvantaged sub-group in each of the seven metropolitan areas considered in the study. The employment, labour force, and income indicators presented all seem to point to extreme levels of disparity between native peoples and other urban residents and suggest that presently only a small segment of western Canada's urban native population is participating in and receiving benefits from the urban labour market. Present levels of disparity are

sufficiently large to warrant the serious consideration of special policies and programs to address the needs and problems of urban native peoples.

Several of the study's findings concerning native demographic composition, especially those relating to the population's youthful age structure and the large concentrations of female headed families, appear to have special implications for manpower policy and planning in the 1980's. First, current migration patterns and continued high fertility rates are expected to result in very rapid growth in the urban native population during the 1980's. Although rough, our projections suggest that the present native population in the seven centres will increase by approximately 19 to 26 percent by 1986. Growth is expected to be especially pronounced among the labour force age group (i.e. 15+ years). In Winnipeg for example, an estimated 5,500 additional native people will enter the city's labour force age group by 1986. Further, during the 1981-86 period native people are expected to account for close to one quarter of the projected growth in that city's total labour force age group. Although data available for other centres are insufficient to generate age specific growth estimates, the high degree of similarity in migration forecasts and current population age structures implies that in all western centres growth in the native labour force age group will be substantial. The anticipated growth in native manpower potential further emphasizes the need for government action to promote greater utilization of the native labour force in urban areas. Given the population's present levels of education, training and employment experiences, considerable effort appears to be required in the area of vocational training and education.

The high concentrations of females and female headed families among urban native populations present a special challenge to economic development and labour market planners. Indications are

that as much as one third of urban native female populations are single parents. This situation suggests that any strategy designed to enhance native economic conditions in urban centres must include program elements which are effective in reducing the present barriers to participation which confront women in general and, especially those which confront women who assume the responsibilities of single parents. Expanding training opportunities and employment support services such as day care represent obvious directions for further programming.

The study has also noted that throughout the western region there does not appear to exist a clearly articulated policy (and associated program elements) at any level of government or among formal urban or provincial native organizations, concerning urban native populations. In general, past attempts to address urban native needs have been, by and large, channelled through a plethora of ad hoc, narrow focused, and reactive programs, most of which were designed to address the needs and circumstances of general urban society. Based on the findings of this study the success of past programming efforts appears to be minimal, implying that there is a great need for governments, as well as native organizations, to clarify policy positions and co-ordinate programming efforts directed toward urban native peoples. Movement toward this objective is likely to necessitate a considerable amount of consultation involving urban native peoples, and on many issues, the three levels of government.

Although the need to co-ordinate programming efforts among several jurisdictions does not rule out the utility of a universal federal initiative, it does suggest the need for a high degree of flexibility in such an approach, especially in terms of delivery frameworks. Local or community based economic development corporations present one possible mechanism for achieving this flexibility and for facilitating co-ordination among various actors and programming elements.

Finally, one of the more important findings of this study is the serious lack of information and research concerning urban native populations in western Canada. For all centres other than Winnipeg, we continue to lack systematically organized information and data pertaining to native peoples. The implications of this situation appear important. Presently available data permit us to develop general images of native life conditions and problems in urban areas, however, they appear grossly inadequate for the purpose of program development. For example, although this study has identified high levels of native unemployment in all of the western metropolitan centres we do not possess reliable native population estimates (except in the case of Winnipeg). Hence, we cannot accurately estimate the absolute numbers of unemployed, let alone their demographic characteristics, present educational or training levels or occupational skills. Such information would appear to be crucial for the purpose of identifying program target groups and for determining program scale and budget requirements.

Based on the study's findings, we urge the federal government to initiate a process of consultation with representatives of urban native communities and other levels of government, in an attempt to eliminate the policy void which surrounds present programming efforts directed toward urban native peoples in western Canada. Further, as part of this process we urge the federal government to take action to improve present data and information resources related to urban native populations.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

For more than two decades Canada's native peoples have moved in increasing numbers from rural areas and reserves to major urban centres.¹ Recently the process has been especially significant in western Canada and has led to the rapid growth of native populations in western metropolitan areas (see Siggner 1979). Although systematically compiled evidence is sparse there exists several indications that the transition of native people to urban life has been problematic and it is now widely recognized that native people represent a significant and expanding segment of western Canada's urban poor.

Although there is widespread recognition that serious problems exist, very little information or research is available concerning the characteristics and circumstances of urban native populations. Several studies [e.g. Taylor (1980), Svenson (1979), White (1980), and Clatworthy (1980 & 1981)] have argued that 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. For most Canadian urban centres presently 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 required in order to gain an understanding of the degree and nature of native participation in the urban economy. Given that such information should play a central role in the policy and program development process, there is a great need to document more fully the present circumstances experienced by urban native populations.

1. In this study the term native refers to both status Indians and Metis and non-status Indians unless otherwise specified.

This study attempts to identify, review and synthesize presently available research and information related to the demographic composition and socio-economic circumstances of native populations residing in each of western Canada's major metropolitan areas (i.e. Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary, Edmonton, Vancouver and Victoria).

The remainder of the report is organized into five sections. Section two which follows outlines briefly the study's investigative approaches and reviews the major sources of information and statistical data used in the report. Section three provides a general overview of the nature of existing urban native research in Canada and reviews some of the key findings of research carried out on urban native peoples in western Canada. General background information concerning native demography and population growth trends within the western Canada region is provided in Section four. Section five presents the detailed findings of our investigation for each of the seven selected metropolitan areas. A brief summary and synthesis of the study results, implications for policy and program development and recommendations for action are presented in the concluding section.

2.0 METHODOLOGY AND INFORMATION SOURCES

The information and data presented in the report emerge from two complimentary research approaches. The first involved an extensive library search designed to uncover recent (post 1970) published and unpublished (i.e. government reports and consultant studies) materials pertaining to urban native peoples in Canada generally, and western Canada specifically. This segment of the investigation identified more than 70 studies (reports), although only a small number of these focus directly on native populations in western metropolitan areas.

The second element of the investigation involved a survey of academics, government officials, native leaders and community workers concerned with urban native issues in western Canada. The major objectives of the survey were as follows:

- i) to probe for any additional reports or research not identified in the course of the library search;
- ii) to solicit the opinions and perceptions of several knowledgeable individuals regarding the demographic attributes and economic conditions of native peoples in western urban centres; and
- iii) to identify the general policy positions of governments and native organizations as they relate to urban native peoples.

The survey component of the investigation resulted in semi-structured interviews with 73 individuals from the various centres. The discussions for the most part were organized around a set of questions adapted from an interview schedule used in a similar survey effort conducted recently in Winnipeg by the Council.

on Rural Development Canada (CRDC, 1978). Appendix A contains a copy of the schedule and a list of the individuals and agencies contacted via the survey.

With regard to substance, the interviews and the literature review sought to uncover formal analyses and statistical information (indicators) related to eighteen aspects of the demographic composition and socio-economic circumstances of both the status Indian and Metis-non-status Indian (MNSI) populations of each urban centre. Table 1 identifies the nature of information sought and provides a general summary of the results of our search effort.

The table reveals clearly the extent of the gap in present information bases and research efforts concerning urban native demography and socio-economic characteristics. Only in the case of Winnipeg do we possess a broad range of current information and analysis relating to both population sub-groups. A recent study by the Association of Metis and non-status Indians of Saskatchewan (AMNSIS, 1979) does provide a broad range of information relating to Saskatoon's MNSI population. The Federation of Saskatchewan Indians (FSI, 1978) survey also provides limited data on status Indians residing in Regina and Saskatoon, although information concerning the sampling design and survey methodology were not available. As a consequence, we are unable to ascertain the reliability of the F.S.I. sample data.

Stanbury's (1975) work on British Columbia's status Indians living off-reserve remains the most comprehensive information available on Vancouver's native population. It should be noted however, that ten years have passed since these data were collected and in all likelihood circumstances have changed considerably. More recent work in Vancouver has been completed

TABLE 1

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC INFORMATION PERTAINING TO
NATIVE PEOPLES IN WESTERN METROPOLITAN AREAS

<u>Type of Information</u>	<u>Vancouver</u>	<u>Victoria</u>	<u>Calgary</u>	<u>Edmonton</u>	<u>Regina</u>	<u>Saskatoon</u>	<u>Winnipeg**</u>	<u>Metropolitan Areas</u>
Net Migration Rates	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1, 2, 3
Demographic Composition of Recent Migrants	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1, 2, 3
Reasons for Migration	1 (1970)	-	-	-	1 (1976)	1 (1976) 2 (1979)	1, 2, 3	
Migrant Origin Areas	-	-	-	-	-	2 (1979)	1, 2, 3	
Current Population Size	3 (1978)	-	-	-	1 (1976)	1 (1976)	1, 2, 3	
Current Age Structure	-	-	3 (1980)*	-	-	2 (1979)	1, 2, 3	
Household Composition	-	-	-	-	1 (1976)	2 (1979)	1, 2, 3	
Length of Urban Residency	-	-	-	-	-	2 (1979)	1, 2, 3	
Spatial Pattern of Population	3 (1978)	-	3 (1980)	-	-	-	1, 2, 3	
Education Levels	1 (1970)	-	-	-	1 (1976)	1 (1976) 2 (1979)	1, 2, 3	
Employment (Unemployment) Levels	3 (1978)	-	-	-	1 (1976)	1 (1976) 2 (1979)	1, 2, 3	
Participation Rates	3 (1978)	-	-	-	-	2 (1979)	1, 2, 3	
Occupational Structure	1 (1970)	-	-	-	1 (1976)	1 (1976) 2 (1979)	1, 2, 3	
Job Stability Indicators	1 (1970)	-	-	-	1 (1976)	1 (1976)	1, 2, 3	
Incomes	1 (1970)	-	-	-	-	2 (1979)	1, 2, 3	
Income Sources	1 (1970)	1 (1970)	-	-	1 (1976)	1 (1976) 2 (1979)	1, 2, 3	
Poverty Rate Indicators	1 (1970)	1 (1970)	-	-	-	-	1, 2, 3	

1 = data for status Indians

2 = data for MNSI

3 = data for total native

* information available only for population aged 10+ year

** data relate to 1980

- no data available

by Ward (1979), however the range of information available from this source is quite restricted and no distinction is made between native sub-groups. Reliable statistical information concerning native demography and economic conditions in the remaining western metropolitan areas is scant. Our findings as they relate to these centres are based primarily on the opinions and perceptions obtained through the interview process.

3.0 A SUMMARY OF URBAN NATIVE RESEARCH

A large volume of literature and research exists concerning Canada's native peoples. The vast majority of this work, however, has concentrated on describing native life conditions on reserves. Reflecting the increasing movement of native people off reserve, substantial research attention has recently been directed towards the process of native migration to Canadian urban centres and the resultant effects of that migration. Conditions of native life, individually and collectively, on reserves are well known and have been documented with a reasonable degree of precision. Major gaps, however, exist with respect to our knowledge of the process of native migration to cities and of the life conditions experienced by urban native populations.

3.1 The Nature of Existing Research

With respect to urban native issues, previous research has generally followed one of two methodological formats. The vast majority of work to date is best described as non-survey research. Studies of this type are based upon actual experiences, opinion surveys and other "impressionistic" research methods. Such studies have provided some useful and insightful information concerning the life experiences of urban native peoples, although in most instances they do not permit generalized statements to be made regarding the total urban native population.

The second category of research can best be described as quantitative. Research of this type generally involves the use of survey/questionnaire techniques to establish data bases capable of supporting statistical analysis. Survey based studies presently comprise a very small portion of the available literature on urban native populations. Moreover, much of the work currently available suffers from serious methodological and conceptual flaws.²

2. Recent reviews of survey based research on urban native populations in Canada have been provided by White (1980) and Taylor (1980).

Existing research can also be grouped into three broad subject areas. First, a large number of studies examine specific facets of the migration process itself including estimates of the size and demographic structure of off-reserve populations, analyses of spatial and temporal patterns of off-reserve movement, reasons for migration, etc. For the most part this research has been based on information and data contained in the band registries maintained by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). A second strand of investigation addresses issues related to the demographic structure and socio-economic characteristics of urban native populations. Research of this type has been generally descriptive in nature and (at least implicitly) has intended to compare circumstances of urban natives to non-natives and/or rural natives. "Institutional" studies constitute a third research theme. Such studies attempt examination of the growth and development of native socio-political institutions in urban settings and the interaction between native peoples and the institutions of urban society (see Breton and Akian 1978).

3.2 Research Findings: The Western Canada Context

Migration Patterns

Several studies have addressed aspects of the migration of status Indians in Western Canada. Siggner and Locatelli of the DIAND Research Branch have produced a series of reports documenting major dimensions of status Indian demography in the western Canada region. Major findings of these studies are summarized below:

- i) the proportion of status Indians living off reserve has increased substantially in all western provinces since 1971;

- ii) off-reserve populations are characterized by a very young population structure and contain a larger proportion of females than males, especially among the young adult age group (i.e. 15-25 year olds);
- iii) off-reserve movement slowed somewhat during the late 1970's but remains substantial in all provinces;
- iv) continued migration and high rates of natural increase will contribute to very rapid growth in off-reserve populations in western Canada during the 1980's.

Although work by Siggner and others (e.g. DREE 1979), using the DIAND data bases provides a useful starting point for investigation of native migration patterns, the DIAND files do not record locational information on off-reserve band members. As a result research based on these files does not directly relate to urban native populations.

Research concerning the migration patterns of MNSI in western Canada is extremely rare. Most studies to date which comment on MNSI migration have explicitly or implicitly assumed that the size and composition of the MNSI migrant population are similar (or in some fixed proportion) to the migrant status Indian population (see for example Svenson 1979). Although recent work by the author (Clatworthy 1981) reveals a great deal of similarity between status Indian and MNSI migration patterns in Manitoba, information and data for other western provinces are not available to support the use of such assumptions in other provincial contexts.

A large number of studies have addressed questions related to the motivations or reasons for native migration to urban areas. Clatworthy's (1981) work on Winnipeg and Stanbury's (1975) work on B.C off-reserve Indians remain the most comprehensive and conclude that the desire for better employment/economic opportunities is the primary reason underlying migration. This finding is also substantiated by several case studies (see Dosman 1972, Brody 1971, Lurie 1967, Kerri 1978, CRDC 1978 and Sealey and Kirkness 1974). Although employment issues tend to dominate reasons cited for migration, evidence from both Stanbury's and Clatworthy's works suggest that reasons for migration vary by sex group: females tend to place less emphasis on employment and economic issues and comparatively more emphasis on friendship or kinship ties in the city and a desire to "escape" poor life conditions on reserves. Reasons for migration cited by Winnipeg's MNSI population were found to be similar to those cited by status Indian migrants.

Demographic and Socio-economic Characteristics

Most existing studies of urban native populations focus on this area of concern. Stanbury's (1975) analysis of off-reserve Indians in British Columbia identified several parameters of the population's demography including the predominance of youth and large families, and high concentrations of single parent families. Stanbury also noted that the population experienced high levels of unemployment, poverty and transfer payment dependency. More recent work by Ward (1979) suggests the existence of similar economic circumstances among Vancouver's native population: unemployment among natives was found to be more than four times that experienced by the city's general population.

Clatworthy's (1980, 1981) research on Winnipeg's natives identifies several additional factors. As well as the predominance of youth, families and single parent families, Winnipeg's native population exhibits a marked sex bias: females were found to comprise approximately 57 percent of the city's native population. The study also confirmed substantial disparities in labour force activity and income between the city's native and general population, the concentration of native workers in low skill/low entry level occupations and the general absence of occupational mobility among the native labour force. For the most part the demographic composition and economic conditions of status Indians and MNSI were found to be similar in the Winnipeg context. Comparative work is unavailable for other western metropolitan centres.

Several earlier investigations also noted the severe difficulties experienced by native peoples in the urban labour market. Nagler (1970) for example, found urban natives worked in low-skill, low wage jobs and were often unemployed. Mooney (1976) found British Columbia's urban natives to be unemployed for longer periods of time and more often than non-natives in similar occupations.

