

## **INFORMATION TO USERS**

**This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.**

**The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.**

**In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.**

**Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.**

**Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.**

**Bell & Howell Information and Learning  
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA**

**UMI<sup>®</sup>**  
**800-521-0600**



**ON LEAVING HOME: RETURN AND CIRCULAR MIGRATION BETWEEN FIRST  
NATIONS AND PRAIRIE CITIES**

by

**Martin James Cooke  
Department of Sociology**

**Submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts**

**Faculty of Graduate Studies  
The University of Western Ontario  
London, Ontario, Canada  
June, 1999**

**© Martin James Cooke 1999**



**National Library  
of Canada**

**Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services**

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

**Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada**

**Acquisitions et  
services bibliographiques**

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

*Your file* *Votre référence*

*Our file* *Notre référence*

**The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.**

**The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.**

**L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.**

**L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.**

**0-612-42058-2**

**Canada**



## **Abstract**

This study uses 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey data and interviews with migrants to Winnipeg to investigate the personal characteristics of Registered Indians who have returned to reserves after moving to cities, and those who made multiple moves between the two areas. Multivariate analyses of the effects of demographic, socioeconomic, and some community variables on return migration found that return migrants were little different than those who did not return. While interviews indicated that circulation was common, models predicting circulation failed to adequately capture multiple moves.

While there is migration to cities for employment and education, other reasons include the attraction of urban life to youth, health care, and housing issues. Reasons for return migration included the pull of community, and the supports of extended family. Social integration into the reserve or urban community seems to be important in return migration. Return on retirement and commuting may be common strategies.

Keywords: Aboriginal demography, circular migration, return migration, 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey

## **Acknowledgements**

This thesis was possible only with the help of many people. In particular, Dan Beavon of the Research and Analysis Directorate of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada allowed me access to data, and he and Stewart Clatworthy provided valuable advice, support, and encouragement. I am also grateful to Mary Jane Norris of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada for her advice, and to Doug Norris and Derrick Thomas at Statistics Canada for their help with my use of the quantitative data.

Of course, I owe a great deal of thanks to my advisors, Professors Roderic Beaujot and Danièle Bélanger. In matters academic and otherwise, I profited greatly from their wisdom and patience.

Thanks also to my cousins, the Klassens of Ottawa, for making me welcome there, and to Graduate Affairs Assistant Denise Statham for keeping my affairs straight in London, as well as for her help throughout the year.

Finally, thanks to Florence Bruyere of the University of Manitoba, and to the anonymous interview participants who gave their time and thoughts generously, without which this work would have been impossible.

## Table of Contents

<b>CERTIFICATE OF EXAMINATION</b> .....	<b>II</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	<b>III</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b> .....	<b>IV</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b> .....	<b>V</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES</b> .....	<b>VII</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b> .....	<b>VIII</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>1</b>
1.1 WHY STUDY RETURN MIGRATION AND CIRCULAR MIGRATION?.....	2
1.2 LIMITATIONS OF EXISTING THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS .....	4
1.3 METHODOLOGICAL AND DATA LIMITATIONS .....	5
1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THIS STUDY.....	6
1.5 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH.....	7
<b>CHAPTER 2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON RETURN AND CIRCULAR MIGRATION, WITH PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO FIRST NATIONS PEOPLES</b> .....	<b>8</b>
2.1 INTRODUCTION.....	8
2.2 PUSH-PULL FRAMEWORKS.....	9
2.3 THE HUMAN CAPITAL MODEL.....	12
2.4 SOCIO-CULTURAL APPROACHES TO MIGRATION .....	15
2.5 CIRCULAR MIGRATION .....	19
2.6 MOTIVATIONS OF RETURN MIGRANTS: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE.....	21
2.7 CHARACTERISTICS OF PRIMARY AND RETURN MIGRANTS.....	22
2.8 THE CONTEXT OF MIGRATION BETWEEN FIRST NATIONS AND PRAIRIE CITIES.....	27
2.9 SOCIOLOGICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON ABORIGINAL MIGRATION.....	31
2.10 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS AND MIGRATION.....	37
2.11 QUANTITATIVE DATA ON MIGRATION AND POPULATION DISTRIBUTION.....	38
2.12 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODS.....	44
<b>CHAPTER 3. QUALITATIVE INVESTIGATION OF THE MIGRATION PROCESS</b> .....	<b>53</b>
3.1 INTRODUCTION.....	53
3.2 THE USE OF QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE DATA.....	53
3.3 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH AND THE OBJECTIVES OF THIS STUDY .....	54
3.4 CONSTRUCTION OF THE INTERVIEW GUIDE.....	55
3.5 SAMPLE SELECTION AND RECRUITING PARTICIPANTS.....	56
3.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	57
3.7 THE INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS: DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE .....	57
3.8 THE DATA COLLECTION PROCESS.....	58
3.9 METHOD OF ANALYSIS.....	60
3.10 ISSUES OF RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY.....	60
<b>CHAPTER 4. QUANTITATIVE METHODOLOGY</b> .....	<b>62</b>
4.1 INTRODUCTION.....	62
4.2 QUANTITATIVE DATA SOURCE: THE 1991 ABORIGINAL PEOPLES SURVEY.....	62
4.3 MOBILITY UNIVERSE.....	67
4.4 MODELLING THE DETERMINANTS OF RETURN MIGRATION AND CIRCULATION.....	70
4.5 MODEL SPECIFICATION.....	74

<b>CHAPTER 5. WHO MOVES AND WHY: A QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS.....</b>	<b>83</b>
5.1 INTRODUCTION.....	83
5.2 LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODELS.....	83
5.3 REASONS FOR MIGRATION.....	90
5.4 SUMMARY OF RESULTS.....	91
<b>CHAPTER 6. MOVING BETWEEN TWO WORLDS: ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEW DATA</b> .....	<b>116</b>
6.1 MOVING TO THE CITY: MOTIVATIONS FOR PRIMARY MIGRATION .....	117
6.2 THE DISADVANTAGES OF THE CITY.....	123
6.3 MOBILITY PATTERNS AND STRATEGIES.....	127
6.4. BENEFITS TO LIVING ON THE RESERVE.....	132
6.5 REASONS FOR NOT RETURNING.....	135
6.6 PLANNING AND INFORMATION ABOUT THE CITY.....	136
6.6 COMMUNICATION AND CONNECTIONS BETWEEN RESERVE AND URBAN COMMUNITIES ..	138
6.7 MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION.....	140
6.8 GENDER AND MIGRATION.....	142
6.9 CONCLUSIONS.....	145
<b>CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION.....</b>	<b>147</b>
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>155</b>
<b>APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE.....</b>	<b>162</b>
<b>APPENDIX B: RETROSPECTIVE MOBILITY QUESTIONS IN THE 1991 ABORIGINAL</b> <b>PEOPLES SURVEY.....</b>	<b>168</b>
<b>APPENDIX C: CATEGORIES OF REASONS FOR MIGRATION IN THE 1991 ABORIGINAL</b> <b>PEOPLES SURVEY DATASET.....</b>	<b>170</b>
<b>APPENDIX D: ETHICS APPROVAL.....</b>	<b>171</b>
<b>VITA .....</b>	<b>172</b>

## List of Tables

<b>TABLE 2.1: PROPORTIONS OF REGISTERED INDIANS LIVING ON- AND OFF-RESERVE BY GENDER, PRAIRIE PROVINCES, 1985-96.</b> .....	<b>50</b>
<b>TABLE 2.2: REGISTERED INDIANS RESIDING OFF-RESERVE IN MAJOR URBAN AREAS, 1981 AND 1991.</b> .....	<b>51</b>
<b>TABLE 5.1: PERCENT WHO RETURNED TO RESERVE, PERCENT WHO MOVED TO RESERVE, AND PERCENT HYPERMOBILE, AND CORRESPONDING SAMPLE SIZES</b> .....	<b>97</b>
<b>TABLE 5.2: REGRESSION RESULTS FOR MODEL 1, PREDICTING RETURN MIGRATION TO RESERVE</b> .....	<b>99</b>
<b>TABLE 5.3: SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES AND THEIR EFFECTS ON PROBABILITIES OF HAVING RETURNED TO RESERVE</b> .....	<b>102</b>
<b>TABLE 5.4: REGRESSION RESULTS FOR MODEL 2, PREDICTING MOBILITY TO RESERVE FROM CMA</b> .....	<b>103</b>
<b>TABLE 5.5: SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES AND THEIR EFFECTS ON PROBABILITIES OF HAVING MOVED FROM A CMA TO A RESERVE BETWEEN 1986 AND 1991.</b> .....	<b>105</b>
<b>TABLE 5.6: REGRESSION RESULTS FOR MODEL 3, PREDICTING HYPERMOBILITY</b> .....	<b>107</b>
<b>TABLE 5.7: SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES AND THEIR EFFECTS ON PROBABILITIES OF HAVING MADE TWO OR MORE MOVES BETWEEN TWO DIFFERENT COMMUNITIES, OR HAVING TWO HOMES IN TWO COMMUNITIES, PRAIRIE PROVINCES, 1991</b> .....	<b>110</b>
<b>TABLE 5.8: REASONS FOR MIGRATION BY GENDER, CMA TO RESERVE MIGRANTS, PRAIRIE PROVINCES</b> .....	<b>111</b>
<b>TABLE 5.9: REASONS FOR MIGRATION BY AGE GROUP IN 1991, CMA TO RESERVE MIGRANTS, PRAIRIE PROVINCES</b> .....	<b>112</b>
<b>TABLE 5.10: REASONS FOR MIGRATION BY CENSUS FAMILY STATUS IN 1991, CMA TO RESERVE MIGRANTS, PRAIRIE PROVINCES</b> .....	<b>113</b>
<b>TABLE 5.11: REASONS FOR MIGRATION BY GENDER, RESERVE-TO-CMA MIGRANTS, PRAIRIE PROVINCES</b> .....	<b>114</b>
<b>TABLE 5.12: REASONS FOR MIGRATION BY AGE GROUP IN 1991, RESERVE TO CMA MIGRANTS, PRAIRIE PROVINCES</b> .....	<b>115</b>

**List of Figures**

**FIGURE 2.1: SUMMARY OF NET MIGRATION FLOWS BETWEEN ON- AND OFF-RESERVE LOCATIONS, REGISTERED INDIANS, CANADA, 1986-91..... 52**

**FIGURE 4.1: STRUCTURE OF THE APS MOBILITY QUESTIONS.....81**

**FIGURE 4.2: IDENTIFICATION OF PRIMARY AND RETURN MIGRANTS ..... 82**

**FIGURE 5.1: PROBABILITIES OF HAVING RETURNED TO RESERVE, INTERACTION OF AGE GROUP AND GENDER..... 101**

**FIGURE 5.2: PROBABILITIES OF HAVING MOVED FROM A CMA TO A RESERVE COMMUNITY, INTERACTION OF EDUCATION AND GENDER..... 106**

**FIGURE 5.3: PROBABILITIES OF HYPERMOBILITY, INTERACTION OF GENDER AND HIGHEST LEVEL OF SCHOOLING.....109**

## **Chapter 1. Introduction**

It is generally thought that the predominant form of mobility of Canadian Aboriginal people is movement from First Nations communities into urban areas. To some extent, this has been the case. In 1966, only 16% of people registered under the Indian Act lived off-reserve (Beaujot, 1991: 245). This had increased to 29% by 1982, and to 41.9% in 1996 (INAC, 1997b: 5). Much of the increase in the off-reserve population has occurred in large urban areas. By 1991, over 40% of the Registered Indian population, and almost half of the total Aboriginal population of Canada was living in Census Metropolitan Areas (Peters, 1994: 4). Migration to cities has been particularly prevalent on the prairies (Clatworthy, 1980; Siggner and Locatelli, 1980; Norris, 1990: 40). Aboriginal people now make up more than 7% of the metropolitan populations in Regina and Saskatoon, and nearly that much of the population of Winnipeg (Statistics Canada, 1998).

However, only some of this increase has been due to migration into cities from reserves and other non-urban areas. The 1985 changes to the Indian Act added approximately 104,000 people to the Indian Register, most of whom continue to live in urban areas (INAC 1997b). In reality, the migration stream between First Nations and Prairie cities is much more bi-directional. Between 1986 and 1991, both reserves and large urban areas had positive net in-migration of Aboriginal people (Clatworthy, 1996). As important as it may be to examine the reasons for mobility from First Nations into urban areas, it is equally important that we look at the reasons that people undertake moves in the opposite direction.

While some migrants to reserves from the city are first-time migrants, many appear to be people who have at some time moved into the city from a reserve community. As well, some of these people may have made multiple, circular moves between the two communities. Clatworthy and Hull (1983: 47), for example, have found that of recent Aboriginal migrants to Regina and Saskatoon, over one third had lived in those cities at least twice before their most recent move. Denton (1972) has found that there may be many migrants who leave reserves for the city with the intention of eventually returning. Gerber (1984) has suggested that much of the migration between cities and Aboriginal communities

has taken place in the form of dual residences, and that moves between the two areas may be frequent.

However, return and circular migration among Aboriginal people has been seldom studied, in part because of limitations of the available data and incomplete theoretical frameworks. This study is an attempt to add to our understanding of the nature of return and circular migration between reserves and urban areas, as well as the characteristics of those who choose to return home, and their motivations for doing so.

### **1.1 Why Study Return Migration and Circular Migration?**

There have been no major studies that directly address the phenomenon of return migration between urban areas and Canadian Aboriginal communities. Researchers have typically concentrated on the rates and absolute amounts of net migration between cities and non-urban communities. The attention has been on the increase or decrease in population of the two areas, without much distinction between those who move for the first time, those who return home, and those who undertake multiple moves. However, there are several important reasons that we should direct our attention to return and circular migration, along with changes in population size to which these types of move contribute.

For one thing, by focussing on net migration alone, we are implicitly assuming that those who leave as part of the primary stream and those who make the return move in the opposite direction are similar. Some studies of return migration, such as Gmelch's (1983) study of return migration to rural Newfoundland and Irish communities, have found significant differences between primary and return migrants, in terms of age and marital status. Other studies have found that return migrants may differ from primary migrants in terms of education (Rosenbaum, 1993; Hou and Beaujot, 1994). If those who move back to the area of origin are select in terms of demographic, socioeconomic, or other characteristics, return migration may contribute to changes in the structure and composition of the home population. For example, it has been suggested that those who return to the place of origin may tend to be those who, through lack of education or applicable skills, have been unable to find suitable employment in the host community (Denton, 1972). On the other hand, returning may have been part of the original plan of the migrant. Those



who return may have gained valuable skills and education as a result of their move to the city, and may enrich the home community (Richmond, 1993: 270). In either case, understanding the characteristics of those who choose to return may help us understand the real effects of return migration on the home community.

It is also important to keep return migration somewhat conceptually separate from primary migration, while we treat it within a general theory of migration. As Beaman and D'Arcy (1980) and DaVanzo (1976) have noted, return migration is quite a different phenomenon than primary migration, and there are good reasons to believe that people take into account different factors when choosing to return home. In most cases, people are moving in the direction opposite to that which we would predict by looking at the employment opportunities in each area (Hiscott, 1987: 587). They also are moving to an area about which they likely possess near-perfect information, whereas primary migrants often undertake moves to places about which they may have only incomplete information (Rosenbaum, 1993). However, while a distinction should be made between primary and return migration, they may also be thought of as coexisting within systems of migration.

There are also reasons for the study of return migration that are particular to the case of Registered Indians in Canada, and the movement between reserves and urban areas. Peters (1994), in a demographic study for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, has identified the importance of understanding the demographic processes that affect the size of the Registered Indian population in urban areas and on reserves for the development of plans for Aboriginal self-government in urban areas. As well, as Goldstein (1954) has pointed out, return migration may have implications for the stability of communities both on reserves and in urban areas. This may particularly be the case if there is a high degree of hypermobility, or the making of frequent moves between the city and Aboriginal communities.

The case of migration between reserves and urban areas is also unique in that residence on reserves is generally subject to the requirement of registration under the Indian Act, as well as that of membership in an Indian Band (Wherret, 1996). Changes to the Act in made 1985 have increased the number of people registered under the Act, and thereby may affect the amount of return migration to reserves (Clatworthy, 1996). As well,

migration of Registered Indians between reserves and urban areas represents a movement between federal and provincial or municipal responsibility for social services such as health care and social assistance. It is important to understand the nature of migration patterns between reserves and urban areas, as this migration will likely affect resource allocation both in Aboriginal communities and in the cities.

### **1.2 Limitations of Existing Theoretical Frameworks**

It has largely been assumed by those who study migration that return migration in general represents mobility in order to correct earlier migration mistakes (DaVanzo, 1976; Rosenbaum, 1993). According to this view, people return to their place of birth after failing to realize their economic goals in the host community. This assumption is also common in the study of the urbanization of Aboriginal Canadians, in which those who return are often seen as having failed to gain employment or to cope with the cultural differences between cities and Aboriginal communities (Denton, 1972). This orientation towards return migration may in part be due to the long-time predominance of econometric models in the study of migration, and to the emphasis on labour market pressures in the decision to move (Kubat and Hoffman-Nowotny, 1982). Decisions to move have generally been conceptualized in terms of a cost-benefit framework, in which both economic and non-economic factors, such as proximity to friends and kin, are evaluated. This model of migration decision-making was first articulated by Lee (1966), who saw potential migrants as evaluating various positive and negative factors associated with the areas of origin and possible destinations, with intervening factors such as distance and the cost of moving. Following this framework, voluntary primary migration has generally been found to be heavily influenced by economic motivations (Shaw, 1975). Return migration, then, has often been seen as the result of the reevaluation of these costs and benefits after the initial move, in light of more complete information gained through experience.

In the case of return migration of Aboriginal people, this framework may not be entirely adequate. The implicit assumption in these models is that people leave with no real intention of returning. Those who move are often contrasted with those who do not move, in a mover-stayer typology. In the case of return migration, those who make only the

primary move are contrasted with those who make the return move home. Circular patterns of migration have nonetheless been identified in the study of rural to urban migration in developing countries (Chapman, 1978). In these cases, migrants may leave rural communities with every intention of returning to their home communities after a period of time, which could range from within a day in the case of commuting behaviour, to a few years (Peterson, 1978). Within Canada, it has been found that many migrants from Atlantic Canada may leave with the intention of returning (House, White, and Ripley, 1989: 80; Hiscott, 1987: 595). The finding by Clatworthy and Hull (1983) of significant numbers of people who have made multiple moves between prairie cities and reserves may suggest that in fact some return moves are made as part of a strategy that people have contemplated before making the initial migration. In an ethnographic study of migration between a reserve and a large urban centre, Denton (1972) found that there was an expectation among the young men in the community that they would move to the city for a time, after which they would likely return. As well, Gerber's (1984) suggestion that there may be patterns of dual residence between Aboriginal communities and urban centres may lead us to question whether we can consider each primary and return migration as separate evaluations of push and pull factors, or whether it is more appropriate to think of these moves as a part of a system of circular migration, or dual residence, in which moves are often not intended to be permanent.

### **1.3 Methodological and Data Limitations**

While the motivations for primary migrants from Aboriginal communities to urban centres have been given some attention in the literature, data limitations have prevented the careful investigation of return migration or circulation among Aboriginal migrants. Census data have been the most common source of micro-level information on patterns of migration in Canada. The census asks respondents where they were living five years before census day, along with their place of birth. These questions enable the identification of some people who had moved and returned home, but people who made multiple moves in the intervening five years could not be identified using these data (Rosenbaum, 1988). The 1991 census asked respondents to report their place of residence one year before, in

addition to the five-year mobility question. However, this addition has not alleviated the problem of the inability to identify multiple moves made between the dates captured by the data, or people who move and return home within one year (Rosenbaum, 1993). Problems with census data have been exacerbated in the case of Aboriginal people because of the historically low participation rate in censuses, both by individuals and by Aboriginal communities (Peters, 1994: 7).

After the 1991 Census, Statistics Canada conducted a post-censal survey of people who had reported Aboriginal ethnic origin. The Aboriginal Peoples Survey included questions about the respondents' previous places of residence, as well as their reasons for moving, and a question about dual residence (Statistics Canada, 1993). The data from the 1991 APS hold much more promise for the study of return migration, although as with the Census itself, the APS data suffer from a low participation rate.

While the 1991 APS data can be seen as an improvement over the previously available survey data, there remain difficulties that may be impossible to adequately address using quantitative data. The reasons that people give for undertaking a move, for example, may often be more complex than can be captured with survey methods. As well, the data do not give us a clear indication of the patterns of migration, and whether people intend to return home when they move to the city. The use of APS data to study mobility also requires that the respondents define themselves as having moved. It may be that in the case of commuting or circular migration, an individual may not consider a short-term move as a change of residence. In order to come to an understanding of the process of migration between reserves and urban areas, it is important to understand what the process means to the migrants themselves.