The problems experienced by native peoples in the urban labour market appear to be linked in part to low levels of education. Both Stanbury (1975) and Clatworthy (1981b) noted that natives who completed high school enjoyed more success in the urban labour market than less educated natives. These studies however, also noted that better educated native workers lagged behind similarly educated workers in the general population.

The joint study by the Native Council of Canada and Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (1977) is the most extensive analysis of MNSI conditions. This national survey found the MNSI unemployment rate to be 33 percent, that average weekly earnings were 16 percent below the Canadian average and that only 31.3 percent of MNSI were employed on a full year basis. Unfortunately, because of the sampling design employed in the survey, the NCC/CEIC data base cannot be used to analyze MNSI conditions at the level of the individual urban centre.

Recent studies by Clatworthy (1980, 1981) in Winnipeg and by AMNSIS (1979) in Saskatoon appear to represent the only available descriptive analysis of MNSI conditions in urban settings. The results of both studies are remarkably similar and suggest that urban MNSI populations experience great difficulties in the urban labour market. Unemployment among Saskatoon's MNSI population was found to be approximately 25 percent, roughly five times that of the general city population. Unemployment among Winnipeg's MNSI population was estimated to be approximately 27 percent (Clatworthy, 1981d).

It should be noted that the indicators presented in the above studies and others mask the fact that some urban natives, albeit very few, have been successful in the labour market. The NCC/CEIC (1977) study for example found 2.9 percent of MNSI with weekly earnings of \$400 or more. Dosman (1972) described a group which he categorized as a "native aristocracy" and Nagler's (1970) white collar group exhibited residential and occupational stability and sufficient and stable incomes. Despite these "successes" the majority of urban natives appear to suffer severe socio-economic disadvantages.

Institutional Studies

This area of native research is very poorly developed. In fact, the paucity of research in this area has led the Institute for Research on Public Policy to propose a plethora of studies regarding natives and urban institutions (Breton and Akian, 1978). Several studies, national in scope, investigate the overall policy objectives of the Canadian government towards native people (see Cardinal, 1969; Marule, 1977; Guilleman, 1978; Ryan, 1978). Most present very negative evaluations, especially with regard to the 1969 Federal Government White Paper (see Burke, 1976; Red Paper, Brown Paper and Wahbung, cited in Frideres, 1974). Others focus, in general ways, on the establishment and growth of native institutions in the city (Breton, 1964; Price, 1975).

Very little quantitative research has been done in this area. The themes of discrimination against natives and the need for 'urban adjustment' assistance comprise the major area of survey work in the 'institutional' category. Several studies have examined discrimination perceived by natives and found surprisingly low levels (Davis, 1965; Stanbury, 1975: 68). A major national survey of non-native attitudes was undertaken by Gibbins and Ponting (1977). They found, not surprisingly, that most non-natives view natives in pejorative, stereotypical terms (p. 85) and that non-native attitudes are unaffected by both the scope and nature of non-native contact with natives (p. 88). Many studies agree that there is a real need for 'urban adjustment' institutions for migrating natives (Brody, 1971; Stanbury, 1975: 77).

Recently, considerable interest has been developing concerning the relationship between urban native peoples and various levels of government. Svenson (1978) has provided an excellent review of some of the issues involved and outlined briefly the

nature and bases of the recent void in government policy concerning urban natives:

The major impact of differing positions is that no level of government is willing to take a major initiative in addressing Indian issues. The Saskatchewan government feels that since Indian people are wards of the federal government and that responsibility has been assigned by the constitution that any effort or initiative on the part of the province will accelerate the shifting of responsibility for Indians to the province. The federal position appears to be that any major initiative on the part of this government to resolve Indian issues will jeopardize the "residual" interpretation of its responsibilities. Indians, therefore, even when they can enunciate a proposal clearly have great difficulty in obtaining action from either level of government.³

One of the principal consequences of the present confusion (debate) surrounding government responsibility is a general lack of programming tailored to the circumstances, needs, and desires of urban native peoples. Where special programming has emerged it has been largely directed towards assisting migrating native peoples in the process of "adjusting" to urban life (e.g. Secretary of State Migrating Native Peoples Program). Special programming pertaining to the longer term (permanent) urban native populations remains scant.

3. Although Svenson's remarks are based on the Saskatchewan context they appear to accurately reflect the situations in other provincial contexts.

4.0 NATIVE POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS IN WESTERN CANADA

Approximately two thirds of Canada's native population lives in the four western provinces. While native people are distributed fairly evenly throughout these provinces, their proportion of provincial populations varies, with Saskatchewan and Manitoba having over 10 percent native people, while Alberta and British Columbia are about 4 percent native. (See Table 2.)

The age structure of native people is markedly different from that of the general population. Almost half of the native population of most of these provinces is under 15 years of age, while for the general population, only about 25 percent are in this age group. (See Table 3.) These figures reflect a combination of fertility rate and mortality rate differences between these population groups. Historically, Indian fertility rates and mortality rates have been much higher than those of the non-Indian population. (See Table 4.) Although these rates have both been rapidly dropping, the net result has been a rapid expansion of the population.⁴

Native people have been moving to the urban areas in significant numbers over the past two decades. Status Indian off-reserve population statistics are an important indicator of this movement. The percentage of Indians living off-reserve more than doubled in each of the western provinces between 1966 and 1976, and is expected to

4. Indian infant mortality rates fell from 79 per 1,000 births in 1960 to 32 per 1,000 in 1976, a figure about twice that of Canada as a whole. Indian infant mortality rates in Western Canada are especially high in B. C. and Saskatchewan, approaching 3 times those of their provincial populations, and Indian fertility rates are considerably lower in B.C. than in the prairie provinces. Since the Indian population structure has been found to be similar in broad terms to that of the Metis and non-status Indian population, it is concluded that the general mortality and fertility rates affecting these groups are also similar.

TABLE 2

Native Population by Age Group and As A
Percentage of Total Provincial Population,
Western Canada, 1976*

<u>Province</u>	<u>Population (X 1000)</u> <u>Age Group (Years)</u>			
	<u>Under 15</u>	<u>15-64</u>	<u>65+</u>	<u>Total</u>
Manitoba	48.9 (18.4)**	54.2 (8.3)	2.9 (2.7)	106.0 (10.4)
Saskatchewan	44.5 (17.9)	60.5 (10.6)	4.9 (4.8)	109.9 (11.9)
Alberta	37.4 (7.4)	40.4 (3.4)	3.4 (2.5)	81.1 (4.4)
British Columbia and Yukon	38.4 (6.4)	58.6 (3.6)	2.9 (1.2)	99.9 (4.0)
TOTAL	169.2 (10.5)	213.7 (5.3)	14.1 (2.4)	396.9 (6.3)

* Figures based on tables provided in Appendix to paper by Rick Ward, D.R.E.E., Saskatoon. These in turn come from the 1976 Native Council of Canada/C.E.I.C. survey, and from the Indian Register of D.I.A.N.D. Definitions and methodological problems are discussed in Ward's paper. Native includes Status Indian, Non-Status Indian and Metis.

** Numbers in parenthesis refer to percentage of total provincial population by age cohort.

TABLE 3

Age Composition of Native and Total Population By Province, 1976*

<u>Province</u>		Percent		
		<u>Under 15</u>	<u>15-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
Manitoba	Natives	46.1	51.1	2.8
	Provincial Total	25.9	63.6	10.4
Saskatchewan	Natives	40.5	55.1	4.4
	Provincial Total	26.9	62.1	11.1
Alberta	Natives	46.1	49.7	4.1
	Provincial Total	27.4	65.1	7.5
British Columbia and Yukon	Natives	38.4	58.7	2.9
	Provincial Total	24.1	66.1	9.8
Northwest Territories	Natives	38.4	57.0	4.6
	Territorial Total	38.6	58.7	2.7

* From Ward, page 11.

TABLE 4

Comparison of Indian and General Population
Fertility and Mortality Rates
In Western Canada, 1966-76

<u>Province</u>		<u>Fertility Rates*</u>			<u>Age Group</u>	
		<u>1966</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>Change</u>	<u>Mortality Rates**</u>	<u>1 Year</u>
Manitoba	Indian	280.1	163.1	-117.0	30.8	5.6
	General Population	82.6	67.4	-15.2	15.7	1.6
Saskatchewan	Indian	300.4	178.2	-112.2	43.8	6.9
	General Population	92.1	75.1	-17.0	15.1	1.4
Alberta	Indian	257.7	156.3	-121.4	28.9	9.1
	General Population	90.7	69.5	-21.2	11.4	1.5
British Columbia	Indian	199.7	83.8	-115.9	43.0	7.9
	General Population	76.0	57.5	-18.5	14.4	1.5
Canada	Indian	222.2	131.8	-90.4	33.4	6.0
	General Population	81.5	60.3	-21.2		

* Births per 1,000 females aged 15-44, adapted from Siggner and Locatelli, "Overview of Selected Demographic Patterns," D.I.A.N.D., 1980, p. 9.

** Deaths per 1,000 population of age group. Adapted from Siggner and Locatelli, p. 14, and Ward, p. 14. Indian mortality rates are a three year average, 1973-76; general mortality rates are for 1976.

continue to grow to percentages ranging from 27 percent (Alberta) to 42 percent (B.C.) of the respective Indian populations (See Table 5).

Among those Indians living off-reserve, a higher proportion are of labour force age than among those who remain on-reserve. It is also apparent that women of this age group are somewhat more likely to live off-reserve than men. (See Table 6.)

The result of these trends is that significant numbers of new working aged native people will be living in cities and towns in western Canada each year. Some estimates of the increasing native share of the labour force age group (15-64 years) have been made and show that by 1991 the native proportion of this group will approach 5 percent in B.C. and Alberta, and be about 12 to 15 percent in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. (See Table 7.) Moreover a much larger percentage of the new members of the labour force in the next ten years will be native. By 1991 about one out of every four new labour force entrants in western Canada will be native, with close to one half being native in some provinces. In absolute terms, the native labour force will have been increased by 90,000 to 100,000 over the ten year period from 1976-1986, and by another 40,000 in the following five years. (See Table 8.)

To summarize, western Canada has a relatively large, youthful and expanding native population which, as it ages, will contribute to a rapid growth in the labour force age group during the coming decade. Further, a substantial proportion of the expected growth in the native labour force will accrue to major urban areas. While the percentage increase of the native workforce will not be as striking in Alberta and British Columbia cities, there will be over 25,000 new native labour force entrants in each Western province in the next 15 years. The integration of this high need group into the urban economy and labour market presents a considerable challenge to economic development and labour market planners.

TABLE 5

Percent of Registered
Indian Population Living Off-Reserve,
Western Provinces and Canada, 1966-86*

<u>Provinces</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1986</u>
Manitoba	10.8	24.9	30.6
Saskatchewan	11.9	29.2	35.0
Alberta	8.0	21.3	27.9
British Columbia	17.3	36.1	42.4
Canada	15.9	27.3	31.2

* Adapted from Siggner and Locatelli, p. 22.

TABLE 6

Indian Labour Force Age Group by Residence, and
Sex Group
(Percent)

<u>Province</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>On Reserve</u>	<u>Off Reserve</u>	<u>Total Off-Reserve</u>
Manitoba	Male	76.0	24.0	23.9
	Female	70.9	29.1	26.8
	Total	73.5	26.5	25.3
Saskatchewan	Male	72.3	27.7	29.2
	Female	63.6	36.4	34.2
	Total	68.0	32.0	31.7
Alberta	Male	80.7	19.3	21.1
	Female	74.6	25.4	24.6
	Total	77.7	22.3	22.9
British Columbia	Male	67.0	33.0	34.5
	Female	58.0	42.0	39.9
	Total	62.6	37.4	37.2
Western Canada (includes the territories)	Male	74.1	25.9	26.8
	Female	67.0	33.0	30.9
	Total	70.6	29.4	28.8

TABLE 7

Projected Native Share of Labour Force Age Group
By Province, Western Canada, 1986 and 1991*

	<u>High Estimate</u>	<u>Low Estimate</u>
Manitoba		
1986	11.3	10.9
1991	12.6	11.9
Saskatchewan		
1986	13.2	12.7
1991	14.2	13.6
Alberta		
1986	4.4	4.3
1991	4.9	4.7
British Columbia and Yukon		
1986	4.4	4.3
1991	4.8	4.6
Western Canada		
1986	6.99	6.77
1991	7.67	7.30

* Adapted from Ward, p. 19. High estimates assume no native mortality among this group. Low estimates assume present mortality rates will continue. See Ward.

TABLE 8

Projected Native Labour Force Entrants
Compared to All Labour Force Entrants,
Western Canada, 1976-91*

	<u>Total Population</u>	Native Population		% Native	
		<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>
Manitoba					
1976-86	88,375	29,016	26,356	32.8	29.8
1986-91	27,615	13,370	11,398	48.4	41.3
Saskatchewan					
1976-86	84,235	25,842	23,079	30.7	27.4
1986-91	25,550	10,581	8,690	41.4	34.0
Alberta					
1976-86	215,645	22,551	20,542	10.5	9.5
1986-91	65,310	10,087	8,597	15.4	13.2
British Columbia and Yukon					
1976-86	199,395	23,095	20,471	11.6	10.3
1986-91	40,375	8,556	6,834	21.2	16.9
North West Territories					
1976-86	9,335	3,770	3,343	40.4	35.8
1986-91	4,275	1,499	1,214	37.1	28.4
Western Canada					
1976-86	596,985	104,274	93,790	17.5	15.7
1986-91	163,125	44,093	36,734	27.0	22.5

* Adapted from Ward, p. 20.

5.0 CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES

This section of the study provides a descriptive overview of the current demographic structure and socio-economic circumstances of native populations residing in each of the seven western metropolitan areas. Where possible the discussion uses the results of existing research studies and/or formal statistical information. Since such research and information is lacking for most of the metropolitan areas, the discussions reflect, to a large degree, the opinions and perceptions of the individuals contacted during the course of our survey.

5.1 Vancouver

Demographic Composition

Data pertaining to native migration rates to Vancouver and the age, sex and household composition of the city's recent native migrants are unavailable. However, the general impression of individuals contacted in Vancouver was that the rate of migration is stable and that the majority of recent migrants are young males.

Although Vancouver-specific data were not available on why rural natives are migrating to the city, Stanbury (1975) does provide some interesting data on this issue pertaining to the B.C. off-reserve status Indian population (Table 9).

TABLE 9
Responses to the Question "Why Do You Live Off Reserve?"
by Sex, B.C. Off-Reserve Indians, 1971

	Female	Male	Total
1. Employment	19.7%	35.0%	28.0%
2. Lifestyle off-reserve	20.1%	25.4%	23.0%
3. Poor conditions on reserve	20.3%	12.2%	15.9%
4. Friends and relations off-reserve	20.8%	9.3%	14.6%
5. Education	7.7%	9.7%	8.8%
6. Personal/medical care	7.3%	5.0%	6.0%
7. Other	4.0%	3.6%	3.8%
Total n	452	528	980

Source: adapted from Stanbury (1975)

The table suggests that employment was the factor cited most often by natives as a whole in their decision to live off-reserve. There is an interesting differentiation between the sexes, however. Although the largest group of males identified employment as the key factor in their decision to leave the reserve, female responses clustered almost equally around a number of factors. Cited prominently were poor conditions on the reserve and particular attractions (lifestyle, family and friends) off-reserve. It is interesting to note Clatworthy's similar findings in Winnipeg - for males employment was the most important factor in their move to the city, for females better life conditions were most crucial.

Stanbury's findings are consistent with the impressions of our Vancouver contacts who noted that economic issues (particularly employment) are the major factors in bringing natives to their city.

There were no data available concerning the areas of origin of native migrants to Vancouver. The only indication the experts interviewed could provide on this question was their firm impression that significant numbers of the city's migrants are from out of province.