#### **1.4 Objectives of This Study**

This study is an attempt to add to our understanding of the pattern of migration between First Nations and prairie cities, by concentrating on return and circular migration. In particular, we are interested in the reasons that lead people to return to their home communities, as well as identifying whether those who return are different in terms of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics from those who remain in the city. We are

also interested in investigating the importance of circular mobility between the two areas, and the reasons that people undertake multiple moves. The goal of this study is to place return and circular mobility between First Nations and Prairie cities within a larger theoretical framework, and to examine the extent to which various theoretical approaches are applicable to the case of Aboriginal migration on the Prairies.

### **1.5 Methodological Approach**

In light of the above discussion of the difficulties with existing data sources, we have combined qualitative and quantitative methodologies to enhance the understanding of the patterns and motivations involved in return migration between reserves and urban centres. Despite their limitations, the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey micro-level data are helpful to analyze the differences between return and nonreturn migrants. Using logistic multiple regression techniques, the ability of demographic, socioeconomic, and cultural-linguistic variables to predict return mobility were examined.

As well, interviews were conducted with people who had moved from reserves to census metropolitan areas. In particular, we interviewed adult people registered under the Indian Act, in order to improve our understanding of the motivations involved in migration and return migration, and the patterns of migration between reserves and urban areas.

The small size of our qualitative sample, and lack of a systematic sampling frame, do not allow us to generalize from those people whom we were able to interview to the Aboriginal population as a whole. However, the respondents' experiences with their own mobility, as well as their knowledge of the patterns of mobility between reserves and urban areas, helped us understand the context in which migration takes place. We asked participants to act as informants who could give us a better idea of the types of mobility patterns that exist and the reasons behind these patterns. Discussing the mobility process with those who have undertaken a move from a reserve also helps us to make this and future research more relevant to the migrants themselves, by identifying the problems that they see associated with migration.

## **Chapter 2. Previous research on Return and Circular Migration, with Particular Attention to First Nations Peoples**

### **2.1 Introduction**

Before analyzing migration between First Nations Communities and cities, it is important to assess the major theoretical approaches to migration in general, and the state of the literature on return migration flows in particular. Both have been largely dominated by economic cost-benefit models, although there are other theoretical streams that cannot be so easily subsumed by economics. It is our position that, although these economic models are valuable, they should not be relied upon to produce a complete theory of migration behaviour. Instead, we should attempt to integrate other models into our thinking, in order to more adequately describe the reality of human decision making.

In order to understand the dynamics of migration between first nations and urban centres, one must also be aware of the legal context in which it occurs, and some of the historical facts which have led to the current situation. We will briefly describe the legal situation of reserve communities, and the implications of registration under the Indian Act, as well as the effect of the recent amendment of the Act.

There have been a few qualitative sociological studies of migration of Status Aboriginal people into cities from reserve communities. While not providing empirical evidence of return or circular migration patterns, they do provide some help in determining the dynamics behind such flows, and the factors which should be considered in our own analysis of return migration.

Finally, the quantitative evidence about migration between reserves and urban centres will be reviewed. This evidence is sparse, but seems to indicate that the flow of people into cities began between the end of the Second World War and the 1960s. However, between the middle of the 1960s and the 1990s, both reserves and urban areas have been net gainers of migrants. Although there have been no studies done that focus specifically on return migration, there is some limited evidence for the existence of strong return migration streams, as well as for the presence of some circular component migration, in these quantitative studies.

## 2.2 Push-Pull Frameworks

There has been a tendency for those studying migration to favour an economic approach to the topic, and to consider people's migration decisions as the result of a rational cost-benefit analysis. The concepts of push and pull factors associated with various places have become the core of much that passes for migration theory, including the human capital approaches which will be described below (Krishnan and Odynak, 1987: 385). These models implicitly contain some notion of rational decision making, and some form of cost-benefit calculus. In general, this approach considers people to move as a result of pushes from unacceptable conditions at the place of origin, or of pulls towards comparatively better conditions at potential destinations. This typology of motives has much intuitive attractiveness, but suffers from some shortcomings which we will discuss after outlining the major contributions to this theoretical approach.

Lee (1966) sought to create a general theory of migration. This framework holds that people move in response to positive and negative factors associated with their place of origin, and each possible place of destination. These factors may be such things as job availability, climate, or a multitude of other conditions that potential migrants may take into account in their decision-making. In addition to these place-specific factors there are intervening obstacles to migration, of which distance is a perennial example, that act to impede mobility.

An important contribution made by Lee is the acknowledgement of selectivity of migration. Migration is affected by the personal characteristics of migrants themselves. These personal characteristics, such as age, and marital status, affect the ways in which an individual responds to, or weighs the various factors at origin and destination and the intervening obstacles. After all, not everyone in a given area will choose to migrate in response to the same factors. If we are to explain migration behaviour, we should be able to explain why some residents of an area choose to move, while others do not. The most important personal characteristic, according to Lee, is the potential migrant's stage of the life cycle at the time of the decision-making. Such life-cycle events as getting married, having children, or retirement, can dramatically change the ways in which an individual evaluates

the various costs and benefits associated with the positive and negative factors at origin and destination.

A further advancement in the theory of migration that has been made by Lee is the incorporation of knowledge into a decision-making framework. Migrants do not have perfect, and perhaps not even very good, information about what to expect at a given destination. As a result, migration is inevitably risky, and involves an amount of uncertainty. The availability of jobs and economic opportunities at a possible destination may easily be mis-perceived by a potential migrant who has never been there, and who may not know anyone who has. On the other hand, the migrant does have a much better awareness about the conditions at the current place of residence, and may even tend to overestimate the benefits associated with a place in which he or she has spent many years (Lee, 1966:50).

One of the shortcomings of Lee's theory of migration lies in the way in which migration is defined. While most definitions of migration include all geographic mobility over a certain distance, regardless of time spent, Lee chooses to exclude two important types of moves. Lee excludes those migrations that occur in very short time periods, such as commuting behaviour, as well as the long-term ranging that is characteristic of nomadic behaviour. Like many writers, particularly economists, Lee largely assumes that people tend to remain stationary until persuaded to move. However, there are many examples available of peoples who have moved more or less constantly at various times in their histories (Goldscheider, 1971: 51). While these types of mobility may be more difficult to incorporate into a "push-pull" framework, others, such as Petersen (1958) have attempted to fit them into more complete typologies of migration. As well, the importance of short-term, or commuting behaviour has been indicated by other writers in studies of people who commute between places of residence and places of work (Chapman, 1978; Beaman and D'Arcy, 1980; Gould and Prothero, 1975). Both of these types of mobility should be incorporated into a general theory of migration, because they indicate the range of mobility patterns, and the variety of ways in which people are willing to change their geography in order to meet their needs. Rather than excluding types of mobility that do not appear to be common, we should consider mobility types as being positioned somewhere on the two continuums of geographic distance and time between moves.



Instead of assuming that people generally prefer to remain stationary, which is refuted by even a cursory consideration of the various nomadic cultures around the world, Petersen (1958) refers to the physical concept of *inertia* to describe peoples' mobility preferences. This is to say that people who are at rest tend to stay where they are, unless there is some compelling reason to move. Peoples who are in motion will tend to remain that way, if theirs is a culture that has adapted to being on the move. This allows Petersen to incorporate those people who, for one reason or another, make repeated migration when permanent settlement would be possible.

Petersen helpfully divides migrations into *impelled* and *forced* migrations, or those in which the migrants have some choice in whether to move, and those in which they do not. Migrations are also divided into those which are *conservative*, in which people move geographically to maintain other components of their lifestyle, and those which are *innovative*, in which people seek new experiences, or improvements in their well-being (Petersen, 1958: 261). Flights from ecological disasters such as droughts, or wandering to follow game would be examples of conservative behaviour, as migrants in these cases move in order to maintain their food supply. Likewise, continued mobility of nomadic people may be considered conservative, if it allows the maintenance of a central feature of their culture. Immigrant mobility to the new world may be considered innovative behaviour, because many people may move in search of a life that is in some respects better than that which they leave behind.

Petersen's typology is helpful in that it allows us to incorporate those who tend to remain in motion, and reminds us that people move not only to better their situation, but to keep it the same. However, Petersen tends to ignore people who migrate even though their prospects at the destination may be worse in some respects than they were at the origin (Krishnan and Odynak, 1987: 386). In other words, we cannot say definitively that people improve their lives by moving. They are only able to improve it in particular dimensions. As Ravenstein (1885, in Lee, 1966: 47) suggests, people usually move to improve their situation in economic respects, but this may occur at the costs of other aspects of their quality of life, such as climate, convenience, or proximity to friends and family. We therefore have to consider not only why people move, but what types of tradeoffs people make when

deciding to migrate, and what effects the personal factors identified by Lee (1966) may have in making those decisions (Todaro, 1976:19).

### **2.3 The Human Capital Model**

Most models of migration decision-making developed in recent years have made implicit or explicit use of the cost-benefit framework best described by Sjaastad (1962). Essentially an economic model, this cost-benefit framework, or "Human Capital" model treats migration as "an equilibrating mechanism in a changing economy" (Sjaastad, 1962: 80). Migration promotes efficient resource allocation, in which labour is the resource under study. This is true both at the macro and the micro levels. At the aggregate level, the model holds that people will tend to move from areas with fewer opportunities to those with higher income levels or lower unemployment. Assuming a free labour market, this adjustment of the labour supply will allow an equilibrium wage level to be reached. At the individual level, the human capital model predicts that people will move in order to maximize returns and to minimize costs. In effect, if we correctly identify the costs and benefits involved, all forms of migration may be subsumed under the human capital model, including forced migrations (DaVanzo, 1981).

Sjaastad's framework assumes that people make migration decisions on the basis of a rational cost-benefit analysis of the conditions at the origin and destination, and of the costs of moving. These costs include the monetary costs associated with moving, such as the cost of travel and earnings foregone while moving and looking for a new job. As well, there are non-monetary, or psychic costs to moving that are incurred by migrants, along with the potential psychic benefits. Distance from friends and relatives, climate, and the stress of moving and adjustment to new surroundings may all be sufficient to deter migration (Sjaastad, 1962: 85). The way in which an individual weighs the monetary and psychic costs and returns of migration may vary with his or her personality and situation. For instance, a recent retiree may respond more to the psychic benefits of living close to friends and family in a familiar community, while someone in early adulthood with a young family may respond more to potential wage benefits of moving.

The benefits that people may expect to gain through migration may accrue over a period of time. A better career available through early migration may lead to a lifetime of earnings that are higher than would otherwise be possible. Migration may thus be seen as an investment in an individual's human capital, or in improving the productivity of human resources (DaVanzo, 1981: 92). The human capital model takes into account the value of location-specific resources, such as an existing patient base for a doctor or dentist, as well as the benefits that one may gain from having more friends or family in a particular area (DaVanzo, 1981: 116). This model implies that people consider the long-run costs and benefits when they consider whether to move, and compare possible destinations.

At the macro level, there have been many economic studies of migration that consider the movement of people primarily as a redistribution of labour. In Canada, work by Grant and Vanderkamp (1976), and by Stone (1971) are examples of this type of study. However, the results of economic studies that attempt to conclusively link wage differentials between areas to migration rates have been mixed (Ritchey, 1976). It has been suggested that this can be partially explained by imperfect information. While classical econometric models often assume perfect information is available to the rational economic actor, it has been suggested that there may be information lags operating which obscure the relationship between mobility and income or unemployment levels. Some people may move in response to perceived benefits which may no longer exist (Ritchey, 1976: 368).

### **2.3.1 The Human Capital Model and Return Migration**

As first pointed out by Ravenstein (1885, in Lee, 1966), migration flows in one direction engender counter flows in the opposite direction. Any theory of migration decision-making must be able to account for people migrating in either direction, between the same two areas. Studies which consider migration as only a means of improving economic well-being may have difficulty explaining the phenomenon of return migration. After all, if there is a net flow to one particular destination, in response to wage or employment differentials between two areas, anyone who returns home after making a primary move is moving in the wrong direction, by economic standards. Within the human capital model, return migrations have generally been considered to be either 'corrections'

for earlier moves that have not had the desired results, or planned returns after a particular goal has been reached. For example, people may return home after determining that their information about job opportunities in the area of destination was incorrect, or they may return home after completing an educational programme (DaVanzo, 1976, 1981; Rosenbaum, 1988).

The human capital model has definite strengths for explaining migration. In particular, the ideas that most people move in order to improve their well-being, and that they perform a rational cost-benefit analysis in the making of migration decisions are likely quite valid. The human capital model provides a good theoretical basis for the examination of the characteristics of migrants, and the ways in which personal characteristics affect the cost-benefit calculus of migration decisions. This framework forms the basis for some conclusions that those moving for the first time may weigh some of the costs and benefits of migration differently than those who go on to return home, or to make subsequent moves (DaVanzo, 1976; Rosenbaum, 1988; 1993).

### **2.3.2 The Role of Information**

While it may be difficult to explain return migration in terms of strictly economic variables, incorporating the role of information in the rational decision-making process may help us understand the seemingly perverse tendency to move in the wrong direction. While the classical economic model generally assumes perfect and timely information is held by the rational economic actor, the quality of information may affect migration decisions. Miller (1973: 3) has noted that potential primary migrants are usually very uncertain about what life will be like in the new area. They are worried about whether they will like the climate, the life-style, and the people. However, after the initial move the primary migrant probably has very good information about social and economic conditions back home. Communication with friends or relatives who have remained may augment the migrant's own first-hand knowledge about the area. The decision to move back home, Miller suggests, may be one that is more closely based on a rational decision-making process than is the primary move. With better information, the fear of moving is less likely to be a deterrent to

mobility, while unrealistic expectations are less likely to induce regrettable moves (Miller, 1973: 4).

Some writers have also suggested that the accuracy and completeness of information about the primary destination may figure highly in the amount of failed primary moves and subsequent return moves (Rosenbaum, 1988; DaVanzo, 1976; Grant and Vanderkamp, 1984). Because of poor information, and the resulting inaccurate assessment of the potential benefits of the initial move, the migrant is disappointed. The return move is therefore seen as an attempt to correct this initial poor decision by means of a move that has more certain results.

In general, economic-rational approaches to migration decision making characterize primary and return migration as responses to rational cost-benefit analyses, as suggested by Sjaastad (1962). In the case of return migration, either the migrant is moving back home because the initial move failed to meet his or her expectations, or because the migrant completed a short-term goal, such as education, which was the motive for moving. Return migrants may be select in that they are more responsive to psychic factors in their decision-making process, while non-return migrants weigh more heavily the economic costs and benefits of migration.

## **2.4 Socio-Cultural Approaches to Migration**

### **2.4.1 Social Integration and Migration**

There has been some theoretical work on primary and return migration that departs from the economic aspects of mobility, in order to focus on the socio-cultural aspects. These writers have generally tried to consider the meaning of mobility from the point of view of the migrant and the society to which the migrant belongs, while acknowledging that many of the motivations for migrations involve improved material conditions.

Goldschieder (1971) has indicated the importance of considering the culturally-determined aspects of migration. It may be that there are particular points in the life cycle that are culturally defined as being times at which one is prone to move. For example, at times of marital disruption or dissolution, moving back to the home of one's parents may be a common pattern in some cultures (Goldschieder, 1971: 51) . Moves that coincide with

these life-cycle events can also be associated with economic motivations, or with cost-benefit analyses, of course. There may be an increased propensity for return migration after marital dissolution, as people return to the economic and social support that they enjoyed at home (Rosenbaum 1988). However, Goldscheider reminds us that not all societies are the same in terms of the life-cycle patterns of migration. Within any given society, there may be times in the life cycle during which a move is considered more desirable than other times, and these culturally determined patterns may operate regardless of the existence of economic motivations for migration.

Goldschieder (1971) has attempted to explain the selectivity of migration in terms of social integration. Recognizing that the only demographic characteristic that has consistently been found to be related to migration is membership in a young adult age group, Goldscheider suggests that this effect may be related to the social ties that people in the age group have to the larger society.

...older people are more integrated into the community through family, friends, housing investments, social organizations, and so on and, consequently, are much more prone to be residentially stable than younger persons who do not have the same social and economic investments. An inherent characteristic of the life-cycle state that older persons represent is the long-term development of these neighborhood, familial, economic, and social ties; therefore, they are less prone to break them by moving, and if they move it will usually be within the same community or neighborhood.

(Goldscheider, 1971: 322-3)

Goldscheider finds that among older people, those who are not married and those who do not have the same level of economic ties to a community are more likely to move than those who are married and who have economic investments in a community (Goldscheider, 1971: 323). The presence of social and economic ties to a community represent a level of social integration, or of membership in the community. The higher mobility of young people is only partially explained by the thesis that they move in response

to economic opportunity. People at the young adult life-cycle stages have fewer social and economic ties anchoring them to the area of origin. The presence and strength these ties determines the degree to which a particular individual will respond to the opportunities afforded by moving (Goldscheider, 1971: 323).

Goldscheider suggests that our analyses of mobility move away from a focus on economic opportunity toward the more general relationships between social cohesion and mobility. Rather than simply viewing marital status or other characteristics of migrants as “determinants” of migration, we should see these variables in light of the ties to community that they represent. (Goldscheider, 1971: 325). This approach would give us a deeper understanding of the nature of migration processes, rather than mere descriptions of “who moves”.

#### **2.4.2 Systems Approaches to Migration**

One very interesting theoretical approach to migration has been put forth by Hoffmann-Nowotny (1981: Kubat and Hoffmann-Nowotny, 1982). Using a concept of ‘systems’ of migration, similar to the world-systems theory of Wallerstein (1974), Hoffmann-Nowotny proposes a theory of migration that incorporates power and status differentials within migration systems, and explains migration partly as a response to these disparities.

The concept of “system” used by Hoffmann-Nowotny is essentially an analogy to biological systems, and includes feedback loops and control methods, as well as the concepts of “core” and “peripheral” areas. A migration stream, such as a rural-to-urban stream, or international migration streams between less developed countries and developed countries can be considered migration between the less-developed periphery and the more industrialized core. While the areas of core and periphery form a status hierarchy at a macro level, there also exists social stratification within each of these areas. Social fissures result from power differentials within a society, and status inconsistencies felt by the members of these communities (Kubat and Hoffmann-Nowotny, 1982: 210). Status inconsistencies, or the feeling that one’s achieved status is not in line with one’s status expectations, can result in a sort of anomie that may be felt at the individual or group level (Richmond, 1993: 272).

Migration can be seen as a means by which an individual's or a group's anomic tension may be resolved. A migration may be a move to a destination where one's expected and achieved status, power, or prestige are more consistent (Kubat and Hoffmann-Nowotny, 1982: 210). This may be a place in which the opportunities to gain power or status are greater, such as a move to a core area which has better employment opportunities. It also may be a move to a place in which social constraints on status achievements may be eased. A group may find that after migrating to a core area, social impediments to their economic mobility are removed. As well, a move may allow one to escape social pressures to succeed, and to places where, "...his objectively low status will function as an excuse for his insufficient prestige" (ibid.: 210). On the other hand, it should be noted that immigration to an area may also lead to the building of tensions within the receiving society (Richmond, 1993: 273).

This systems perspective on migration may also have some value for explaining return migration. We may think of people who move between systems that are connected within a "suprasystem", such as a rural-urban hierarchy, as moving in order to change their positions within a stratification hierarchy. By moving, people may be able to achieve a higher status, or at least one that is more consistent with their aspirations. There may be some migrants who feel that, by having moved and lived away, their social position in the home community is enhanced (Richmond, 1993: 274). Leaving and returning may offer people status mobility by allowing them to re-enter the status hierarchy of the area of origin at a higher level than could have been achieved had they remained in the community the whole time. This increased status may come as a result of simply having made the move, and having experienced the core area, or it may come as the result of material benefits gained while away. People may also return home to peripheral areas if opportunities for economic or social mobility are increased, such as may occur through increase in economic development, or a change in political regime that removes barriers to achievement (ibid., 1993: 275).

One of the important contributions of this approach is that Hoffman-Nowotny explicitly recognizes the importance of communication between migrants and people who have remained at the place of origin. The stronger the links of communication between the



two areas, the more likely people will be to return home (Richmond, 1993: 275). As well, conceiving of the areas of origin and destination as a system allows us to remember that many migrants maintain an awareness of the social and economic conditions of both areas, and that both retain key places within the consciousness of people who have moved.