Current Demographic Structure

Table 10 presents several recent estimates of the size of Vancouver's native population. Variability in the estimates suggests that knowledge about the Vancouver population (especially the MNSI component) and its size is very sketchy but that the city's native population is a very sizable one. The crudeness of the data available on the present Vancouver native population of course results in equally rough estimates of the future population. Using the residual method (See Appendix B) and the range of current population estimates of Table 10 we estimate the Vancouver native population to range from 16,900-24,200 by 1986 and include 7,300-8,400 status Indians and 9,600-15,820 MNSI.

TABLE 10
Estimated Native Population Size, Vancouver 1980

<u>Source</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>MNSI</u>	<u>Total</u>
Ward (1979)	-	-	21,800
DIAND ("Indian Conditions")	6,500	8,500-13,500	15,000-20,000
Interview Estimates	6,500-7,500	7,000-14,000	13,500-21,500

The present age composition of Vancouver's total native population is unknown although individuals interviewed in Vancouver agreed that the population was generally young. Ward's (1979) estimates of the sex structure of the population indicate a slightly higher concentration (51 %) of females than males. The impressions of most of the people interviewed support Ward's findings - that there is a roughly equivalent split between males and females within the city's native population.

With respect to household structure, the experts interviewed generally held that single parent families were very common, although there were no data available to support this view. Stanbury (1975) found average family size to be 2.83 and average household size to be 5.52. Ward's study (1979) indicated that average household size for the Vancouver native group was 2.77. The wide difference between the two Vancouver household size estimates leaves us with a great deal of uncertainty about this question. It is possible that within the intervening 8 years between the two studies there was a significant drop in extended family situations and/or migration to Vancouver to account for this difference. However, there was no indication in our interviews of such fundamental changes and thus we must call into question the methodology of one or both studies.

No data were available on the question of whether the majority of Vancouver's native population were recent arrivals or were longer term residents of the city. The general impression of the people we interviewed was that a significant minority of the native population are fairly recent arrivals to Vancouver.

Socio-economic Characteristics

Table 11, which provides estimates of the level of grade attainment of off-reserve status Indians living in Vancouver in 1971, reveals clearly that, at the time of the study, the great majority of the city's status Indians had dropped out of school prior to high school graduation.

TABLE 11
Educational Attainment of Vancouver Status Indians, 1971

Grades

<u>0-6</u>	<u>7-11</u>	<u>12+</u>
12.8%	54.9%	32.3%

(adapted from Stanbury (1975))

Stanbury's results, although dated, have been reconfirmed by a recent School Board study. Vancouver's native population lags considerably behind the city's general population with respect to high school completion rates.

Both Stanbury (1975) and Ward (1979) provide estimates of native unemployment and labour force participation rates in Vancouver (Table 12).

TABLE 12
Unemployment and Participation Rates,
Vancouver Natives, 1971 and 1979

Subgroup	Unemployment Rate (U.R.)		Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR)		1-UR x LFPR (Proportion Working)	
	Stanbury	Ward* (City, 1981)	Stanbury	Ward* (City)	Stanbury	Ward* (City)
male	31.3	33.0	-	65.5	83.0	-
female	31.6	46.0	-	40.0	55.0	-
total	31.3	37.0 (4.5)		56.4	71.0 (67.5)	38.9 44.7 (64.5)

*. Ward includes students as members of the employed labour force. This has the effect of raising the participation rate and lowering the unemployment rate. The statistical picture he provides thus must be viewed as being somewhat misleading.

The data in Table 12 illustrate a huge disparity between the Vancouver native population and the city in general, in terms of unemployment. The picture is less clear on the question of participation rates. Ward's estimates, which indicate similar levels of participation among the native and general population, conflict with Stanbury's earlier findings. Since Ward's calculations include students as members of the labour force, his estimates are artificially high. Stanbury's findings on this issue are very similar to the results obtained for most of the other cities included in this study and as such may more accurately reflect the Vancouver situation regarding native labour force participation.

Vancouver-specific information on native occupations are not available. However, Stanbury (1975) compiled information of this nature for B.C. off-reserve status Indian and the provincial non-status Indian populations (Table 13). The table indicates that by far the largest group of both off-reserve status Indians and non-status Indians were employed in what might be labeled "blue collar" occupations.⁵ Our Vancouver contacts perceived general labour to be a common occupation for the city's native males, while clerical positions were cited as being common jobs for native females. However, some observers also noted that significant numbers of natives of both sexes are now moving into social service and teaching positions.

Vancouver data were also not available on the issue of native job stability. Stanbury (1975) does provide some information on the provincial off-reserve population, however (see Table 14).

5. It must be noted that Table 13 provides only a broad sectoral breakdown on the major occupational groups in which natives were employed. It does not give any information on the occupational level at which they were employed within each sector. Thus it could mask to a certain extent the type of concentration into low level jobs which, as we will discuss later, appears to be the pattern in the other western centres.

TABLE 13

Occupational Distribution, B.C. Non-Status Indians and Off-Reserve Status Indians, 1971

Occupational Group	B.C. Indians Off Reserve Summer 1971 ¹			B.C. Non-Status Indians 1971	Canada 1971
	Male n=272	Female n=102	Total n=374	M + F n=706 ²	M + F
Managerial/Professional/ Technical	19.5%	16.7%	18.7%	4.4%	23.9%
Clerical/Sales	5.5	27.5	11.5	5.4	22.2
Service/Recreation	7.7	27.5	13.1	22.7	12.3
Transportation/ Communication	16.5	2.9	12.8	5.7	5.4
Primary (Fishing, Logging, Mining)	29.4	6.9	23.3	16.7	7.8
Production/Craftsmen	15.8	13.7	15.2	21.5	24.1
Labour/Unskilled	5.5	4.9	5.3	23.7	4.3
Not stated	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

1. Distribution by occupational group for those employed only.

2. Includes those currently unemployed.

TABLE 14
Duration in Occupation, B.C. Off-Reserve
Status Indians, 1971

	<u>Months in Occupation</u>				
	<u>1-6</u>	<u>7-12</u>	<u>13-24</u>	<u>25+</u>	<u>n</u>
Current and previous job	48.0%	18.4%	25.1%	8.7%	1,639

(adapted from Stanbury, 1975)

Table 14 indicates that by far the largest group of off-reserve status Indians had been in their current occupation (and previous occupation) for six months or less. These findings would seem to provide a fairly clear picture of employment instability among this group and are supported by Mooney's (1976) subsequent analysis of off-reserve Coastal Salish Indians.

Estimates of native incomes and sources of income in Vancouver can only be inferred from Stanbury's 1971 data on status Indians. At that time incomes of Vancouver's status Indian population lagged considerably behind those of the general city population. Using Stanbury's 1971 estimate inflated by the composite wage index we estimate the average 1980 household income of Vancouver's natives to be roughly \$11,500 or roughly one half that of the city's general population.⁶

Stanbury's study also identified a very high rate of transfer payment dependency (>48 percent of all households) among Vancouver's status Indian population. In addition, the poverty rate among Vancouver's Indian population was found to be approximately 2.5 times that of the Canadian population (see Table 15).

6. Statistics Canada estimates average family income in Vancouver in 1980 to be approximately \$24,000.

TABLE 15

Estimated Rate of Poverty, B.C. Indians
Living Off-Reserve, and Canada, 1971

B.C. Off-Reserve Indians

<u>Family Size</u>	<u>% of Families Below Poverty Line: Earned Income Only</u>	<u>% of Families Below Poverty Line: Earned Income + Transfers</u>	<u>Ratio of B.C. Indian To Canadian Poverty Rate</u>
1	64.9%	60.3%	1.56 to 1
2	73.9	72.3	2.55 to 1
3	55.1	53.4	3.18 to 1
4	54.1	49.5	3.17 to 1
5+	79.7	76.4	2.68 to 1
All families	67.5	62.8	2.50 to 1

Source: Stanbury (1975).

Institutional Context

The City of Vancouver appears to have no specific policies or programs directed toward its native residents. However, the Social Planning Department (through its active support and funding for construction) did play a significant role in the building of the new Vancouver Indian Centre.

The Indian Centre is the major organization that speaks for the general Vancouver native population and is the focal point of the city's native community. There does not appear to be any widely recognized urban native 'political' organization presently operating in Vancouver.

5.2 Victoria

Demographic Composition

Very little formal analysis or data exist concerning recent patterns of native migration to the city of Victoria. Moreover our interviews with the Victoria based "experts" failed to produce a clear consensus of opinion on most aspects of the migration process. Most migrants are believed to come to the city from other Vancouver Island locations in search of employment or to obtain educational and occupational training services. The survey contacts also noted large seasonal differences in migration to the city, suggesting that periodic urban residency may be common among some members of the city's native population.

Estimates of the size of the city's native population range from 5,000 to 11,000 comprising a roughly equal number of status Indians and MNSI.⁷ Using the residual method and a 1:1 ratio of MNSI to status Indians, the native population of Victoria is projected to increase to somewhere between 5,600 and 12,400 by 1986.

The present demographic structure of Victoria's native population is unclear, although the experts consulted perceived families to be the most common household type and single-parent families to be a common family structure.

7. Population estimates for Victoria's population are very crude. The range presented in this report reflects figures appearing in a recent UNN/CEIC report, Victoria Native Indian Education Commission report and the "experts" opinions.

Socio-Economic Characteristics

Recent studies conducted by the Victoria Native Indian Education Commission (VNIEC, 1979, 1980) provide some indications of the present educational levels of the city's native population. The commission noted that most native students perform well in the city's educational system until grade 10. Beyond this level psychological and social problems emerge which result in very high drop-out rates. The vast majority of native youth thus leave the educational system prior to completion of high school.

Data pertaining to native unemployment and labour force participation were unavailable. Our survey contacts, however, perceived native unemployment rates to be extremely high and participation in the labour market to be seasonal. Among males employment appears to be concentrated in seasonal primary industries (e.g. fishing and forestry) and in general labouring occupations. Women appear to be concentrated in low level service and food processing occupations. Stanbury's study of B.C. off-reserve Indians indicated the primary industries of fishing, logging, and mining to be the foremost sector vis-a-vis male urban employment (see discussion on Vancouver), a finding consistent with the experts' impressions concerning Victoria native males. The relationship between their other assertions and Stanbury's findings was less clear.

No Victoria specific data were available concerning native job stability. The one clear indication on this subject from our contacts was that the seasonal nature of much of Victoria native employment greatly affects employment patterns and leads to high levels of unemployment among the population periodically.

Estimates of the average household income of natives in

Victoria were not available, although the individuals interviewed agreed that household income for the city's native population was substantially below average.

Stanbury's (1975) data on income sources, which revealed in excess of 55 percent of the city's Indian households to be dependent on transfer payments, provide some statistical support for the information supplied by our Victoria contacts. This finding also suggests that many of the city's native households receive incomes below the poverty line.

Institutional Context

The City of Victoria does not appear to have any specific native policies or programs. However, the Native Education Commission, a special commission of the Victoria School District, appears to be having significant impact in the education area generally, and specifically in the areas of curriculum and staffing in Victoria schools.

Native political (i.e. lobby) groups which are specifically city-oriented do not appear to be in existence in Victoria. The major focal points for the Victoria native community (in terms of institutions) are the Friendship Centre and the United Native Nations (UNN) office.

The province of British Columbia does not appear to have any specific policy thrust vis-a-vis its native population, whether urban or rural based. It has only one program aimed at native socio-economic conditions - the First Citizens' Fund. This fund provides 'one shot' grants in support of the advancement and expansion of the culture, education, economic circumstances and positions of B.C. natives.

The following are the major provincial native organizations:

- The United Native Nations* (open to all native people)
 - The Alliance* (representing 7 bands)
 - Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs*
 - Native Brotherhood of B.C.*
 - Native Courtworkers and Counselling Association of B.C. (open to all natives)
 - Native Education Centre (open to all natives)
 - Provincial Forum* (open to all natives)
- (* groups which play a political (lobbying) role.)

Although less than comprehensive, our discussions with representatives of these organizations suggest that the primary emphasis of all the provincial native groups is on rural-based concerns (e.g. land claims and aboriginal rights, promotion of local government and economic development, negotiating of fish prices).

5.3 Calgary

Demographic Composition

As was the case in Victoria, there was no statistical information available on issues relating to Calgary's migrant native population. However, the individuals' interviewed in Calgary perceived native migration to that city to be increasing and the migrant group to be made up predominantly of single persons. Employment was identified as the major factor in native migration to Calgary, although education and better housing opportunities were also mentioned. The experts identified southern Alberta locales and other provinces as being the major sources of Calgary's migrant natives.

Survey-based estimates of the size of Calgary's native population are unavailable. Estimates provided by our interview respondents ranged from 4,000 to 14,000. An estimate ranging from 5,000 to 10,000 is cited in the "Indian Conditions" report (DIAND 1980) although no source or methodology is identified to support the figures. A recent survey-based study conducted by the Calgary Police Race Relations Unit. (CPRRU, 1981) suggests that the vast majority of Calgary's native population are status Indian. The ratio of status Indian to MNSI identified in the study is approximately 3:1. Assuming the Police Survey sample reflects accurately the situation within the overall population, this preponderance of status (treaty) Indians within the Calgary native population sets it apart from some other western cities. (In Winnipeg, for example, the ratio, based on Clatworthy's findings is approximately 1.64:1 MNSI to status Indians.) The results of the police study are not surprising in light of the fact that formal Metis settlements in Alberta are located in the northern regions of the province. As such Calgary is probably not a major reception area for Metis migrants.

Substantial growth is expected to occur among Calgary's native population during the 1980's decade. Using the residual method and the status Indian to MNSI ratio of 3:1 identified in the Calgary Police Survey, the native population of Calgary in 1986 is expected to be in the range of 5,500 to 17,900 and include between 4,100 and 13,400 status Indians and between 1,400 and 4,500 MNSI.

Individuals interviewed in Calgary indicated that the population is dominated by younger age groups. These perceptions are supported by the Calgary Police Survey (see Table 16).

TABLE 16

Age Structure of Respondents To
Calgary Police Survey, 1980

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
10-21	51	28
22-35	87	48
36-49	34	19
50+	10	5
TOTAL	182	100

Data on sex composition of the population, also obtained in the police survey, indicate a significant bias in the population toward females (64 percent of all survey respondents). Although the "representativeness" of the police survey sample is unknown, the survey's results as they pertain to both age and sex composition roughly coincide with the information contained in the DIAND band registries concerning off-reserve Indians.

With respect to the household structures among the city's native population, there was once again no consensus from our contacts. Nevertheless, the Police survey question pertaining to parenthood provides an indication that families may be more common

than singles (Table 17). The study provides no indication of whether single or two-parent families are predominant.

The Police Survey also provides an indication of size of household (Table 18), with 4-6 persons being the most common size among the persons surveyed, a finding which is in line with indications elsewhere.

TABLE 17
Parental Status, Respondents To
Calgary Police Survey, 1980

<u>Parental Status</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Parent	113	62
Non-Parent	69	38
No Response	1	0

(from Race Relations Unit Survey, 1980)

TABLE 18
Number Of Native Persons In Household,
Calgary Police Survey, 1980

<u>Household size</u>	<u>Number of Households</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1-3	45	25
4-6	80	44
7-10	30	16
11+	5	3
No Response	23	12
TOTAL	183	100

(from Race Relations Unit Survey, 1980)

Socio-Economic Characteristics

As was the case for Victoria, survey based information was not available on any of the issues relating to native employment in Calgary.

The experts interviewed for the most part perceived native unemployment rates in the city to be very high. (They did not address the issue of participation rates.) Although there was no consensus among our contacts on which sex was having the greatest employment problems in Calgary, out-of-province native transients and native youth were identified as facing particular difficulties in this area. Concerning the issue of occupations, the consensus view of the people interviewed was that native males could most commonly be found in general labour fields while native females were often employed in low level service positions. The experts did not take a clear position on the question of native job stability.