## **2.5 Circular Migration**

While migration in general may be divided into several types of moves, according to distance, or whether the move is a primary, onward, or a return move (Eldridge, 1965), so these sub-types of migration may also be made up of several identifiable mobility categories. Return migration, as it has been used, can encompass several patterns of migration that all have in common a return to the area of origin. In particular, return migration may include those migration patterns identified by multiple moves between a particular place of origin and particular destination, or a set of similar destinations (Cordell, Gregory, and Piche, 1996: 288).

This pattern of multiple migration between two areas has been termed “circulation” by Zelinski (1971) , and has been identified as a pattern that exists in many different contexts (Gregory and Piche, 1983: 169). Zelinski describes circulatory movements as including “...a great variety of movements, usually short-term repetitive or cyclical in character, but all having in common the lack of any declared intention of a permanent or long-standing change of residence.” (Zelinski, 1971; 228)

As Gould and Prothero (1975) note, this definition may itself include a large variety of movements, and does not provide a guide for what is to be considered a “permanent” or “long-standing” move. Gould and Prothero (1975: 42) themselves divide circular moves further into daily, periodic, seasonal, and long-term types. These are to be distinguished from “migration”, which includes irregular moves and onward moves, as well as permanent moves. Circulation may include daily commuting behaviour and seasonal labour mobility, as well as those who make several long-term moves between the home and destination areas.

There has been much evidence found that circulation is a common form of mobility in tropical Africa (c. f. Caldwell, 1968; Gould and Prothero, 1975; Gregory and Piche, 1983; Cordell, Gregory, and Piche, 1996). These circulatory movements are often found to be

forms of labour mobility, in which people migrate between rural areas characterized by domestic production, and more urbanized areas in which wage labour is available (Cordell, Gregory, and Piche, 1996: 288).

If people generally move in order to increase their chances of finding wage labour, we must ask why they do not permanently move to these areas in which wage labour is more available. Cordell, Gregory, and Piche (1996: 314), studying circular migration between Burkina Faso and the West African coast, have found that there is an ambivalence among circular migrants, resulting from the dual pressures of a need for income and a desire to remain socially integrated in a community with friends and kin. The researchers find that most migrants leave for economic reasons, while non migrants cite family reasons for remaining at home. Those who have returned tend also to indicate having family reasons for coming back. Cordell, Gregory, and Piche conclude that migration within this particular system is largely considered to be temporary by those who move, and that people generally intend to return once they have achieved certain economic objectives (ibid. ; 315).

While it is difficult to capture return migration with census data, circular mobility patterns are even more likely to be missed by data that capture only a "snapshot" of the population distribution (Beaman and D'Arcy, 1980: 13). However, these patterns are important to differentiate from more the commonly studied "return" migration, which often involves a single move away and a single return move. The impermanent nature of cyclic moves affects the social and economic structure of both the source and receiving areas. Circular migration may be a source of economic inflow for source areas, as returning migrants bring back savings earned while away. On the other hand, a constant turnover of population between two areas may be socially disruptive for the source areas, depending on the length of time that people spend away (Gould and Prothero, 1975: 45). As well, in order to implement successful development strategies in the areas which are sources of circulatory migrants, as well as for migrants in the receiving areas, we must understand the nature of the migratory flow between the two areas, and the migrants' intentions.

## 2.6 Motivations of Return Migrants: Empirical Evidence

Return migration has been approached at both the macro and the micro levels. In general, macroeconomic studies of return migration have found that return migration rates are related to income and unemployment rates, and that return migration is influenced by the same economic factors that influence migration in general. At the micro level, on the other hand, it has been found that return migrants often respond differently to the various costs and benefits associated with moving, and tend to weigh these factors differently than primary migrants.

There is a large body of literature that seeks to investigate return migration using aggregate data. These studies generally fit within the human capital approach, as they try to understand the general patterns of mobility through examination of the relationships between return migration rates and economic and social characteristics. Using U. S. data, Miller (1973) has found a positive relationship between a state's return migration rate and economic indicators such as employment growth and wage levels, using 1960 United States data and defining the return migration rate as the number of return migrants over the population born in the state, but living outside. This would seem to indicate that return migrants move in the same direction as non-return, primary migrants, and are influenced by the same economic factors. Lee (1974) has found that areas with poor economic opportunities, and resulting net out-migration, also tend to have lower return in-migration, and concludes that return moves are heavily determined by the available economic opportunities.

As we have mentioned, though, it has been suggested by others that the motivations of return migrants may be quite different than those of primary migrants. DaVanzo (1976) has used Sjaastad's (1962) cost-benefit framework and has hypothesized that return migrants may be more influenced by the psychic costs and benefits of migration than by its economic returns. While the original destination may be attractive to primary migrants for economic reasons, people who move home may do so in order to be with friends and family, to be in a community they know, or for other non-monetary reasons. DaVanzo (1976) has tested this hypothesis by examining the relationship of income differentials

between areas to return and primary migration rates. Her finding that return migration rates tend to be less sensitive to income than are primary migration rates would seem to lend support to the hypothesis that return movers are more likely to return for non-economic reasons, although both types of moves tend to be in the direction of higher income (DaVanzo, 1976: 21). Richling (1985) and Grant and Vanderkamp (1984) also have found that non-economic factors may be more important in return migration than they are in primary migration.

In an interesting study, Gmelch (1983) has examined the reasons for return migration among people who had previously left their homes in rural Newfoundland and Ireland. Using structured interviews, Gmelch found that most migrants cited the pull of friends and family, and the desire to be with people of a similar cultural background as the most important reasons for returning (Gmelch, 1983: 51). On the other hand, most of the return migrants reported that their original motivations for leaving either Newfoundland or Ireland were overwhelmingly economic in nature, and involved looking for better employment or earning opportunities in mainland Canada, Great Britain, or the United States. Return migrants may then be a select group of once-primary migrants, who while leaving home for economic reasons, then reevaluate this decision in light of non-economic, or psychic factors.

## **2.7 Characteristics of Primary and Return Migrants**

As we have said, when studying people's migration behaviour it is important to keep in mind that migrants are a select group, and that this is the case for return as well as primary migrations. While all people in an area may be subjected to similar push and pull factors, they are differently affected by these factors. There has been a significant amount of research that has attempted to identify the differences between those who migrate and those who do not. In general, these studies have attempted to characterize migrants in terms of sociodemographic variables including age, gender, marital status, as well as socioeconomic status.

There are two main reasons for examining the characteristics of migrants, and associated types of migration. As migration involves the movement of people from an area

of origin to a destination, the characteristics of those who move will be important to both communities, as it affects the composition of their populations. If it were the case that the young and educated, those with children, or the comparatively wealthy were more likely to move, there could be significant social and economic consequences of migration for both communities, depending on the relative amount of migration. It is important, therefore, to know the characteristics of those who move, those who stay, and those who return.

Also, knowing the characteristics of those who move can also tell us something about why they choose to move, and the ways in which migration decisions are made. Increased mobility with income, for example, has been taken as evidence that the costs of information and moving itself are deterrents to migration (Shaw, 1975). Likewise, a significant amount of return migration at older ages suggests that people may wish to be near friends, family, and familiar surroundings after retirement (Gmelch, 1983). These findings help us to put together a more complete picture of the factors that are involved when people make the decision of whether to move or to stay.

When we investigate the relationship between individual characteristics and migration, however, we must be very cautious about the issue of causality. In no way can we infer causality from correlations between particular characteristics of migrants and their mobility behaviour. In order to suggest that these characteristics cause mobility, either directly or through intervening variables, temporal order must be known. Most data that are used for studying migration are cross-sectional, rather than longitudinal, and make it difficult to determine whether the individual's socio-demographic status influenced the move, or was changed as a result of the move. While we may suggest some causal direction in theories of migration, we must remember that in the quantitative evidence, causality is more often indeterminate.

### **2.7.1 Age**

Thomas (1938 in Lee, 1966), has suggested that the only generalization possible about differentials in internal migration is that people tend to move in their late teens or young adulthood. It is true that age has largely been the only personal characteristic that has consistently been found to feature prominently in migration. (Shaw, 1975; Petersen, 1958;

Lee, 1966; Bogue, 1969; Ritchey, 1976). The higher propensity to move at the ages of 18 to 29 is generally considered to be due to these young migrants being at the early family formation stage of the life cycle. Mobility at these ages may be largely in order to take advantage of high wages that will be needed with a young family (Bogue, 1969; Shulman and Drass, 1979; George; 1969). In keeping with the human capital model, Currie and Halli (1989: 485) have suggested that young migrants have more years of potential earning ahead of them, in which to reap the benefits of moving for a higher income. The total potential income gains are therefore higher for younger earners, as differentials can accrue over a lifetime.

Shaw (1975) has also pointed out that younger people are less likely to be deterred by the risk involved in moving. While younger migrants may have longer to accrue potential benefits of moving, they also have more time in which to "correct" the mistake of an unfavourable move. As well, while people at the beginning of career and family formation have more time to benefit from a move, they have also spent less time in the place of origin, and are less likely to have accumulated material assets there that would be difficult to leave or to liquidate. As well as not being deterred from moving by the possession of a house or other goods, it may be that younger migrants are less attached to the place of origin in a social sense. Less time spent in a particular community generally means that there are fewer social ties to people or institutions in that community. There would therefore be fewer "psychic costs" (Sjaastad, 1962) associated with leaving the area and these relationships.

While younger age is generally associated with higher mobility in general, it has also been found to be a significant factor in return migration. Return migrants seem to be concentrated in the age group that is five to ten years older than the peak ages for primary migrants (Eldridge, 1965; Lee, 1974; Gmelch, 1983; Rosenbaum 1988; 1993; Hiscott, 1987). This would seem to be as expected, given that those who return must first make a primary move.

As well as young people experiencing higher mobility in general, there has been evidence found of increased mobility at retirement ages. Bogue (1969) has identified a significant amount of migration after age 55, and suggests that some people at these ages may be moving to spend their retirement years in places which they had left earlier. Gmelch

(1983) also has found return migration among people at retirement ages. However, Lee (1974) has found that most American interstate migration at advanced ages may be attributed to primary, rather than return moves.