Our interview contacts were in general agreement that incomes for the majority of natives in their city were below average, and that the bulk of the Calgary native population was dependent on transfers to some extent. The question of poverty rates among native peoples was not addressed directly by the persons interviewed in Calgary. However, the perception of most of them on the income question provides an indication that significantly more natives than other persons among the general Calgary population receive incomes below the poverty line.

Institutional Context

There does not appear to be any specific policy towards natives within the city government. However, a Native Urban Affairs Committee, which includes at least one alderman in its membership, does operate within the city. This committee attempts

to provide city politicians with a constant update of Calgary's native situation and takes certain remedial actions where it feels they are warranted (letter-writing, public statements, assisting groups with particular needs). In addition, the police department has a Native Liaison Officer on its staff.

The Native Urban Affairs Committee seems to be the one group of any type oriented to the concerns of Calgary natives specifically. It has within its membership representatives from area bands, representatives from some local native organizations, and some concerned citizens. However, there does not appear to be awareness of the committee among several of the native organizations with offices in Calgary.

5.4 Edmonton

Demographic Composition

Although no statistical information was obtained concerning Edmonton's native population, our interviews with individuals familiar with the city's native population uncovered a number of widely-held perceptions. Nearly all of our contacts believed that the flow of migrants to Edmonton had stabilized during the 1978-81 period and may have declined among the status Indian sub-group. Native migrants to Edmonton are believed to be generally young with single males forming the majority of the seasonal or transient component of the migrant population and families, especially single-parent families, comprising the largest segment of migrants seeking permanent residency in the city. Among native males migration appears to be motivated (in most cases) by employment opportunities. Migration among native women, however, was generally thought to be related to a perception of better life conditions in the city.

The majority of native migrants are believed to come from areas near Edmonton and from northern Alberta settlements and urban centres. (e.g. Fort MacMurray). Our contacts, however, also noted that a significant component of the migrant population comes from other provinces, a perception consistent with that held by our contacts in the other major western growth centres of Calgary and Vancouver.

Survey-based estimates of the size of Edmonton's native population are unavailable. Our interview contacts estimated the size of the population to range between 11,000 and 20,000, including 5,000 - 8,000 status Indians and 6,000 to 12,000 MNSI. Although considerable uncertainty surrounds the

population size issue, the survey responses clearly indicate the existence of a large native population in the city. Assuming the above range for the present population and off-reserve growth levels forecast by Siggner (1980), Edmonton's native population is expected to increase to between 14,000 and 25,500 by 1986.

Structurally, the city's native population was believed to be youth dominated and contain roughly equal numbers of both sex groups. It should be noted, however, that our contacts regarded males to be more common among the transient or seasonal population and females to comprise the majority of the city's permanent or longer term residents.

With regard to household structures, the consensus opinion among our contacts was that the average native family size is roughly 5 to 6 people. Families were believed to represent the most common household arrangement with single-parent families accounting for as much as 40 to 50 percent of all native families.

Edmonton's function as an organizational base and employment centre for rural and northern resource projects was believed to result in a significant transient native male population which comes to the city during the spring and early summer months to make a job "connection" on rural work crews.

Socio-Economic Characteristics

According to our survey contacts, the majority (perhaps as much as 85%) of the city's native population has not completed a high school education. Our contacts, however, did note that many young native males are acquiring skills as heavy equipment operators and construction tradesmen.

Statistical information concerning labour force activity is not available for Edmonton's native population. However, individuals interviewed in the city believed that unemployment rates among the population exceeded 30 percent and were especially high among the city's native females. Moreover, most observers indicated that unemployment rates among males fluctuated considerably on a seasonal basis. This pattern of employment among males was believed to result from the population's dependence on low level and semi-skilled work in construction. Native females were believed to be most commonly employed in low level service occupations (e.g. waitresses, chambermaids, etc).

Our Edmonton contacts consistently noted that native household incomes were well below the city average. Most native households were believed to receive between \$10,000 and \$12,000 annual incomes. The survey contacts also noted that a large percentage of the city's native households receive the majority of their income through transfer payments.

The individuals interviewed were unable to agree on the proportion of the city's native population receiving incomes below the poverty line. However, their comments that average household income was below average and that many native households were dependent on transfer payments would seem to indicate that a larger proportion of the native, as opposed to general, population received incomes below the poverty line.

Institutional Context

There appears to be little municipal activity regarding the city's native population. However, action within the school system is taking place to make the curriculum more relevant to native children. At present, no formal organization representing the

interests of Edmonton's native population appears to exist. Such an organization did exist until 1978-79, however it folded due to internal disputes and a lack of funding.

The province's major concern regarding natives is with rural economic development and the relationship between resource development and reserves. The Alberta government and its Native Planning Secretariat appear to be largely ignorant of the conditions and problems of urban natives. Nevertheless, two economic initiatives funded by the province will be accessible to urban natives if and when they come on-stream - Business Assistance for Native Albertans Corporation (BANAC) and Venture Capital Corporation (VCC).

There are three provincial native political/administrative groups of particular significance in Alberta: The Indian Association of Alberta (I.A.A.), the Metis Association of Alberta (M.A.A.), and the Federation of Metis Settlements (F.M.S.).

Although the I.A.A. is concerned about the plight of the majority of urban Indians, it has to-date not articulated any specific policy regarding the economic development of urban Indians. It would seem its major focus is reserve-based.

The M.A.A. is sympathetic to the conditions of urban Metis and supports the concept of native economic development in the urban setting. However, as is the case with the I.A.A., its major orientation would appear to be rural-based - specifically to the Metis settlements in the province.

The F.M.S. would appear to have no urban orientation or interests.

5.5 Regina

Demographic Composition

There were no data available which dealt with the native migration to Regina specifically. However, Siggner's (1980) calculations and projections of status Indians living on and off-reserve in Saskatchewan can perhaps shed some light on this matter.

TABLE 19

On and Off-Reserve Indian Population in Saskatchewan

<u>Year</u>	<u>On Reserve</u>	<u>Off Reserve</u>
1966	88.1	11.9
1971	77.2	22.8
1976	70.8	29.2
1981	68.0	32.0
1986	65.0	35.0

(from Siggner and Locatelli, 1980)

The percentage of status Indians who have migrated from the reserves has clearly increased since 1966 and is projected to continue to do so through 1986. Although these data do not deal with the MNSI population and provide no indication of where the migrants are going, they may lend some support to the position of most of our Regina contacts that the rate of native migration to the city is increasing.

The experts interviewed in Regina identified the family as being the most common household type among recent migrants. Moreover, among migrant families the single-parent family was thought to predominate.

According to most of our Regina contacts, the migrant native population is believed to be composed largely of youth and to include more females than males.

On the issue of why native migrants are coming to Regina, the people we interviewed cited employment as being the most crucial factor. Additional factors mentioned were the search for improved living conditions, the fact that educational and training facilities are located in Regina, and the fact that family members already live in the city. The FSI study (1978) also found employment to be the main reason for Indian migration to the city.

The perspective of most of our contacts, concerning the question of where Regina's recent migrants are coming from, was that southern Saskatchewan in general and reserves and communities in close proximity to Regina in particular, provide the bulk of the city's migrants.

Current Demographic Structure

Information available on the size of Regina's native population takes the form of rough estimates. Svenson (1979) gives a low-high range for each group, based mainly on Indian Affairs records. He estimates 6,000 to 6,500 Status Indians and 8,800 to 17,500 Metis/Non-Status Indians for a total native population range of 14,800-24,000 in Regina. The DIAND "Indian Conditions" paper puts the figures at 5,300 (Indian), 9,850 (MNSI) and 15,150 (Total), while those we interviewed estimated Regina's native population as 20,000 to 25,000. The F.S.I. survey (1978) estimated between 5,400 and 6,100 treaty Indians in the city. The one thing these various statistics probably best illustrate is the

overall lack of clarity concerning the size of Regina's native population. Everyone knows it represents a significant proportion of the city's total population, but as yet there are no reliable data to pin down accurately what the dimensions of the Regina native group are.

Assuming the present population to range between 14,800 and 25,000 and projected off-reserve growth at levels estimated by Siggner and Locatelli, Regina's native population is projected to be in the range of 18,200 to 28,000 by 1986.

Data have not been collected concerning the age and sex structure of Regina's native population. However, Svenson (1979) utilized distributions compiled for the total provincial off-reserve Status Indian population by DIAND in 1976, and produced the following estimates of Regina's Status Indian population structure:

TABLE 20
Estimated Age and Sex Structure,
Regina Status Indians, 1976

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
0-14 years	24.6	25.6	50.3
15-24 years	9.4	11.3	20.7
25-44 years	9.1	11.9	21.1
45+ years	3.4	4.5	7.9
TOTAL	46.5	53.4	100.0

(from Svenson, 1979)

With respect to age structure, the data clearly suggest that a large proportion of native people in Regina are children (i.e. 14 years old or younger). This contrasts greatly with the situation within the provincial population as a whole where only 26.9 percent are in the 0-14 age group (1976 figures). It should be noted that it was also the consensus of the persons we interviewed in Regina that the city's native population is youth-dominated.

Svenson's calculations also clearly suggest that females make up a larger proportion of the population than males. This is consistent with the perspective of our Regina contacts and is also in line with data and perceptions in many other western cities.

Concerning household structures, Svenson, citing F.S.I. data, indicated that 78.6 percent of Indian households in Regina are family households. He also provided an F.S.I. breakdown of Indian family types in Regina and calculations of average family size (see Table 21).

TABLE 21*

Type and Size of Status
Indian Families, Regina, 1976

<u>Family Type</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Two Parent	431	37.9
One Parent (female)	638	56.1
One Parent (male)	69	6.1
TOTAL FAMILIES (Average family size 4.0)	1,138	100.1

* Adapted from Svenson, 1979.

The FSI finding that a large percentage of families are of a single-parent type is consistent with Clatworthy's findings in Winnipeg (see the discussion on that city). The average family size statistic is also fairly comparable to that found for Winnipeg's population (4.7 persons).

The perceptions of most of the people we interviewed in Regina were in line with the above data. They identified the single-parent family as the most common household type and estimated average native family size to be between 4 and 6.

No data were available on the final demographic question concerning general length of residence for the Regina native population. However, the experts did provide their perceptions on this issue. The consensus among our Regina contacts was that the majority of natives in that city had resided in Regina for a significant period of time (i.e. the majority are not recent migrants).

Socio-economic Characteristics

The persons interviewed who were willing to speculate on the education levels of native migrants who come to Regina, estimated that 8-10 years was the average grade attainment for this group, an impression in line with the data and perceptions elsewhere. The FSI study (1978) confirms this impression, indicating that 42.5 percent of Indian adults have less than grade 8 education, 32.7 percent have grade 9 or 10, and 24.8 percent have grade 11 or higher.

The only data available concerning employment were those provided by the FSI study (1978) for status Indians. This study did not identify participation or unemployment rates, but did give "employment rates" (proportion working). For Indian men in Regina this stood at 52.6 percent and for women it was 39.0 percent. The study also indicated lower employment rates for younger and for single Status Indians. These findings were confirmed by those interviewed in Regina, who thought native unemployment rates were very high. The FSI study is also the only data source concerning length of time in present employment; it indicates that more than 40 percent of Indian workers had been in their jobs for less than six months.

Concerning the occupational make-up of the native population in Regina, there is general agreement among our contacts that native workers are largely in the general labour, construction and service occupations, with men predominating in the first two occupational groups. Apparently, the Association of Metis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan (AMNSIS) has identified general labour as the largest single field of native employment for the province as a whole. The FSI study (1978) found that labour occupations (39.6%) and building trades (18.1%) predominated among men, while clerical (17.1%), chambermaid (16.0%), social work (11.2%) and waitress (9.9%) were the primary female occupations.

Incomes and Dependency

Little statistical information appears to exist regarding income and source of income. The FSI study, however, indicated that 37.1 percent of adult Indian women, and 13.1 percent of Indian men were dependent on public assistance. No specific studies of incomes or poverty have been done. Nevertheless, the pattern of employment

job stability, welfare dependency and occupations that emerges from the F.S.I. study suggests a much higher proportion of Indian families living in poverty than is the case for the general population.

Institutional Context

Over the past five years there has been increasing concern on the part of the City of Regina with native issues, including the creation of a Police-Native Relations office to provide a liaison role in the community. Presently the city is considering a recommendation by Council's committee of the whole to form a mayor's task force which would recommend specific policies to increase opportunities for Regina's native people. At present, however, there does not appear to be an overall native-specific policy emanating from the city, and as is the case in almost every other western city, there is no native organization in operation with Regina-specific political goals.

5.6 Saskatoon

Only one interview was conducted in Saskatoon and therefore this discussion will include no comments on the perceptions of contacts.

Demographic Composition

Although Siggner (1980) provides findings and projections for status Indians in Saskatchewan as a whole, living on and off reserves, there were no data available on the extent of native migration to Saskatoon specifically. (For a discussion of Siggner's data see the Regina section.) As a result, there is also no information concerning the age, sex and household composition of Saskatoon's total native population. Some information is available, however, for the MNSI population, concerning their reasons for migration. Based on a survey carried out by the AMNSIS Local 126 in 1979,⁸ 22 percent of the MNSI group came to Saskatoon for employment, 19 percent came for education, 20 percent came to improve their "life condition", and 39 percent came for other reasons. (AMNSIS Local 126, 1979) The FSI study (1978) provides a slightly different breakdown of reasons, but indicates a high proportion of status Indian migrants first came to Saskatoon for employment (50% of males, 28% of females) with fewer coming for education.

The most striking aspect of these results is that, while employment is the most important reason for the MNSI group's move to the city (as reported in other surveys) it is much less predominant than for native populations in other cities, as well as for the Indian population in Saskatoon.

8. In discussing these findings it must be remembered that a very small sample was used in this survey, and that the methodology is unclear. Sample size and methodology are also unclear in the FSI survey.

Concerning the areas of origin of native migrants to Saskatoon, the AMNSIS study indicates that 48 percent of the MNSI group come to Saskatoon from northern Saskatchewan, 27 percent from southern Saskatchewan, and 24 percent from out of province. A further calculation by AMNSIS indicates that a plurality of MNSI in Saskatoon come from small towns.

It is reasonable to assume that Saskatoon also draws more status Indians from the northern part of the province than from the south, with Regina being the major urban attraction for natives of both groups in southern Saskatchewan. Supporting this view are the perceptions of our Regina contacts that Regina native migrants are predominantly from the south.

Thus the existence of two major urban centres in Saskatchewan and their significant physical separation from each other would appear to create a bifurcation of the flow of native migrants analogous to that in Alberta (Edmonton - northern natives, Calgary - southern natives) and in B.C. (Victoria - Vancouver Island natives, Vancouver - mainland natives). The one western province which contrasts greatly with this picture is, of course, Manitoba with its single significant urban centre - Winnipeg.

Current demographic structure

The available estimates of the size of Saskatoon's native population exhibit the same kind of vagueness evident in the estimates for most of the other western centres. Svenson provides an estimate of 5,000 to 8,300, with 60 percent being Metis or non-status Indians. DIAND's "Indian Conditions" paper is even broader in its estimate of 5,000 to 10,000 native people in Saskatoon. While it is clear that these are rather inexact estimates, it does appear that Saskatoon's native population is much smaller than Regina's, in absolute as well as proportional terms. The FSI study (1978) provides further support for this conclusion, indicating the Indian population of Regina to be three times that of Saskatoon.

Using the residual method and a 3:2 ratio of MNSI to status Indians, the native population of Saskatoon is projected to increase to somewhere in the range of 6,160 to 12,250 by 1986.

On the question of the age structure of the native group in Saskatoon, the AMNSIS survey's finding that the majority of family heads interviewed were below 30 and that 73 percent of the families interviewed had at least 1-3 children, provides some indication that the MNSI population in Saskatoon is predominantly young. This is consistent with indications on this issue in other centres.