### **2.7.2 Gender**

Ravenstein (1885, in Lee, 1966) first noted that females predominate among short-distance migrants. Because the amount of migration tends to decrease with distance, it has sometimes been found that females tend to be more migratory overall. However, this effect may disappear when distance is controlled (Shaw, 1975). George (1969) has suggested that the mobility of males and females in Canada may be becoming more similar. More recent studies of the characteristics of Canadian interprovincial migrants have generally borne this out (Rosenbaum, 1988; 1993)

Among return migrants, there has been little evidence that gender has an effect by itself. Lee (1974) has found that gender is not a significant factor in predicting return migration, although it interacts significantly with age. In particular, the proportion of return migrants was higher among women at ages 15 to 24, but was higher among men between ages 25 to 29 (Lee, 1974: 286). These results have not been found to be consistent, however, and most evidence shows gender to be unrelated to the propensity to return (Rosenbaum, 1993: 89; Grant and Vanderkamp, 1984).

### **2.7.3 Family status**

While marital status and the presence of children are generally highly correlated with age and life-cycle stage, these variables may themselves be important determinants of migration. The presence of children in the home may be a significant deterrent to migration, because children increase the psychic and monetary costs of moving (Shaw, 1975). As well, marital status may affect the propensity to migrate, as single people may have less attachments to the place of origin (Goldscheider, 1971). Rosenbaum (1993: 89) and Grant and Vanderkamp (1984) have also suggested that marital status may have an effect on return migration. Finding that return mobility is highest among people who are single, divorced, or widowed, and who have children at home, Rosenbaum (1993: 89) concludes

that people may return home after dissolution of a union. It is possible that the presence of children in single parent households leads to an increased propensity to return home to the emotional and financial support of relatives or friends.

#### **2.7.4 Income and Occupation**

It is widely hypothesized that income facilitates migration because it can counter the restrictive effects of the cost of moving, as well as the cost of migration (Shaw, 1975). Income and occupational status have been found to be positively related to migration of all types, although this relationship is not unambiguous (Ritchey, 1987; Courchene, 1974). In the case of return migrants, Grant and Vanderkamp (1984) have found that return movers tend to have lower incomes than primary or onward movers. Rosenbaum (1988; 1993) has failed to find significant income differences between the two groups. Gmelch (1983) has found that return migrants tend to be less well-represented among managerial and professional occupations than are primary migrants, and that those who return to rural communities in Newfoundland and Ireland are more likely to work in resource-based primary and secondary industries than are non-migrants. Hiscott (1987) has also found that return migrants to Atlantic Canada are more likely to be blue-collar, or semi-skilled white collar workers in comparison to primary migrants to that area.

We must remember that income and occupation data usually are gathered in such a way that they reflect a migrant's status after the move, rather than before (DaVanzo, 1981). In the case of people moving from areas with better opportunities to less-prosperous ones, it may be that people are sometimes forced to take less well-paying jobs than they had previously. On the other hand, it may be that those who return tend to be those who are less well-equipped to succeed in other areas, and have lower income or occupational status as a result.

#### **2.7.5 Education**

Migration is generally found to be positively related to education (Shaw, 1975). This may be for a number of reasons, including an increased awareness of opportunities at possible destinations, and better information about the benefits to be gained by moving.



However, in the case of return migration. Education has been found to be negatively related to the propensity to migrate. Hiscott (1987) has found that return migrants to Atlantic Canada tended to have less education than did primary migrants to the region. Rosenbaum (1993) has found that having a university degree is significant in identifying return, primary, and onward movers, and that it decreased the likelihood that one would be a return mover. On the other hand, education was not significant in distinguishing return from primary movers using 1971 data (Rosenbaum, 1988).

It may be that the effect of education is related to the availability of information, and the ability to make an informed cost-benefit analysis prior to a primary move. If this is the case, it may be that those who have lower education have less reliable information, and are more likely to be disillusioned after the primary move. These people may be therefore more liable to make a return move (Rosenbaum, 1993: 90). In international return migrations, however, Kubat and Hoffmann-Nowotny (1982) report that those with higher education are more likely to return to the area of origin. While these highly educated migrants may be more able to succeed in economic terms in the receiving country, they are also able to retain strong connections to the area of origin.

## **2.8 The Context of Migration Between First Nations and Prairie Cities**

Any discussion of the demographic situation of Aboriginal people in Canada should include a brief outline of some of the historical and political processes that have contributed to the present situation. First Nations people have been subject to political and legal conditions that are different from those of other Canadians, including other ethnic minorities. The creation of reserve lands, the Indian Act, and the general relationship between government and Aboriginal people are germane to our discussion of migration between First Nation communities and urban areas. As well, the particular economic and labour market characteristics of Prairies cities and First Nations communities certainly affect the dynamics of migration between the two areas. Unfortunately, it is not possible to fully describe here all aspects of the socio-economic context in which migration takes place. We

will limit our discussion to describing the unique legal position of Registered Indians in Canada, as it affects migration.<sup>1</sup>

### 2.8.1 Reserves

Approximately 256,000 Status Indians, or 42% of the total Registered Indian population were living on reserves in 1995 (INAC, 1997b: 40). These communities are the legacy of the British and Canadian governments' desire to contain Aboriginal people in areas that White settlers would not interfere with. This helped clear the way for this settlement and westward expansion by European immigrants (Ponting and Gibbins, 1980: 6). Historically, these reserves have served the dual, and often conflicting, purposes of the British and later the Canadian federal governments. These policy goals have been widely described as the 'protection' of Aboriginal people from alcohol and other vices of White society, as well as from unscrupulous Whites, while also attempting to assimilate them into European-Canadian society (Frideres, 1983: 23; Ponting and Gibbins, 1980: 5). Reserves served the protective function by providing areas in which Aboriginal people could live, and which would be unavailable to settlers. The assimilation function would be promoted through the concentration of Aboriginal people on reserves and the provision of education administered by the church (Ponting and Gibbins, 1980: 19). On the prairies in particular, reserves were created to model White agricultural communities, with the goal of transforming Aboriginal people into farmers, as a means of acculturation. However, reserves were often placed on marginal agricultural land, and few communities became successful in agriculture (Buckley, 1992: 37). In general, reserves tend to have little in the way of saleable resources which could be the basis for economic development (Buckley, 1992: 11). The employment rate for people living on reserves was 32% in 1991, while the employment rate for Registered Indians living off-reserve was 43% (INAC, 1997b: 92).

---

<sup>1</sup> There are a number of works that treat the topic of the socio-political context in which migration occurs in a much more complete manner than is possible here. In particular, J. S. Frideres' Native People in Canada: Contemporary Conflicts (1983), Ponting and Gibbin's Out of Irrelevance (1980), and Comeau and Santin's The First Canadians (1990) will be useful for the reader who wishes a more complete history of the forces which have shaped the social and political situation of Aboriginal people in Canada.

### 2.8.2 The Indian Act

The relationship between the government and Aboriginal people in Canada has largely been dominated by the Indian Act of 1976. Although it has been revised and amended often since its initial passage, the Act essentially continues the twin goals of protection and assimilation that had been initiated by the British colonial government, under the then newly formed Government of Canada (Frideres, 1983:23; Ponting and Gibbins, 1980: 6). The Act established Federal responsibility for Aboriginal people in the areas of health, education, and welfare. It also entrenched the inviolability of reserve lands. They could not be sold, mortgaged, or leased by their occupants, without being surrendered to the Crown. This provision was intended to protect the Aboriginal occupants of reserves from being swindled out of their lands by white settlers or traders. However, it has acted to largely prevent the use of these lands to leverage investment capital for development, and has led to dependency of First Nations communities on government for economic support and investment funds (Ponting and Gibbins, 1980: 10).

One of the most significant bequests of the Indian Act has been the division of Aboriginal people into two major legal and political categories. The provisions of the Act do not apply to all Aboriginal people, only those who are registered according to the formula laid out in the Act. In its original incarnation, "an 'Indian' became any male person of Indian blood reputed to belong to a particular band, any child of such person, and any woman who is or was lawfully married to such a person" (Ponting and Gibbins, 1980: 9). People eligible for Indian Status are listed in the Indian Register, and are referred to legally as "Registered Indians". It is important to note that "Indian" is an objectionable term to many people, because of its origin in the misconception of European explorers, and because it is an externally-defined term. It is more common for Aboriginal people to refer to those registered under the act as having "status", or simply as being "Status", whereas those without registration are "non-status". Regardless of the labels, the registration provisions of the Indian Act have divided Aboriginal people into two groups, only one of which is entitled to the benefits prescribed by the Act. Until 1985, having status entitled one to live on a reserve, freed one from paying taxes on income earned on the reserve, and entitled one to certain health and education benefits.

One very important issue in the administration of the Indian Act has been that of enfranchisement. Before 1960, people who were registered under the Act were not considered fully Canadian citizens. In order to become eligible to vote, and to gain the other rights of citizenship, status people had to renounce their ties to the Aboriginal community, and would lose their rights under the Indian Act (Ponting and Gibbins, 1980: 10). Enfranchisement was thus used as an incentive for people to assimilate into the larger Canadian community, and to reduce the responsibilities of the government toward Aboriginal people. For a period after 1920, enfranchisement was compulsory in cases in which a status person had earned a university degree (Frideres, 1983:35).

Most cases of enfranchisement were not the result of Aboriginal people choosing to be enfranchised, or losing their status because of education, however. The most common situation was that an Aboriginal woman, registered under the Act, would marry a non-registered man. This would automatically nullify her status, as well as the status of any children of that union (Wherret, 1996). Whereas all Aboriginal people were given the vote after 1960, the provision remained that women could lose their status through out-marriage (Ponting and Gibbins, 1980: 10). This discriminatory situation was addressed only in 1985, with the passage of Bill C-31, An Act to Amend the Indian Act of Canada.

### **2.8.3 Bill C-31**

Bill C-31 effectively eliminated the legal discrimination toward status women and their children by allowing those who had lost their status re-apply for status under the Act. This has led to a large increase in the Registered Indian population (Wherrett, 1996: 1). As of 1996, there were 104,000 people who had been registered under Bill C-31. Most of these registrants have been women living off-reserve, although up to 10% of these C-31 registrants have returned to reserves (INAC, 1997b: 14). People who regain status under Bill C-31 are not automatically entitled to live on reserve. Before 1985, membership in an Indian Band was included as a part of registration, and it was band membership that determined the right of an individual to reside on any particular reserve (Wherrett, 1996: 7). After Bill C-31, bands have been allowed to create their own rules for band membership, and reserve residency, based on a variety of formulas. As well, the possibility to lose the status of one's

children through out-marriage still exists, although it is perhaps less discriminatory. In particular, after two generations of out-marriage, children become ineligible to be registered (Wherrett, 1996: 6).