The sex structure of Saskatoon's MNSI population was examined by the AMNSIS survey, with the finding that 63.0 percent of this group is female and 37.0 percent is male. These findings are similar to those for other urban native populations in western cities. (See the discussion on Regina for a province-wide breakdown of off-reserve status Indians by sex.)

AMNSIS also provided a breakdown of native household types in Saskatoon, finding that 17.2 percent were childless, 46.2 percent were 2-parent families, and 36.6 percent were single-parent families. The average family size was found to be 4.4. Although the sample was limited to MNSI, the finding of a very significant percentage of single-parent families is particularly interesting because of its comparability to Clatworthy's findings in Winnipeg and to perceptions concerning the native household structures in other western cities. The 4.4 average family size derived from the AMNSIS study is also fairly comparable to findings and estimates elsewhere in the West.

The AMNSIS study also provided data on the length of residence of the MNSI population of Saskatoon. Of this group, 19 percent were found to have lived in the city for less than 2 years, 17.4 percent had lived there for between 2 and 5 years, and 63.7 percent had lived in Saskatoon for more than 5 years. The most significant point to be gleaned from this breakdown is the preponderant proportion of MNSI who have resided in Saskatoon for more than 5 years. We cannot really generalize about this finding for the native population of the city as a whole. However, it is interesting to note that our contacts in the other major Saskatchewan centre, Regina, felt that the majority of their native population were long-standing residents.

Socio-economic Characteristics

The AMNSIS study indicated that 19.7 percent of the MNSI group had less than grade 6 education, 57.6 percent had grade 6-11, and 23.1 percent had grade 12 or higher. The FSI study found that 38 percent of Indian men and 43 percent of Indian women had less than grade 9, 29 percent of men and 25 percent of women had grade 9 or 10 and about 32 percent of both men and women had grade 11 or higher.

Both sets of findings indicate that native people living in Saskatoon tend to quit school before grade 11, and are similar to findings in other western cities. AMNSIS also found that a full 26 percent of the children of sample respondents were 'age-grade retarded'.

Some data were available from the AMNSIS and FSI studies concerning unemployment and participation rates. These are summarized in Table 22.

TABLE 22

Status Indian and Metis/Non-Status Indian
Employment Characteristics, Saskatoon

	<u>Unemploy- ment Rate</u>	<u>Labour Force Participation Rate</u>	<u>Proportion Working</u>
Male, Status Indian	-	-	43.2%
Female, Status Indian	-	-	30.1%
Metis/Non-Status Indian	24.6%	56.1%	42.2%
Saskatoon City	6.0%	69.6%	65.4%

(From AMNSIS Local 126; Statistics Canada; and FSI Off-Reserve study)

These findings appear to show a lower native unemployment rate than Clatworthy's Winnipeg studies indicate (31.5%). However, his figure for the Winnipeg MNSI group was 27.2 percent, much closer to the figure for this group shown in the above table. What is clear from these statistics is the huge disparity between the level of native unemployment and that of Saskatoon as a whole.

The AMNSIS study also provides the following breakdown of the Saskatoon MNSI population on the basis of occupation.

TABLE 23

Occupation Distribution, Saskatoon MNSI, 1978

<u>Occupation of Family Head (employed persons only)</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Professional and Civil Service	28.5
Skilled Labour	53.8
Unskilled Labour	7.6
Other	10.1
	100.0

(From AMNSIS Local 126)

These findings from the sample of Saskatoon MNSI would appear to be very low in terms of percentage of respondents in unskilled labour and very high in terms of the percentage who are professionals or civil servants. This is particularly the case when compared to findings and perceptions concerning native occupations in other western cities. It should be emphasized that this breakdown was limited to household heads and, of course, to MNSI. It should also be pointed out that the categories utilized by AMNSIS are rather all-encompassing and are left undefined. The results they reflect could thus be very misleading. The occupational breakdown provided by the FSI study also seems to suggest a less highly skilled occupational distribution. (See figures in Regina discussion, which cover all urban Indians in Saskatchewan.)

Some information on job stability is provided by the FSI study for status Indians in Saskatoon. This is similar to figures for Regina (see previous section), with 40 percent of men, and 36 percent of women having been in their jobs for less than six months.

Incomes and Level of Dependency

On the question of native income, the AMNSIS study indicates an annual figure for Saskatoon MNSI households of \$9,883. This is very much in line with Clatworthy's findings for Winnipeg's native population (\$9,345 a year) and with the impressions elsewhere that native household income is below average.

Dependency on transfer payments has been shown to be high, although different figures were arrived at by the AMNSIS and FSI studies. AMNSIS found that 63.1 percent of Saskatoon's MNSI population receives the majority of its income from transfer payments. This is consistent with indications elsewhere in the West that the majority of urban natives are dependent for the most part on social assistance.

The FSI study found that 35 percent of Saskatoon status Indians were dependent on public assistance. (It is not clear what degree of dependency is involved, and whether all transfer payments are included.) However, the study points out that these figures relate to the summer when employment is usually highest.

No data are available which would permit an exact indication of the degree of poverty among the native population of Saskatoon.

Institutional Context

Local

The City of Saskatoon has taken a special initiative regarding the native population by bringing about the creation of the Community Liaison Committee. The assigned goal of the committee is to establish cooperation and coordination between native organizations, the city, and the community at large in order to identify issues and to fill an advocacy role. It includes an alderman in its membership.

Although no expressly political urban native organization has formed in Saskatoon, the germ of such an organization exists in the association of those involved in the Native Survival School, the Native Day Care, and the Native Women's organization.

Province-wide

The provincial government's policy concerning status Indians is, apparently, that they are the responsibility of the federal government no matter where they reside and that the province will continue to work with the status Indian representatives to push the federal government to 'live up to' this responsibility. Despite this stance, the province is planning to step into the program void concerning all urban natives, status and MNSI, to a certain degree. Its

proposed 'Urban Native Initiatives' would involve economic development, an educational component, and support services vis-a-vis job training and employment for natives in the city. The province also signed a housing agreement with the federal government a few years ago which provides 'rent/geared-to-income' housing for urban natives.

There are two provincial native 'political' organizations which are worthy of note in Saskatchewan - the FSI and AMNSIS. They would appear to be by far the most influential native organizational actors in the province. However, both groups seem to exhibit a strong bias toward rural rather than urban concerns.

5.7 Winnipeg

In contrast with the other centres considered in this report, a broad range of recent survey-based statistical information is available concerning both subgroups (i.e. status Indian vs. MNSI) of Winnipeg's native population. The information presented for Winnipeg derives from several recently completed studies concerning the population's demographic characteristics and socio-economic circumstances (see Clatworthy 1980, 1981a, b, c, d, e).

Demographic Composition

Approximations of the rate of net migration of native peoples to Winnipeg have been estimated from data concerning length of urban residency. These data suggest that Winnipeg currently receives approximately 1,150 net migrants per annum including about 460 status Indians and 690 MNSI (see Table 24). Although similar data are not available for earlier time periods, the present rate of net migration is believed to be stable and appears to be lower than that associated with the late 1960's and early 1970's (see Siggner, 1979).⁹

Table 24 also illustrates several important parameters of recent native migration to Winnipeg including the dominance of youth (46.6 percent less than 15 years of age) and females (56.8 percent of all migrants) among the migrant population. Further analysis of household composition reveals clearly that the recent migrant population is composed largely of families, with single-parent families forming a significant proportion of all migrant families (see Table 25).

Table 26 which presents the distribution of responses to a question concerning reasons for moving to the city, illustrates that

9. Schaeffer (1978) for example, implies that net migration among status Indians during the early 1970's was approximately 1,000 per annum. No methodology is presented in Schaeffer's work, however, to support the estimates. Siggner's work does identify reduced levels of off-reserve movement during the 1970's.

TABLE 24*

Estimated Annual Net Migration By Age, Sex, and Native Subgroup, Winnipeg, 1975-1979

<u>Group</u>	<u>Age Group (Years)</u>					<u>Total</u>
	<u>0-14</u>	<u>15-24</u>	<u>25-44</u>	<u>45-64</u>	<u>65+</u>	
<u>Status Indians</u>						
Male	102	35	29	8	3	177
Female	149	47	71	9	5	281
TOTAL	251	82	100	17	8	459

<u>Metis/Non-Status Indian</u>						
Male	126	56	110	25	4	321
Female	160	91	82	28	13	374
TOTAL	286	147	192	53	17	695

<u>Total Native</u>						
Male	228	91	139	33	7	498
Female	309	138	153	37	18	655
TOTAL	537	229	292	70	25	1,153

* from Clatworthy, 1981c

TABLE 25

Recent Migrants** By Household Type and Native Group,
Winnipeg, 1980

<u>Household Type</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Native Group</u>			<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>
		<u>MNSI</u>	<u>%</u>			
(1-4) All Non-families	25	4.6	31	8.4	56	6.1
(5-7) All Childless Couples	50	9.2	58	15.8	108	11.9
<u>TWO PARENT FAMILIES</u>						
(8-10) Young(oldest child 5yr.)	98	18.1	54	14.6	152	16.7
(11-13) Mature(oldest child 5-16yr.)	151	27.9	114	30.9	265	29.1
(14-16) Older(oldest child 17yr.)	30	5.5	19	5.1	49	5.4
(8-16) All Two Parent Families	279	51.6	187	50.7	466	51.2
<u>SINGLE PARENT FAMILIES</u>						
(17-19) Young(oldest child 5yr.)	51	9.4	14	3.8	65	7.1
(20-22) Mature(oldest child 5-16yr.)	105	19.4	68	18.4	171	18.8
(23-25) Older(oldest child 17yr.)	31	5.7	11	3.0	42	4.6
(17-25) All Single Parent Families	187	34.6	93	25.2	280	30.8
(1-25) All Households	541	100.0	369	100.0	910	100.0

* from Clatworthy, 1981c

** Recent migrants defined as households moving to the city during the previous 36 month period.

TABLE 26*

Reasons For Migrating To Winnipeg By Migrant Status
Sex and Native Group, Native Household Heads
Winnipeg, 1980

Population Subgroup	Percent of Total Subgroup Responses							Total Responses	
	Employment	Education	Medical	Housing	Family	Problems at Old Home	Other		
A. Recent Migrants									
i) <u>Status Indians</u>									
Males	45.2	14.2	8.9	7.8	7.4	13.8	2.6	478	
Females	13.2	16.2	10.9	11.9	20.7	20.4	6.5	316	
Total	32.7	15.0	9.7	9.4	12.6	16.3	4.2	794	
ii) <u>Metis/Non-Status Indians</u>									
Males	54.8	14.6	1.5	14.7	7.9	5.1	1.5	328	
Females	15.5	12.5	6.0	3.5	19.6	41.1	1.8	265	
Total	37.2	13.6	3.5	9.8	13.0	21.3	1.6	593	
B. Residual Households									
i) <u>Status Indians</u>									
Males	42.3	11.7	9.7	8.2	15.2	3.0	9.8	511	
Females	15.1	10.9	5.1	5.3	24.7	31.8	7.0	702	
Total	26.6	11.3	7.1	6.5	20.7	19.6	8.1	1213	
ii) <u>Metis/Non-Status Indians</u>									
Males	52.1	10.6	8.9	6.3	13.8	4.8	3.6	1206	
Females	16.8	9.2	6.9	4.4	38.6	19.6	4.6	1271	
Total	34.0	9.9	7.8	5.4	26.4	12.4	4.1	2477	

* from Clatworthy 1981c

employment opportunities were cited most frequently by males of both native subgroups. Female respondents, however, cited family ties in the city and a desire to "escape" poor life conditions on the reserve or in their previous home community more often as the principal reason for coming to Winnipeg.

Table 27, which presents data on migrant origin areas, reveals that for both native subgroups southern Manitoba locales and the forest fringe region (also close to the city) are the main origin regions of Winnipeg's recent migrants.

Winnipeg's current population is estimated to be 20,000 to 23,000, including 7,000 to 9,000 status Indians and 13,000 to 14,000 MNSI. Assuming present rates of net migration continue, Winnipeg's native population is projected to increase to 26,000 to 29,000 by 1986.¹⁰

The age and sex composition of the city's total native population (i.e. recent migrants and the residual population) is generally similar to that of the recent migrant population identified earlier in this section of the report. Table 28 reveals that although there exist some differences in the age structure between native groups, both groups are characterized by large concentrations of children and very small numbers of elderly. With few exceptions, females dominate all age cohorts among both native groups. The age structure of the native population contrasts sharply with that of the general city population which includes fewer children and substantially

10. Unlike the estimates presented for the other six urban centres, the Winnipeg projection employs a variant of the cohort survival model. Only in the case of Winnipeg were sufficient data available to support the use of this projection model.

TABLE 27*

Origin Regions Of Native Household Heads By Native Group,
Winnipeg Native Population, 1980

<u>Origin Region</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Native Group</u>	<u>MNSI</u>	<u>%</u>
Southern	544	(34.6)	1380	(42.3)	
Forest Fringe	441	(28.1)	418	(12.8)	
Northern	378	(24.1)	385	(11.8)	
Winnipeg	14	(0.9)	620	(19.0)	
Out of Province	<u>193</u>	<u>(12.3)</u>	<u>460</u>	<u>(14.1)</u>	
Total	1570	(100.0)	3263	(100.0)	

* from Clatworthy, 1981c

TABLE 28*

Age And Sex Composition By Native Subgroup,
Winnipeg, 1980

<u>Group</u>	<u>Age Group (Years)</u>						<u>Percent</u>
	<u>0-14</u>	<u>15-24</u>	<u>25-44</u>	<u>45-64</u>	<u>65+</u>	<u>Total</u>	
<u>Status Indians</u>							
Male	1,621	501	471	212	29	2,834	(41.2)
Female	2,091	756	877	225	88	4,037	(58.8)
TOTAL	3,712 (54.0)	1,257 (18.3)	1,348 (19.6)	437 (6.4)	117 (1.7)	6,871 (100.0)	(100.0)

<u>Metis/Non-Status Indian</u>							
Male	2,438	1,294	1,405	656	81	5,874	(45.5)
Female	2,668	1,942	1,627	713	96	7,046	(54.5)
TOTAL	5,106 (39.5)	3,036 (25.0)	3,032 (23.5)	1,369 (10.6)	177 (1.4)	12,920 (100.0)	(100.0)

<u>Total Native</u>							
Male	4,059	1,795	1,876	868	110	8,708	(44.0)
Female	4,759	2,698	2,504	938	184	11,083	(56.0)
TOTAL	8,818 (44.6)	4,493 (22.7)	4,380 (22.1)	1,806 (9.1)	294 (1.5)	19,791 (100.0)	(100.0)

* from Clatworthy, 1981c

larger concentrations of older age groups. These differences are illustrated graphically in Figure 1 in the form of odds-ratios.¹¹ Several well-documented demographic processes underlie these structural differences including much higher native fertility rates and the substantially longer average life span of the non-native population.

Like age composition, household composition among the two native groups is quite similar (Table 29). Both segments of the native population are characterized by large concentrations of family households, particularly single-parent families. This latter group accounts for approximately 40 percent of all native households.

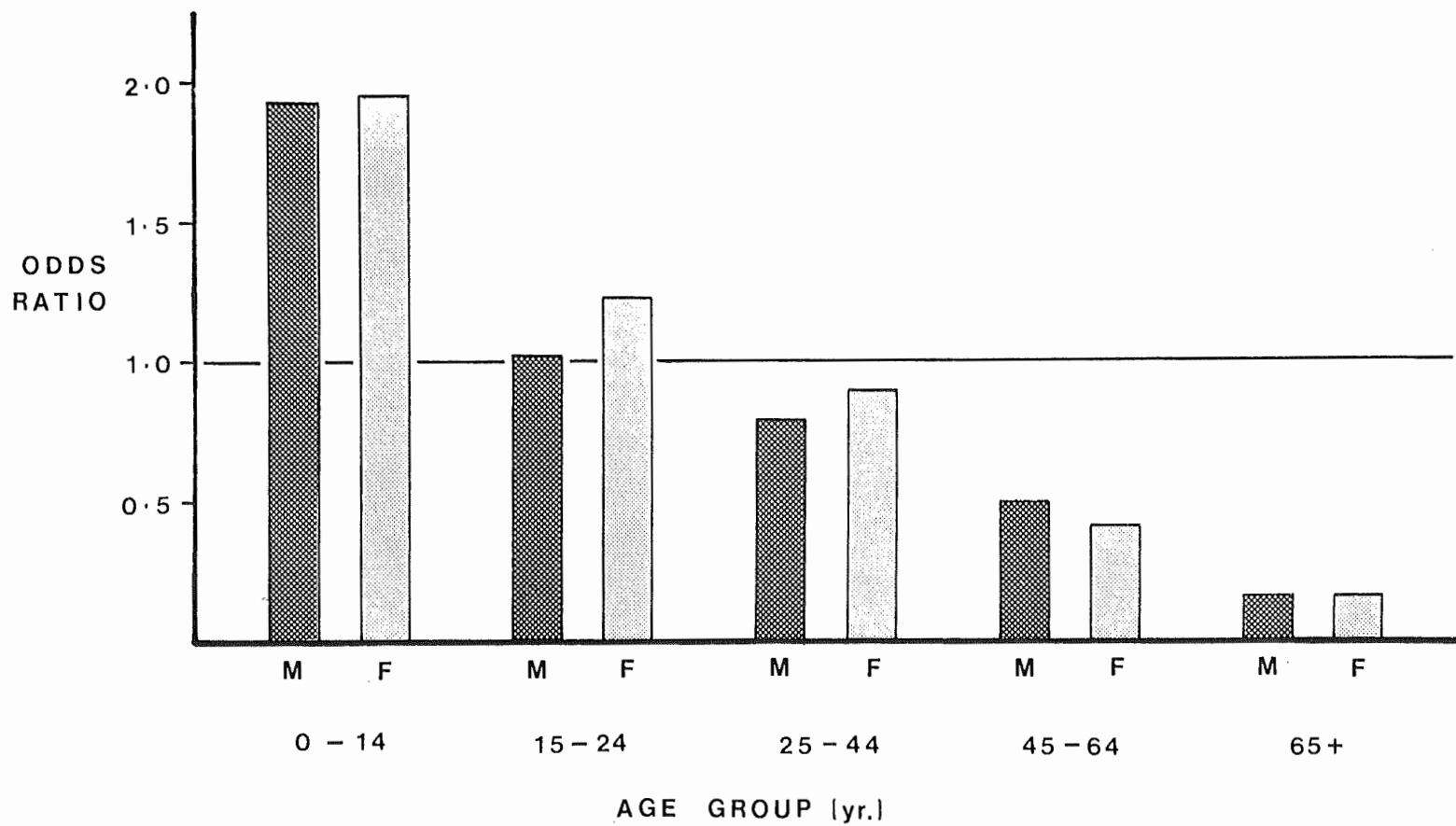
Figure 2 provides a comparison of the household structure of the native population with that of the city's general population. The figure indicates that the native population is characterized by larger relative concentrations of young and mature families, and single-parent families. Especially pronounced are differences in the occurrence of single-parent families. These household types are approximately five times more common to the native as opposed to general city population.

Data from two sources are available concerning the issue of relative length of residence in the city of the native group in Winnipeg. Clatworthy's analysis, which distinguished between recent migrants and longer term residents revealed that more than 71 percent of Winnipeg's native population had lived in the city for more than three years. This finding indicates clearly the predominance of longer term native residents among the city's native population. This point is further demonstrated in a recent study of native living arrangements by Baril (1981), which indicated an average length of residency among Winnipeg's native population of nearly 11 years. (see Table 30)

11. The odds-ratio related the probability of occurrence in a specific age cohort among the native population to the probability of membership in the same age cohort among the total study area population. An odds-ratio greater (less) than one indicates a higher (lower) relative concentration among the native population.

Figure 1*

STRUCTURAL DIFFERENCES IN AGE COMPOSITION BETWEEN NATIVE AND TOTAL CITY POPULATION, BY SEX GROUP, WINNIPEG, 1980



* from Clatworthy, 1981c

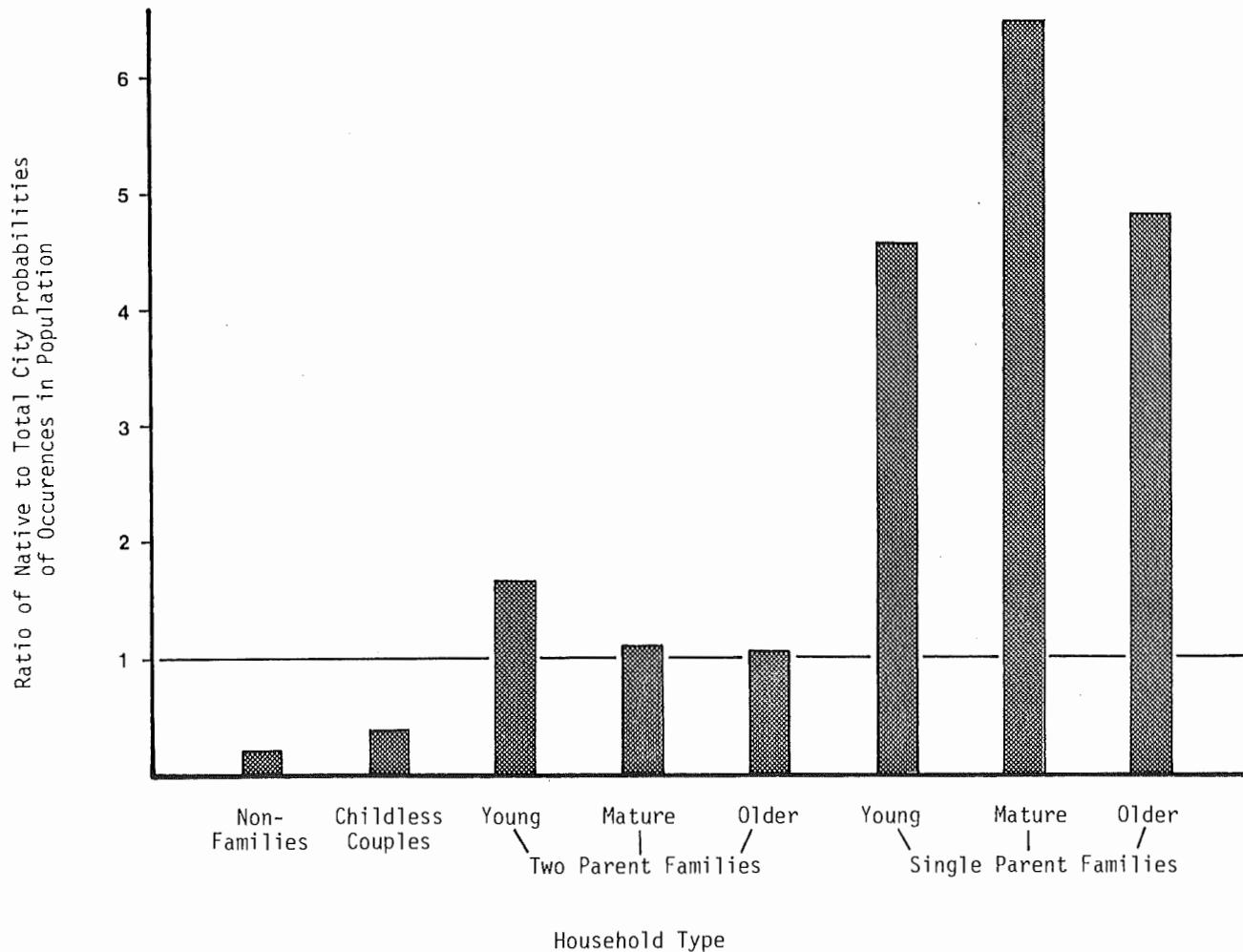
TABLE 29
Estimated Household Composition of Native
Population, Winnipeg, 1980*

<u>Household Type</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>MNSI</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>(%)</u>
Non-Families	87	(5.6)	156	(4.8)	243	(5.0)
Childless Couples	120	(7.6)	407	(12.4)	527	(10.9)
<u>TWO-PARENT FAMILIES</u>						
Young (oldest child < 5 yr.)	220	(14.0)	320	(9.8)	540	(11.2)
Mature (oldest child 5-16 yr.)	354	(22.5)	785	(24.1)	1,139	(23.6)
Older (oldest child ≥ 17 yr.)	<u>78</u>	<u>(5.0)</u>	<u>378</u>	<u>(11.6)</u>	<u>456</u>	<u>(9.4)</u>
ALL TWO-PARENT FAMILIES	652	(41.5)	1,483	(45.4)	2,135	(44.2)
<u>SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES</u>						
Young (oldest child < 5 yr.)	111	(7.1)	174	(5.3)	285	(5.9)
Mature (oldest child 5-16 yr.)	435	(27.7)	586	(18.0)	1,021	(21.1)
Older (oldest child ≥ 17 yr.)	<u>165</u>	<u>(10.5)</u>	<u>457</u>	<u>(13.9)</u>	<u>622</u>	<u>(12.9)</u>
ALL SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES	<u>711</u>	<u>(45.3)</u>	<u>1,217</u>	<u>(27.3)</u>	<u>1,928</u>	<u>(39.9)</u>
ALL HOUSEHOLDS	1,570	(100.0)	3,263	(99.9)	4,833	(100.0)

* Adapted from Clatworthy, 1981c.

Figure 2*

STRUCTURAL DIFFERENCES IN HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION BETWEEN NATIVE AND TOTAL CITY POPULATIONS
WINNIPEG, 1980



* from Clatworthy, 1981c

TABLE 30
Number of Years Native Respondent Lived
in Winnipeg Since Last Move There

<u>Years</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
less than 1 year	19	9
1 year to 23 months	15	7
2 to 4 years	33	16
5 to 9 years	36	17
10 years or more	80	39
average residency in Winnipeg	<u>10.75 years</u>	

(adapted from Baril, 1981)

Socio-Economic Characteristics

Table 31 presents several indicators of current labour force activity patterns among Winnipeg's native population. The unemployment rate among the city's native population is estimated to exceed 31 percent, roughly five times higher than the city-wide unemployment rate. Although both native subgroups experience alarmingly high rates of unemployment, problems appear to be most acute among young status Indian males and females of both subgroups. In addition to higher levels of unemployment, the city's native population (especially the female component) also exhibits much lower levels of labour force participation.

Table 32 documents levels of educational attainment for the native and general (total) populations of the city. The table indicates

TABLE 31*

Unemployment And Labour Force Participation Rates
By Native Group, Sex, And Age Group,
Winnipeg, 1980

<u>Subgroup</u>	Age Group					
	15-24 years		25+ years		<u>UR</u>	<u>LFPR</u>
	<u>UR*</u>	<u>LFPR**</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>LFPR</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>LFPR</u>
<u>Status Indians</u>						
Males	59.2 ± 16.3	53.0 ± 12.1	33.9 ± 11.3	70.9 ± 9.1	42.5 ± 9.6	63.6 ± 7.5
Females	52.6 ± 20.0	22.8 ± 8.0	35.7 ± 14.5	24.9 ± 6.5	41.9 ± 11.9	24.1 ± 5.1
<u>Métis/Non-Status Indians</u>						
Males	31.8 ± 10.3	60.4 ± 8.4	14.7 ± 5.4	75.8 ± 5.6	20.1 ± 5.0	70.1 ± 4.8
Females	46.7 ± 11.4	34.1 ± 6.3	30.5 ± 9.4	33.9 ± 5.6	37.7 ± 7.4	34.0 ± 4.2
			TOTAL		31.5 ± 3.8	45.5 ± 2.7

* Unemployment Rate

** Labour Force Participation Rate

TABLE 32**

Levels of Formal Education by Sex and Native Group, Native and Total City Population, Winnipeg, 1980

<u>Subgroup</u>	<u>≤ 5</u>	<u>Grades Completed</u>			<u>Post Secondary*</u>
		<u>6 - 10</u>	<u>11 - 13</u>	<u> </u>	
<u>Status Indians</u>					
Males	13.0+	65.6	13.1		8.3
Females	<u>18.7</u>	<u>61.8</u>	<u>13.4</u>		<u>6.1</u>
Total	16.6	63.2	13.3		6.9
<u>Metis/Non-Status Indians</u>					
Males	10.1	57.3	23.4		9.1
Females	<u>12.1</u>	<u>56.9</u>	<u>24.6</u>		<u>6.5</u>
Total	11.3	57.1	24.1		7.6
<u>Total Native</u>					
Males	11.0	59.9	20.2		8.9
Females	<u>14.5</u>	<u>58.7</u>	<u>20.5</u>		<u>6.3</u>
Total	13.1	59.2	20.4		7.3
<u>Total City**</u>					
Males	4.4	36.0	24.5		35.1
Females	<u>5.1</u>	<u>36.9</u>	<u>27.8</u>		<u>30.2</u>
Total	4.8	36.5	26.2		32.5

* Includes post secondary, university and non-university education.

** Source: 1976 Census, Cat. No. 95-831, p. 3.

+ Figure denotes percentage.

that although some differences in educational levels exist between status Indians and MNSI, both segments of the native population exhibit distributions which, in comparison with the general city population, are markedly biased toward lower educational categories.

The generally low levels of native educational attainment are reflected in the distribution of native occupations. Table 33 which illustrates the distribution of the native labour force among nine major occupational groups, reveals clearly the concentration of the native labour force in generally low skill/low-entry employment sectors. Among native males employment is concentrated in construction, manufacturing and processing and service occupations. Employment among native females tends to be concentrated among service and manufacturing and processing occupations.

Additional analysis of native occupations clearly indicates that the native labour force is for the most part employed among the city's lowest skill/lowest wage occupations within these industrial categories (see Clatworthy 1981a).

Analysis of job stability patterns of the city's native labour force reveals that, with the exception of MNSI males, most of the native labour force is employed on an irregular or periodic basis. (Table 34). This finding is similar to that identified by both Stanbury (1975) and Mooney (1976) for British Columbia's native population.

The problems experienced by native peoples in the Winnipeg labour market are reflected in much lower than average household incomes. Formal analysis of this issue (Clatworthy 1981a) reveals that, on average, native household income is approximately one half that of the general city households. Moreover, the vast majority of Winnipeg native households were found to be dependent on transfer payments as a primary income source (see Table 35) and that in excess of 73 percent of all Winnipeg native households received incomes below the Statistics Canada poverty line.