## **2.9 Sociological and Anthropological Research on Aboriginal Migration**

It is generally agreed that the period that saw the largest flow of migrants moving to the cities from the reserves began after the Second World War, and peaked sometime in the early 1960s (Trovato, Romaniuc, and Addai, 1994: 9). It is also commonly accepted that this wave of migration was largely a response to poor economic and social conditions on reserves, and that people generally moved in the hope of finding a better economic situation in the city. Compounding the economic pressures was the demographic pressure created by a baby boom on reserves that lagged several years behind that experienced by Canadians in general (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1993: 89; Trovato, Romaniuc, and Addai, 1994: 9; Siggner, 1980: 37). The study which seems to have first directly addressed the existence of this migration flow was the Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: A report on economic, political, educational needs and policies, administered for the then Indian Affairs Branch by Harry Hawthorn (1966). Commonly referred to as the "Hawthorn Report", the study was a compilation of submissions by fifty-two social scientists, and as the title suggests, was intended to inform government policies regarding Aboriginal issues (Weaver, 1993: 78). Data for the report were collected through a band-level questionnaire administered to only thirty-five bands across the country (Hawthorn, 1966: 35). Of the members of these bands, about 73 percent lived on the reserve, while 27% lived in rural or urban areas off-reserve (Hawthorn, 1966: 48). The report identified a significant amount of movement from reserves to cities, largely by people in search of economic opportunity, and that this migration could have severe consequences for both urban and reserve communities. However, the report generally saw migration as a positive process, one that if managed carefully could improve the living conditions of Aboriginal people in general (Hawthorn, 1966: 297).

The Hawthorn study identified three main types of movement between reserves and urban areas, that were thought to be associated with different situations in communities.

*Commuting* behaviour, or travelling to the city for work during the day and returning in the evening, was found in some bands located near urban or industrial areas. Many of these bands were found to have higher than average standards of living as a result of this employment (Hawthorn, 1966: 109). Also identified was movement to the city for longer periods of time, followed by a *return* to the reserve when the work ended. Some of these longer-term moves were of the seasonal type, generally by people who would leave the reserve to work as agricultural labourers. As these jobs are generally low-paying, many bands with a large amount of this type of mobility had relatively low per capita incomes. On the other hand, some seasonal and itinerant labour was found to lead to a relatively high per capita income. In particular, high steel construction work by Mohawks, logging, fishing, and construction work were better-paid types of seasonal work. Finally, there were the people who moved more permanently, and who abandoned life on the reserve in favour of an urban life. Rather than being the result of single moves intended to be permanent, Hawthorn suggested that permanent residence in the city was the result of a number of increasingly long stays in the city, followed by trips back home. If people are able to find satisfactory work and housing in the city, they then are inclined to bring their families to live with them, abandoning the reserve altogether. Permanent residence is therefore more pronounced among the skilled and educated minority, where home reserves are too distant from the urban centres in which they receive their training, and in which their main opportunities for employment are concentrated (Hawthorn, 1966: 110). As well, Hawthorn found that there was a considerable amount of permanent migration to the city among young females, who generally had a higher education and skills that were more valuable in the city, than did males (Hawthorn, 1966: 111).

The writers of the Hawthorn report expected that the pace of migration to the city would increase, as the demographic pressures on the reserves increased and economic prospects on reserves remained poor (Hawthorn, 1966: 14). Both permanent and return moves between the reserve and the city were considered to be beneficial to the economic well-being of Aboriginal people. Permanent moves to the city offered reserve residents the best chance at permanent employment, and a higher standard of living. Return moves, in which the reserve residents move to the city for a while to work, and then return, were

thought to contribute valuable skills and experience to the reserve community. As well, the individual return migrants would gain experience, skills, and greater awareness of the larger economic community, that may eventually allow them to find permanent employment in the city (Hawthorn, 1966: 109). Migration was therefore something that should not be opposed by either Aboriginal people or the federal government, and the best possible long-term outcome was that people would abandon those reserves that were unable to support them (Hawthorn, 1966: 256). The report urged government to provide funding to help people make the transition to an urban lifestyle, but to invest in programs only on reserves that have a resource base capable of supporting the population (ibid., 256).

While a majority of the contributors to the Hawthorn report were anthropologists, their approach toward migration was largely economic. It is assumed that people make the decision to migrate largely as a result of "push" factors, both economic and demographic, from reserves, and that the mobility of people is primarily a form of labour mobility. While this is surely a significant factor in mobility behaviour between reserves and cities, it is important to consider other factors which may affect the propensity to migrate, or to return home. As well, because the survey was administered to bands, rather than to individuals, information about the characteristics of individual migrants is unreliable, and there were no measures of the absolute amount of migration.

While Hawthorn seems to have believed that migrants to cities from reserves can be assimilated into an urban lifestyle, Lurie (1967) attempts to show that this migration stream is considerably different from both European immigrant migration to Canadian cities, and from earlier rural-urban migration streams. European immigrants who came to Canada left their communities of origin and were for the most part unable to return. This break from the community of origin meant that, within a few generations, the ethnic community in Canada had become a part of the larger Canadian society, with some symbolic remnants of the original European culture. However, Lurie argues that in the case of migration from First Nations communities into the city, the reserve community remains within reach, and there is frequent migration between the two areas. The result is that the Aboriginal community is not assimilated into the mainstream community to the extent that European Immigrants have been, and Aboriginal people therefore remain economically and socially

marginalized in the city. Lurie suggests that because of the European descent of most social scientists in North America, we tend to imagine that moves by Aboriginal people are intended to be permanent, like those of our forebears (Lurie, 1967: 74). According to Lurie, the pattern that is followed by Aboriginal people is largely circular, and connections are maintained between people in reserve and urban communities.

(T)here is constant feedback between the home community and the urban community. Ideas are carried back and forth. People keep tabs on what is happening with their relatives and they carry ideas from the city back to their home communities. It is part of the unbroken, viable, growing and changing tradition that remains Indian in outlook.

(Lurie, 1967: 75)

In order to understand the circular migration pattern, we must understand the position of the city within the cognitive environment of people who have grown up on reserves. Rather than being an entirely new world, with a new way of life, the city is merely a part of a larger territory that Aboriginal people have always occupied (Lurie, 1967: 79). The city has become an area within this territory which can be utilized to squeeze out a living (ibid.: 74). Moves by Aboriginal people to the city are not moves that are intended to leave an old world behind, as with European immigrants. Rather, they are moves within a single territory that are designed to derive benefits from different parts of the territory. As such, we should not expect these moves to be permanent, and governments should not attempt to force Aboriginal people to become urbanites, which is largely contrary to their intentions (Lurie, 1967: 80).

The migration between reserves and cities can in some cases be permanent, and can be motivated by a variety of needs. Migrations may take place by people in search of education for themselves or their children, or by people attempting to escape poor social conditions in Aboriginal communities (Lurie, 1967: 84). However, Lurie acknowledged that the primary motivation for migration is largely economic (ibid.: 74).



Lurie has thus made useful suggestions regarding circulatory patterns of migration between reserves and cities, including the idea that these areas form a system in which there is good communication and feedback. This is in some ways similar to the migration systems described by Hoffmann-Nowotny and Kubat (1982) and to the circular migration patterns described by Cordell, Gregory, and Piche (1996). However, her thesis is largely based on anecdotal and experiential knowledge of migration patterns. As well, Lurie has broached the idea that there may be a cultural predisposition towards migration among Aboriginal people. It should be noted, however, that not all Aboriginal cultures have been traditionally migratory, and that this idea must be treated with a certain amount of caution.

McCaskill (1970) has attempted to find evidence that would support Lurie's systems approach to this particular migration stream, through a study of migration into Winnipeg. McCaskill believes that the push-pull models are oversimplifications, in that they subsume all motivations for migration under utility maximization (McCaskill, 1970: 34-35). However, McCaskill points out that people's desires are usually multiple, and that migration generally does not satisfy all of their wants. People may move because they are dissatisfied in one sphere of their lives. However, they may not desire to change other aspects of their lives, including interpersonal relationships, and quality of life. As a result, McCaskill argues that people migrate to the city in order to address certain needs, but retain close connections with the reserve community in order to keep other aspects of their lives as stable as possible (McCaskill, 1970: 35).

Return migration, then, would not be the result of people not being able to achieve the economic goals that they had when they first moved to the city, but rather an effort to maintain links with the home community, into which they are better socially integrated than the urban society. However, McCaskill finds that it is not assimilation into the "white" or urban lifestyle that promotes permanent settlement in the city, but the presence of a primary social group, and the development of social ties to other people in the city. The development of this primary social group is more important to the establishment of permanent residence than the finding of employment, or the presence of formal institutions designed to help people integrate into an urban lifestyle (McCaskill, 1970: 159).

McCaskill has found some evidence of the ties of communication between reserve communities and people in urban areas that Lurie (1969) suggests exist, including the finding that 71 percent of people who had migrated into the city had also returned at least once to the home community in the previous year (McCaskill, 1970: 226). On the other hand, McCaskill finds that more than 80 percent of people who move to the city move with the intention of staying permanently (ibid.: 135). In the end, it is unclear how many people actually do return home, and how many people are involved in circulatory movements, which Lurie (1969) and McCaskill (1970) seem to believe are important components of the overall migration pattern between reserves and cities.

Denton (1972) has also used ethnographic methods to study the phenomenon of migration between reserves and cities, and to challenge what he sees as the stereotypical view of this migration pattern, in which people move in order to escape destitution on the reserve, and return when they are unable to "make it" in the city. Studying patterns of mobility between a single First Nations community, a nearby small urban centre, and a more distant large city in 1968 and 1969, Denton has found that the motives and patterns of migration are more complex than suggested by simple economic models of labour mobility, although the primary motivation remains economic. He finds that there are two patterns of mobility between the reserve and the two urban areas. The first pattern consists of young adults who respond to social pressure to be employed by moving from the community to the city to find work. These young people are then likely to make several circular moves between the two areas, as their employment situations change. These moves were not, according to Denton, intended to be permanent, but rather represent a pattern of young people leaving the reserve in order to gain valuable work experience, and to fulfil the society's expectations that they not be idle. Generally, Denton finds that these young migrants eventually settle permanently, usually after marriage, and often in the reserve community.