TABLE 33*

Native Employment by Occupational Group, Sex and Native Group
Winnipeg, 1980

<u>Employment Group</u>	SUBGROUP					
	<u>Status</u>		<u>Metis/Non-Status</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>Males</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Females</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Males</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Females</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Males</u> <u>(%)</u>	<u>Females</u> <u>(%)</u>
1. Managerial, Administrative	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.8	0.3	0.6
2. Occupations in Natural or Biological Sciences	0.7	5.0	0.3	16.3	0.4	12.6
3. Occupations in Social Sciences	3.7	2.6	4.0	5.8	3.9	4.7
4. Occupations in Arts, Sports or other fields of entertainment	0.0	1.3	4.6	0.6	3.4	0.8
5. Sales, Services and Clerical Occupations	19.4	58.3	13.4	46.0	15.0	50.0
6. Occupations in Primary Economic Activities	6.4	1.1	3.8	0.7	4.5	0.8
7. Occupations in Manufacturing and Processing	30.4	26.6	25.5	25.3	26.8	25.7
8. Construction Occupations	30.1	0.0	37.6	0.0	35.6	0.0
9. Transportation, Communications, and Materials Handling Occupations	9.3	5.2	10.3	4.4	10.0	4.7
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	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9	99.9	99.9

* adapted from Clatworthy, 1981d

TABLE 34*

Nature Of Employment By Sex And Native Group
Natives In The Labour Force, Winnipeg, 1980

Employment Category	Percent of Labour Force					
	Status Indians			Metis/Non-Status Males	Metis/Non-Status Females	Indians Total
	Males	Females	Total			
1 Regular Full-Time	21.4	31.9	25.7	62.1	27.6	48.7
2 Regular Part-Time	*	*	*	0.6	3.9	1.9
3 Irregular Full-Time	54.6	28.1	43.8	30.0	16.6	24.2
4 Irregular Part-Time	7.1	9.1	7.9	4.1	16.6	9.0
5 Did Not Work Last Year	16.9	30.8	22.6	4.2	35.3	16.3

Definitions

- Group 1 worked more than 44 weeks and more than 34 hours/week
- Group 2 worked more than 44 weeks but less than 35 hours/week
- Group 3 worked less than 45 weeks and more than 34 hours/week
- Group 4 worked less than 45 weeks and less than 35 hours/week

* from Clatworthy, 1981d

TABLE 35*
Transfer Payment Dependency and Transfer Source, Winnipeg

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent Receiving Transfer</u>	<u>Social Assis- tance</u>	<u>Source of Transfer (percent)</u>			<u>Percent Multi- Source</u>
				<u>U.I.C.</u>	<u>Pension</u>	<u>Ed/Training Allowance</u>	<u>Other</u>
All SI Households	1,223	77.5	78.9	15.5	8.6	10.5	0.1
All MNSI Households	2,064	71.6	68.2	19.1	12.0	5.7	1.6

(from Clatworthy, 1981)

* (adapted from Clatworthy, 1981c)

Institutional Context

The City of Winnipeg does not appear to have specific policies pertaining to Winnipeg's native population, although the system has responded in situations where the level of need has warranted special measures by municipal or educational agencies. In Winnipeg there is no special native agency sponsored by council and including in its membership council representation (i.e. a group analogous to Saskatoon's Community Liaison Committee and Calgary's Native Urban Affairs Committee).

In terms of native organizations with Winnipeg-specific concerns, the Winnipeg Indian Council, a formal organization representing the urban status Indian community, operates in the city. However, there are no analogous MNSI or general native political groups in existence in Winnipeg.

The province appears to have no specific policy concerning urban native people. However, as is the case with the city, provincial agencies have taken specific actions in response to circumstances of native need which the system is unable to ignore (i.e. in situations where natives represent a very significant percentage of case loads). Thus special native sections or groups have been established in some agencies, or native specialists have been designated.

Concerning provincial native political organizations, two are particularly significant - the Manitoba Metis Federation and the Four Nations Confederacy (status Indians). Although the Metis Federation has offices in Winnipeg and appears sympathetic toward the plight of the urban native, the majority of its membership is rural-based and rural-based concerns appear to dominate its interests. The Confederacy seems to share this bias toward rural (in their case

reserve-based) concerns. This of course is also the predominant pattern for the major native political organizations in the other western provinces (i.e. a primary interest in rural or reserve-based issues).

6.0 SUMMARY

The study has attempted to document several key parameters of the current demographic and socio-economic characteristics of native peoples residing in western Canada's major metropolitan centres. Information reported in the study derives from an extensive review of published and unpublished literature, several recently completed statistical reports, and a survey of academics, government officials, native leaders, and community workers involved with native issues in western urban areas. Major findings of the study are summarized below:

1. With the exception of Winnipeg, there exist serious deficiencies in data and research concerning urban native people in western Canada. Demographic and socio-economic data pertaining to native populations in other metropolitan centres in the west are either non-existent, out-dated, piecemeal, or of questionable reliability. As such, it is impossible to articulate clearly the populations' characteristics except at the general level of observation.
2. For most centres the size of the native population (especially the MNSI component) cannot be estimated with a reasonable degree of precision. 'Ballpark' estimates of the total native population in western metropolitan centres range from 75,000 to 114,300, including between 31,100 and 41,700 status Indians and between 43,950 and 72,600 MNSI. The findings in Winnipeg from Clatworthy's (1981) comprehensive study appear to provide the only set of concrete population estimates. They indicate a status Indian population for that city of 7,000-9,000 and an MNSI population of 13,000-14,000 for a total Winnipeg native population of 20,000-23,000. Although all centres appear to contain native populations of significant size, the largest concentrations are believed to reside in Winnipeg, Vancouver (20,000), and Regina (15,000-24,000).
3. Recent rates of migration appear to vary substantially among the urban centres in the West. Statistical documentation on this question is available only for Winnipeg where Clatworthy estimates the rate to be 1,000-1,200 net migrants per annum. Migration volumes for the other western centres are unknown. Nevertheless, the indications from most of our survey respondents in these cities were that their native migration flows remain large and may be increasing in Calgary, Regina and Saskatoon.

4. It appears that the majority of urban natives in western metropolitan centres are longer term permanent residents. In Winnipeg it was found that in excess of 70 percent of the native population had lived in the city for three or more years. The small AMNSIS study (1979) of Saskatoon MNSI indicated that 64 percent of that group had resided in Saskatoon for more than five years while only 19 percent had lived there for less than 2 years. There were no data available on this issue for the other western centres. On the basis of the perspectives of the experts we interviewed, recent migrants (i.e. short-term, periodic residents) would seem to represent a large minority of the urban native populations in Vancouver, Edmonton and Calgary only.
5. The vast majority of native migrants to the major western urban centres are believed to originate from within the same province, usually coming from reserves or rural communities close to the city in question. Data on this concern were available only for Winnipeg and Saskatoon. Clatworthy's Winnipeg study indicated that, for both status Indians and MNSI, southern Manitoba locales and the forest fringe within the outer region surrounding the city provide the majority of Winnipeg's migrants. The AMNSIS study of Saskatoon MNSI found that by far the largest percentage of that group (48.4%) were from northern Saskatchewan. The impressions of the persons contacted elsewhere were similar to the findings in these two cities - that most of their native migrants were from parts of the province in question in fairly close proximity to their city. However, the experts in Vancouver, Calgary and Edmonton indicated that significant numbers of migrants to their cities were also attracted from out of province.
6. Data on the issue of why natives migrate to the western metropolitan centres were available for Winnipeg natives in both sub-groups, Saskatoon MNSI, Regina status Indians and B.C. off-reserve status Indians. According to the Clatworthy study, in the case of Winnipeg employment is the most crucial factor by far in the decision of both MNSI and status Indian males to come to the city; native females, particularly the MNSI, are primarily motivated by a concern for better life conditions. The AMNSIS study of Saskatoon MNSI, which provided no breakdown by sex, found employment to be a crucial decisional factor among that group, although proportionately less so than was the case in Winnipeg. The FSI study (1978) of Regina status Indians also cited employment to be the main factor motivating Indian migration to that city. Stanbury's (1975) examination of B.C. off-reserve Indians indicated employment to be the main factor in the migration decision for the group overall, with the largest portion of males by far selecting that reason while female responses clustered almost equally around a number of factors. The

persons interviewed in the other cities for the most part cited employment as being the crucial factor in attracting native persons to their centres, with better life conditions also being mentioned prominently for some locales. Thus, it would appear that most native migrants move to the western cities in search of employment, and in many cases, in search of better life conditions. (There also seems to be an indication that most transients use the urban labour market on a periodic or seasonal basis.)

7. Data on the question of the demographic composition of the native migrant population in western centres were available for Winnipeg alone. The Clatworthy and IUS (1981) studies found that 66.5 percent of Winnipeg's recent migrants were under 25, 56.8 percent were female and that the family was the dominant household type, with single-parent families making up 39.2 percent of all households. The impressions of the experts interviewed in the other western centres were very limited concerning this issue. On the basis of the Winnipeg findings and the few observations which were made elsewhere, only two points can be set out with any degree of confidence concerning the composition of the migrant native group in western cities - young families may represent the most common household type among recent native migrants and young singles, especially males, are believed to be most common among the transient population.
8. Urban native populations in western Canada are characterized by very young population structures and tend to include more females than males. Clatworthy's research in Winnipeg cited 67.3 percent of the native population as being under 25 and 56 percent as being female. The small Calgary Police (1980) and Saskatoon AMNSIS surveys both indicated the native populations of their cities to be young and female dominated. In addition, DIAND statistics (1976) for off-reserve status Indians in Saskatchewan pointed to a comparable situation (71% under 25, 53.4% female). Although no data were available on the age structure of Vancouver natives, Ward's study (1979) indicated a fairly even split by sex with the female group being slightly larger. The impressions of experts in these cities and in those where no data were at hand, for the most part were consistent with the general picture from available findings that youth and women are more common among urban native populations.
9. Families represent the most common household type (except among transients) among the urban native populations in the West, with single-parent families making up a significant proportion of all native families. The IUS study of Winnipeg provides a clear picture of the predominance of families

within that city's native population and of the large percentage of households which were single-parent families (39.2%). The FSI's Regina study (1978) found the great majority of households there to be families and most families to be headed by a single parent. Similarly, the AMNSIS examination of the Saskatoon MNSI identified the predominance of families among that group and a large percentage of single-parent families among all MNSI households (36.6%). The study by the Calgary Police did not differentiate between single and two-parent families but provided a fairly clear indication that most households were of the family type. The experts' perspectives in these cities and the other western centres were generally in agreement with the available data that families are predominant and single-parent families are particularly common among urban native households.

- 10. Data on levels of education of urban natives in the West were available only for Winnipeg natives in general, Regina status Indians, Saskatoon MNSI, and B.C. off-reserve status Indians. The indications from these data and from the perceptions of experts elsewhere are that the majority of urban natives in the West have attained more than six years of schooling but have left the education system prior to high school graduation and thus lag behind the general population significantly in this area. Clatworthy's findings in Winnipeg were that 59.2 percent of the native population had completed between six and ten grades. The AMNSIS study of Saskatoon's MNSI population indicated that 57.6 percent of that group had completed six to eleven years of schooling. Stanbury's findings from his study of off-reserve status Indians in B.C. are very similar - 54.9 percent had completed between six and eleven grades. The FSI study of Regina Indians indicated that only 24.8 percent of that group had completed grade 11 or higher, while 32.7 percent had completed grade 9 or 10. The perceptions of the experts in almost all other western centres were consistent with the above findings.
11. Urban natives in major western metropolitan centres experience excessively high rates of unemployment. The Clatworthy study of Winnipeg found native unemployment to be 31.5%. This compares to a general rate for the whole city population of 6.2%. In terms of unemployment rates among native sub-groups, Winnipeg status Indian males were found to have a rate of 42.5% while native females had a rate of 38.9%. Stanbury and Ward found a similarly disquieting level of disparity between native and general unemployment in Vancouver. Stanbury's study estimated native unemployment at 31.3% while Ward's work indicated the rate to be 37%. This compares with the current general Vancouver unemployment rate of 4.5%. Neither Ward nor Stanbury included statistics for MNSI versus status Indians in their study. The AMNSIS study in Saskatoon,

which dealt specifically with the MNSI population, found the unemployment rate for that group to be 24.6 percent, a figure fairly comparable to Clatworthy's finding concerning the MNSI population of Winnipeg (27.2%). (Although the FSI study of Regina status Indians provided no data on unemployment, it did provide figures on the low 'employment rate' of that group - 52.6 percent for men and 39.0 percent for women.) There were no native unemployment data available on the other cities studied, although the perception of the contacts in each of these centres was that the unemployment rate was very high.

12. There were data available on labour force participation rates for Winnipeg, Vancouver, and Saskatoon only. Clatworthy's Winnipeg study found the overall native participation rate to be 45.5% as compared to 67.1% for the general population. He found the native female rate to be only 30.4%. Stanbury and Ward found the Vancouver rates to be 56.4% and 71% respectively as compared to a general city rate of 67.5%. Ward's results are coloured by the fact he included students among his labour force participants. Both Ward and Stanbury found participation rates for females to be considerably lower than those for males. The Saskatoon study of MNSI found a participation rate of 56.1% as compared to the general city rate of 69.6%. The perceptions of experts in the other centres were not available concerning this question. Although data for several centres were not available, it appears that the labour force participation among urban native peoples is significantly lower than participation among general urban populations.
13. Data on occupational distributions of the native labour force in western cities were restricted to Winnipeg natives in general, Regina status Indians, Saskatoon MNSI and off-reserve B.C. status Indians. Clatworthy indicated that 62.4 percent of Winnipeg native males could be found in construction or manufacturing and processing positions while 75.7 percent of native females were employed in the sales, services and clerical, or manufacturing and processing fields. The FSI findings concerning Regina status Indians were quite comparable to those of Clatworthy's - 57.7 percent of males were in the labour or construction fields while at least 43 percent of females were in clerical or service positions. Stanbury, however, found a more diverse picture for off-reserve B.C. Indian males, although off-reserve women were concentrated in clerical/sales and service/recreation fields (55.0%). The AMNSIS picture of the Saskatoon MNSI population also diverges from the Winnipeg situation. It placed 28.5 percent of MNSI in professional/civil service positions and 53.8 percent in the skilled labour category. Because of the wide-ranging nature of the categories and definitional differences (e.g.: 'civil service' may include clerical positions, 'skilled labour' is undefined), there is some doubt about the comparability of these findings. The perceptions of experts in the cities where there were no data were predominantly that native males can most commonly be found in general labour (plus seasonal work on the west coast) while native women are largely in low level service fields. Although Stanbury's diverse picture of B.C. off-reserve males and AMNSIS' Saskatoon findings make really explicit generalization difficult, it

would appear that a disproportionate number of natives can be found in low skill/low entry occupations in western cities.

14. Despite the limited information on this issue, the pattern of employment for urban natives in the West appears to be quite unstable. The Clatworthy study in Winnipeg indicated that, with the exception of the MNSI male group, the bulk of the city's native population is employed on an irregular or periodic basis - only 21.4 percent of status Indian males, 31.9 percent of status Indian females and 27.6 percent of MNSI females are employed on a regular full-time basis. Stanbury illustrated a related situation among B.C. off-reserve status Indians. He found that 42 percent of Indian workers had been in their current job for 6 months or less and 50 percent of them had remained in their previous occupation for 6 months or less. Similarly, the FSI study of Regina status Indians indicated that 40 percent of that group had been in their current occupations for 6 months or less. There were no data available on this question in the other centres.
15. Extreme disparity exists between the household incomes of urban natives in the West and those of the general populations of the major western centres. Clatworthy cited an average household income for Winnipeg natives of \$9,345 in 1980 dollars. This compares to the 1979 average family income for the city as a whole of \$23,683. Stanbury (1975) found the average yearly household income for Vancouver natives (updated to 1980 dollars) to be \$11,320. In contrast, the 1979 average family income for Vancouver as a whole was \$27,902. The finding from the Saskatoon AMNSIS study was that the average household income for MNSI was \$9,345 a year. These types of data were not available for the other centres under discussion. However, there was almost universal consensus among the experts in the various cities that their native populations had below average household incomes.
16. Data on transfer payment dependency were available for both Winnipeg native sub-groups, Saskatoon MNSI, Regina status Indians, and for Vancouver and Victoria status Indians. The indications from these cities plus the impressions of the experts in most of the other centres are consistent and suggest strongly that most of the urban native households in the West are dependent on transfer payments of some type. Clatworthy found in his study of Winnipeg that 77.5 percent of all status Indian households and 71.6 percent of all MNSI households were dependent on some form of transfer payment. The findings of the AMNSIS study in Saskatoon were that 63.1 percent of MNSI were receiving the majority of their income from transfers. According to the FSI study 37.1 percent of Regina's adult status Indian men were dependent on public assistance. (It appears 'public assistance' refers only to welfare payments.) Finally, Stanbury's (1975) study indicated that 48 percent of Vancouver off-reserve Indians and 55 percent of those in Victoria were receiving the majority of their income from transfer payments. No data on this question were available for the other two centres. The impressions of our contacts in Calgary and Edmonton were that the majority of native households in their cities were dependent on transfers.

17. No western province would appear to have specific policies for their urban native populations, although some provide or plan to provide a certain degree of special programming.
Saskatchewan's proposed 'Urban Native Initiatives' are probably the most ambitious example of such programming as they would involve economic development, an industrial component, and support services relating to native job training and employment. In Manitoba, and undoubtedly in the other three provinces, provincial departments provide native specific responses in situations where the demand (through sheer numbers) for a native caseworker or a special departmental group warrants such action. In general, the actions of the western provinces concerning urban natives have been reactionary and ad hoc, reflecting the lack of policy pertaining to this group.
18. As appears to be the case for the provincial governments generally, it seems the municipal governments of the seven major western cities largely react only to particular situations concerning the urban native population which demand action. In addition, in order to gain a more accurate perspective on the plight of their native populations, some cities have brought about the creation of special committees charged with the task of ascertaining native problems. These committees include native representatives and some representation from council. Calgary and Saskatoon have committees of this nature, and a proposal to create a similar body in Regina is presently under consideration by the city council. Although Victoria has no body of this type, there does exist a special commission of the Victoria School District which appears to be having a significant impact on local education. Despite the special native committees in some centres, consistent policy thrusts pertaining to the respective urban native populations are not in evidence among the various municipal administrations.
19. There appear to be no native organizations with 'political' goals geared specifically to the general urban native population in operation in any of the major western cities.
In Winnipeg a formal organization representing the city's status Indians - the Winnipeg Indian Council - exists. However, representation of the other segment of the native population - the MNSI - is not part of its mandate. Organizations of the Indian Council type do not appear to be in evidence in the other western centres. The province-wide native political organizations with offices in the major cities appear for the most part to be somewhat cognizant of and sympathetic to the plight of the urban native. However, their interests seem generally to be focussed on rural concerns. From all indications an organizational void exists within the

urban native communities of the major western cities. Winnipeg must be included in this generalization because of the lack of a universal native political organization. This organizational void can only make attempts to address successfully the many problems facing urban natives which are described above, that much more difficult.

6.1 Implications

Although many of the study's findings lack a rigorous statistical or analytical foundation, they appear sufficient to support a number of general observations which have a bearing on government policies and programs related to urban native peoples.

In general native populations form a large economically disadvantaged sub-group in each of the seven metropolitan areas considered in the study. The employment, labour force, and income indicators presented all seem to point to extreme levels of disparity between native peoples and other urban residents, and suggest that presently only a small segment of western Canada's urban native population is participating in and receiving benefits from the urban labour market. Present levels of disparity are sufficiently large to warrant the serious consideration of special policies and programs to address the needs and problems of urban native peoples.

Several of the study's findings concerning native demographic composition, especially those relating to the population's youthful age structure and the large concentrations of female headed families, appear to have special implications for manpower policy and planning in the 1980's. First, current migration patterns and continued high fertility rates are expected to result in very rapid growth in the urban native population during the 1980's. Although rough, our projections suggest that the present native population in the seven centres will increase by approximately 19 to 26 percent by 1986. Growth is expected to be especially pronounced among the labour force age group (i.e. 15+ years). In Winnipeg, for example,

an estimated 5,500 additional native people will enter the city's labour force age group by 1986. Further, during the 1981-86 period native people are expected to account for close to one quarter of the projected growth in that city's total labour force age group. Although data available for other centres are insufficient to generate age specific growth estimates, the high degree of similarity in migration forecasts and current population age structures implies that in all western centres growth in the native labour force age group will be substantial. The anticipated growth in native manpower potential further emphasizes the need for government action to promote increased utilization of the native labour force in urban areas. Given the population's present levels of education, training and employment experiences, considerable effort appears to be required in the area of vocational training and education.

The high concentrations of females and female headed families among urban native populations present a special challenge to economic development and labour market planners. Indications are that as much as one third of urban native female populations are single parents. This situation suggests that any strategy designed to enhance native economic conditions in urban centres must include program elements which are effective in reducing the present barriers to participation which confront women in general, and especially those which confront women who assume the responsibilities of single parents. Expanding training opportunities and employment support services such as day care represent obvious directions for further programming.

The study has also noted that throughout the western region there does not appear to exist a clearly articulated policy (and associated program elements) at any level of government or among formal urban or provincial native organizations, concerning urban native populations. In general, past attempts to address urban

native needs have been, by and large, channelled through a plethora of ad hoc, narrow focused, and reactive programs, most of which were designed to address the needs and circumstances of general urban society. Based on the findings of this study, the success of past programming efforts appears to be minimal, implying that there is a great need for governments, as well as native organizations, to clarify policy positions and co-ordinate programming efforts directed toward urban native peoples. Movement toward this objective is likely to necessitate a considerable amount of consultation involving urban native peoples, and on many issues, the three levels of government.

Although the need to coordinate programming efforts among several jurisdictions does not rule out the utility of a universal federal initiative, it does suggest the need for a high degree of flexibility in such an approach, especially in terms of delivery frameworks. Local or community based economic development corporations present one possible mechanism for achieving this flexibility and for facilitating coordination among various actors and programming elements.

Finally, one of the more important findings of this study is the serious lack of information and research concerning urban native populations in western Canada. For all centres other than Winnipeg, we continue to lack systematically organized information and data pertaining to native peoples. The implications of this situation appear important. Presently available data permit us to develop general images of native life conditions and problems in urban areas, however, they appear grossly inadequate for the purpose of program development. For example, although this study has identified high levels of native unemployment in all of the western metropolitan centres, we do not possess reliable native population estimates (except in the case of Winnipeg). Hence, we cannot

accurately estimate the absolute numbers of unemployed, let alone their demographic characteristics, present educational or training levels or occupational skills. Such information would appear to be crucial for the purpose of identifying program target groups and for determining program scale and budget requirements.

Based on the study's findings, we urge the federal government to initiate a process of consultation with representatives of urban native communities and other levels of government, in an attempt to eliminate the policy void which surrounds present programming efforts directed toward urban native peoples in western Canada. Further, as part of this process we urge the federal government to take action to improve present data and information resources related to urban native populations.

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APPENDIX A
SURVEY INSTRUMENT AND INDIVIDUALS
CONTACTED IN THE STUDY

The following survey questionnaire was utilized to obtain from experts in the field (i.e. native leaders, government officials, community workers, and academics) their impressions of the demographic, socio-economic, and organizational circumstances of urban natives in western Canada.

I General

1. Native organizations: What is your mandate? How are you attempting to fulfil it?
2. Government organizations: What special programs do you offer to urban natives? Are there any native people involved in the delivery system of these programs?

II Demographic Data (totals; status Indians vs MNSI)

1. On the basis of your group's or agency's experience how many natives do you think are migrating to your city each year?
2. Do you think that the numbers are increasing or that the numbers are fairly steady?
3. Are migrants mostly from small rural and northern communities or mostly from other centres?
4. Does migration occur more frequently at any particular time of year?
5. Are these migrating natives mostly families, or single females or males? If single, what age groups predominately migrate?
6. Why do natives migrate to your city?
7. What is the present native population in your city?
8. What is the percentage of recent migrants vs longer term residents?
9. What type of household structure is most common among urban natives?
10. What is the average size of urban native families?
11. What is the general age and sex structure of the urban native population?

III Social Indicators (as a whole; status Indians vs MNSI)

A. Education

1. What are the education levels of native people who are coming to the city?
2. How well are native children doing in school?
3. Are there problems in this area and, if so, what are they and what are their sources?
4. What steps are the authorities taking in regards to any problems?

B. Housing

1. In what parts of the city do natives tend to live?
2. What difficulties do they experience in finding housing? -- money, landlords, single parent-related, racism?
3. What help is available to assist migrating natives to find housing?
4. What percentage of family income goes toward housing costs?
5. How stable is the population vis-a-vis housing? -- do they change houses a great deal?

C. Job Skills

1. What kinds of occupations are currently filled by natives? (male vs female?).
2. How can natives find out about job vacancies -- what is the referral network?
3. Where can these people expand their skills for job advancement? -- How are native people responding to these opportunities?
4. What is the nature of the occupational training programs available? What is available in terms of training in skilled trades, professional training, higher education? How well developed are these programs? Are particular segments of the population taking part (eg. women vs men)?
5. Once on the job, what are the possibilities of career mobility? Any problems with unions?

IV Economic Indicators (totals; status Indians vs MNSI)

1. How much money does the average income earner make? What is the average total household income? How much of this is earned income and how much comes from transfer payments? What are the sources of the transfers?
2. On a percentage basis, how many natives are economically independent? How have they achieved this status? What has been the impact of this on their traditional value system and on their relationship to the native community?
3. What is the unemployment rate among natives? (males vs females?).
4. Is there any group which appears to be having greater employment difficulty than others?
5. How stable are employment patterns -- do individuals generally seem to stay at one job for a long period of time?

V Organization

1. From your own personal knowledge and from the experience of your agency or group, how well organized do you feel natives are to make their needs known in a community? (What agencies are there? What are the memberships? How cohesive are they?)
2. What are the political avenues available, if any?

VI Possible Solutions

1. Required actions?
2. Major barriers?

VII New Studies

Are you aware of any formal studies of the city's economic, demographic characteristics vis-a-vis natives, and if so, how can we get access to them?

Individuals and Agencies Contacted in the Survey

British Columbia

Wayne Clark Vancouver Indian Centre	Joyce Joe First Citizens' Fund Province of B.C. Victoria
Noel Bayliss DIAND Vancouver	Butch Dick Victoria Friendship Centre
Jim Lannigan Secretary of State Vancouver	Skip Dick CEIC Victoria
Tony Mears Social Planning Department City of Vancouver	Representatives of B.C. native organizations interviewed by DREE personnel:
Bob Burrows Secretary of State Vancouver	Bob Warren United Native Nations Victoria
Ray Sill, Carol Goodwin and Craig Eustache Native Counselling and Referral Centre Vancouver	Stephen Olsen Native Courtworker and Counselling Association of B.C. Vancouver
Bernard Charles CEIC Vancouver	Andrew Charles The Alliance Vancouver
Carolyn Bugge Native Indian Teacher Education Program, U.B.C. Vancouver	Ed Newman Native Brotherhood of B.C. Vancouver
Gilbert Shuter Native Education Centre Vancouver	Mercy Robinson Native Counselling and Referral Centre Vancouver
Amy Neview Native Women's Family and Cultural Centre Vancouver	Maxine Pape Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs Vancouver
Marie Cooper Victoria School Board/Native Education Commission	Ted Wilson United Native Nations Vancouver
Vic Wells United Native Nations Victoria	Emma Murray Native Women's Family and Cultural Centre Vancouver

Alberta

Norbert Le Blanc
DIAND
Calgary

Diane Hellson
CEIC
Calgary

Lloyd Ewenin and
Keith Purves
Native Counselling Services
Calgary

Karen Shingoose
Native Outreach
Calgary

Pat Waite
Native Urban Affairs Committee
Calgary

Randy Bottle
Calgary Friendship Centre

Brian Van De Wark
Race Relations Unit
Calgary Police Service

Ralph Bouvette
DIAND
Edmonton

David Berger
Native Planning Secretariat
Province of Alberta
Edmonton

Rose Martial
Canadian Native Friendship
Centre
Edmonton

Joe Dauvin
Special Needs Unit
CEIC
Edmonton

Aldina Piche
Native Outreach
Edmonton

Bill Sorebey
DIAND
Edmonton

Chester Cunningham
Native Counselling Services
Edmonton

Peggy Robbins
Jack Breddin Community Institute
Edmonton

Saskatchewan

Wayne McKenzie
AMNSIS
Regina

Wayne McIlraith
Bill Perrier
Murray Hooker
David Rylands
CEIC
Regina

Katherine Bowell
Secretary of State
Regina

Ken Svenson
Director's General Group
Regina

Donna Pinay
Regina Native Women's Centre

Howard McMaster
Social Planning Secretariat
Province of Saskatchewan
Regina

D. Parisienne
Native Employment Centre
Regina

Caroline Goodwill
Regina Friendship Centre

Vi Fiddler and
Ashok Shah
DIAND
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Keith Couse
School of Human Justice
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Doreen Pooyak
Saskatoon Friendship Centre

S.P. Wakil
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Saskatoon

Manitoba

Persons interviewed by the
Technical Advisory Committee,
Council on Rural Development,
Canada:

Dr. Charles A. Ferguson
Health Sciences Centre
Winnipeg

Roger Christie,
Marlene Bernicot and
P. Stephanson
Citizens' Health Action Committee Inc.
Winnipeg

Ann Callaghan
Continuing Care for the Needy
Health and Social Development
Winnipeg

Raoul MacKay
Department of Native Studies
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg

Mary Richards
Indian-Metis Friendship Centre
Winnipeg

Gertrude Flett and
Jane St. Goddard
Native Teacher's Aides
David Livingston School
Winnipeg School Division No. 1
Winnipeg

Stan Fulham
Kinew Housing Corporation
Winnipeg

Bob Davies
Winnipeg School Division No. 1
Winnipeg

Millie Stonechild
Native Alcoholism Council of
Manitoba
Winnipeg

Paul Hartung
Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce
Winnipeg

Indian-Metis United Church
Reception Lodge
Winnipeg

Dr. Lorne Philips and
Vera Martens
Native Community Services
Alcoholism Foundation of Manitoba
Winnipeg

Larry Starr
Greater Winnipeg Indian Committee
Winnipeg

APPENDIX B
POPULATION PROJECTION METHODS

Estimates of Future Populations

The absence of detailed demographic data pertaining to present urban native populations rules out the use of formal projection methods in all centres other than Winnipeg. The crude "ball park" estimates of future population growth presented in this study are based on what we have called the residual method. Essentially the method involved the allocation of future off-reserve status Indian population growth to urban centres according to the current estimated spatial distribution of off-reserve status Indians. MNSI population growth is then allocated on the basis of a status Indian to MNSI ratio. This ratio is assumed to remain stable over the projection period. We caution that such estimates should be interpreted only as rough evaluation of change and should not be used as a basis for planning or program development. The procedure can be expressed mathematically as follows:

$$\Delta P_{ij} = S_{ij} + M_{ij} + [S_{ij}/O_j * E_j] + [S_{ij}/O_n * E_j * 1/(S_{ij}/M_{ij})]$$

where S_{ij} represents the current estimate of the status Indian population of city i in province j

M_{ij} represents the current estimate of the MNSI population of city I in province j

O_j represents the current estimate of status Indians living off-reserve in province j

and E_j represents the estimated growth of the off-reserve status Indian population in province j during the projection period.

Estimates of O_j and E_j used in the study derive from work by Siggner (1979) based on the DIAND band registries.

Population projections for Winnipeg are based on the cohort survival projection method. Assumptions employed in the projection are listed below.

Assumption 1 - General Fertility Rates*

Source: Estimated from birth data contained on I.U.S. Urban Native Data Base.

a) Status Indians

205 births/1980 females aged 15-44 years
= 103.5 births/1000 females 15-44 years

b) Metis/Non-Status Indians

235 births/4382 females 15-44 years
= 53.6 births/1000 females 15-44 years

c) Sex distribution of births assumed to be 50/50 male/female.

Assumption 2 - Mortality Rates

Source: A. Siggner (1979) regarding 1973-1976 averages for Canadian Indians

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Deaths/1000 Population</u>
4 weeks-1 year	14.0/1000
1-4 years	3.1/1000
5-19 years	1.9/1000
20-44 years	6.0/1000
45-64 years	15.7/1000
65+ years	57.0/1000

* Includes births to women migrating to the city during previous 12 month period.

Assumption 3 - Annual Net Migration Rates

Source: Estimated from duration of residence data available on the I.U.S. Urban Native Data Base.

$$\hat{NMR}_{jkl} = \sum_{i=13}^{60} \hat{x}_{ijkl} / 4 \text{ (years)}$$

where \hat{x}_{ijkl} = population estimate of individuals
duration of residence category i
(in months since arriving in city),
age group j, sex category k, and
native subgroup l.