The other pattern that Denton identifies is that of permanent mobility, in which people move out of the community and remain in the city. These moves generally occurred because of outmarriage, the acquisition of a very good job in the city, or because personal conflicts within the community make the migrant unwilling to return. Also related to the

propensity to return was the extent to which the migrant identified culturally with the receiving, "white" society, or with the Aboriginal community at origin. Denton finds that those who related more strongly to the white society generally remained in the city. In the particular community studied by Denton, there was a steady net loss of migrants to urban centres, although this was compensated by high fertility on the reserve.

Although Denton's work cannot be generalized to other First Nations or urban areas, it illustrates several important points that should be remembered. The first is that there may be a social expectation within a source community that young people should gain some experience in the city. This is akin to Goldscheider's (1971) suggestion that there are culturally-defined times in the life cycle when migration may be desirable. Denton's work also suggests that circulation may be an important pattern of mobility, especially at younger ages. Third, Denton's work reminds us that there may be more than one pattern of migration in operation between two places, and that we should try to distinguish between the participants in these different patterns.

## **2.10 The Relationship between Community Characteristics and Migration**

It is reasonable to expect that, at the aggregate level, there are community characteristics that would affect the rate of out-migration. In one of the few attempts to quantitatively model aspects of the migration process, Gerber (1984) has used path analyses to measure the relationships between reserve community characteristics and the proportion of community members living off-reserve. Gerber has found that, rather than encouraging migration through ease of transportation, the presence of road access to the community discourages out-migration by allowing people to commute to off-reserve jobs, rather than moving off-reserve (Gerber, 1984: 157). Institutional completeness, or the ability of the community to provide economic, administrative, and educational institutions on-reserve also acts to discourage out-migration. On the other hand, the average level of educational attainment and the employment experience of band members was found to encourage off-reserve residence, by increasing members' ability to find employment in off-reserve areas.

Gerber also has found a number of community-level variables that have important indirect effects on off-reserve residence. Linguistic acculturation, or the use of English or

French in the community's day-to-day activities was found to be significant. Gerber suggests that, at the community level, bands who were more acculturated to the official languages may have been better able to negotiate funding from governments. This allows improvements in housing and social services on-reserve, and indirectly acts to discourage migration.

As well, Gerber finds that the size of the on-reserve community itself may have an indirect negative effect on out-migration through increasing institutional completeness. Larger bands are more able to provide the institutional support required by individuals, who are therefore less likely to leave the community.

## **2.11 Quantitative Data on Migration and Population Distribution**

In this section, we will describe the available data on the distribution of the Status population between on- and off- reserve, and rural and urban areas, as well as the quantitative data on the size and direction of migratory flows between these areas. The available data are generally from either the Indian Register or from the Census or the 1991 post-censal Aboriginal Peoples Survey. Data from both sources are subject to limitations.

### **2.11.1 Indian Register Data: Distribution of Registered Indians on- and off- reserve**

It is important that we consider the changes that have occurred to the distribution of Registered Indians between reserves, rural, and urban areas, if we are to place return migration in its proper context. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada maintains the Indian Register, the listing of people registered under the Indian Act, which includes data for on- and off-reserve residence. When examining the changes in the proportion of Status people living on- and off- reserve, we must keep several caveats in mind. First, people are recorded as living off-reserve who have not lived in a reserve community for at least twelve consecutive months (Loh, 1990: 42). This could make the on-reserve counts artificially both high and stable. As well, the data collection process is such that individuals report changes in their residency status to the Band, and the Indian Band in turn reports the changes to the Department. It has been found that both individuals and bands have been slow or reluctant

to make this reportage. This also could lead to an artificially stable on-reserve population (Loh, 1990: 43; Nault et al., 1993: 24).

The proportions of Status people living on- and off- reserve are of course affected by demographic processes other than migration. Higher rates of natural increase on-reserve may obscure some of the effects of out-migration from reserves (Nault et al, 1993; INAC, 1997b; Loh, 1990). In the case of Registered Indians, changes in the registration rules found in the Indian Act also affect the distribution of the Registered Indian population. After Bill C-31, over 100,000 people have been able to regain their status as Registered Indians. This resulted in an addition of the total Registered Indian population of about 17% (INAC, 1997b: 14). A majority of these new registrants were female residents of urban off- reserve areas at the time of registration, and only about 10% of these C-31 registrants had migrated to reserves as of 1996 (ibid.: 17). Unfortunately, data available from the Indian Register describing the geographic distribution of Registered Indians do not include information on the size of the Bill C-31 population in each area, and therefore the effects of the Bill on the Indian Register Data cannot be easily identified. The legislative changes have thus resulted in a large increase in the proportion of the Status population living off-reserve, and further obscure the effect of migration.

Notwithstanding the above cautions about Indian Register data quality, these data may be helpful in describing changes to the distribution of Registered Indians between on- and off- reserve areas in the past few decades. Table 2.1 summarizes the proportions living on- and off- reserve in the prairie provinces between 1985 and 1996. Notable is the predominance of males on- reserve and females living off- reserve. It seems likely, as we will discuss below, that some of these gender differences are due to greater out-migration from reserves to urban areas by women (Clatworthy, 1980; 1996; Clatworthy and Hull, 1983; 1995; Gerber, 1984).

### **2.11.2 The Size of the Urban Population**

Table 2.2 shows the numbers of Registered Indians living in Census Metropolitan Areas in 1981 and 1991. We can see that, in general, the Registered Indian population in prairie CMAs increased in this decade, both in terms of total numbers, and as a proportion

of the total urban population. We may also see that the Registered Indian segment of the total urban population is largest in the prairie provinces, and lowest in Eastern cities. Using 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey data, Peters (1994) has reported that more than 40% of Registered Indians in Canada lived in Census Metropolitan areas in 1991. As we have mentioned, it is important to remember that a large amount of the increase in the urban population since 1985 has been due to C-31 registrants. Nonetheless, it must be recognized that Registered Indians are a growing segment of the population of Canadian cities, particularly in the Prairie provinces.

#### **2.11.4 Size and Direction of Migratory Flows**

Census data also allow some analysis of migratory flows between urban, rural, and reserve areas (Siggner, 1977: INAC, 1997b: Clatworthy, 1996: Norris, 1990). The analysis of migration flows is primarily done through the use of the "mobility questions" in the census, which ask the respondent where he or she lived five years ago and one year ago<sup>2</sup>. The general pattern of migration seems to be one in which the majority of movement is between Census Metropolitan Areas<sup>3</sup> and reserves (Norris, 1990: 54). The overall pattern of net flows appears to have remained fairly constant since the mid- 1960s, and is one in which both reserves and large cities are net gainers of migrants, while smaller urban areas and rural off-reserve areas experience a net loss of Registered Indian migrants (Siggner, 1977: Norris, 1990: INAC, 1997b: 30). Figure 2.1 is a description of the net flows between these areas that has been derived from the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey.

While changes to census ethnicity questions make comparisons to periods before 1966 unavailable (INAC, 1997b: 30), Norris (1990: 54) suggests that the largely bi-directional nature of the flows between reserves and large urban areas has intensified since the early 1970s. Between 1966 and 1971, only 66 percent of out-migrants from reserves were destined

---

<sup>2</sup> The "Five-Year Mobility Question" has been included in the Census since 1961, and allows identification of the community in which the respondent lived five years ago. The "One-Year Mobility Question" was introduced in the 1991 Census, and asks whether the respondent currently lives in the same community as they had one year ago, and the province, territory, or country of residence one year ago for those who moved (Statistics Canada, 1992: 84-99).

<sup>3</sup> A Census Metropolitan Area is a large urban area centred on an urbanized core with a population of 100,000 or higher (Statistics Canada, 1992: 182)

for urban areas (Siggner, 1977). According to 1981 census data, 86 percent of out-migrants from reserves moved to cities (Norris, 1990). As well, the proportion of migrants to reserves from urban areas has increased. The 1971 census data show 60 percent of in-migrants to reserves originating in urban areas (Siggner, 1977). By 1981, this component of reserve in-migrants had risen to 71%, illustrating an increasingly bi-directional flow between cities and reserves (Norris, 1990: 54).

While the overall pattern of migration within the rural-urban hierarchy may have remained fairly constant since the late 1960s, the volume of migrants seems to have undergone some periodic fluctuation. Norris (1990: 56) reports a reduction in the migration rate from reserves to cities between 1976 and 1981, compared to earlier periods, and an increased amount of mobility in the opposite direction. Norris explains a return to reserves during the late 1970s as resulting from a general downturn in the Canadian economy and fewer employment opportunities in urban areas. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada report an increased volume of migration into CMAs from reserves between 1986 and 1991, reversing the earlier trend (DIAND, 1995: 51). However, the only evidence offered is an increase in the proportion of Aboriginal urban residents who are registered under the Indian Act. Much of this increase is probably due to the registration of urban residents under Bill C-31 rather than migration from reserves, however. If there was an increase in migration to cities between 1986 and 1991, this may have been a response to further changes in the general economic climate. No explanation for this increased migration to reserves is offered by the authors.

### **2.11.5 Empirical Evidence of Return Migration and Circulation**

It has been generally assumed that, with the possible exception of some Bill C-31 migrants who were not born in reserve communities, Registered Indians who move to reserves are return migrants. This may not be an unreasonable assumption, as those who have previously lived on reserves could well be more likely to move to reserves than those who have never lived on-reserve. However, there have been few attempts to verify this assumption, or to measure the amount of return migration to reserves with accuracy. The best evidence of the amount of return migration to reserves has been found by Siggner

(1977) in an analysis of 1971 census data. Using the five year mobility question in the census, Siggner has defined "those persons aged five and over who were living in the same community on June 1, 1966 and June 1, 1971, but who moved two or more times" as "quasi-return migrants" (Siggner, 1977: 3) Using this definition, Siggner reports that return migrants accounted for 40% of the total in-migration ratio to reserves during the period (Siggner, 1977: 6). While this would seem to indicate that the majority of in-migrants to reserves during the period were not return migrants, it may be that many of these in-migrants were returnees who had left the reserve before census day, 1966, and who were classified as non-return migrants.

Of the Status residents of CMAs, Siggner reports that 11.2 percent were "quasi-return migrants" to the urban areas, forming 23 percent of the total CMA in-migration ratio (Siggner, 1977: 6). As well, 3.3 percent of reserve residents in 1971 were quasi-return migrants who left and returned between 1966 and 1971 (*ibid.*: 17). Although there is no way of identifying those who had made multiple moves between reserves and urban areas, which would constitute a circulatory migration pattern, Siggner sees the large component of return migrants as implying that "...there is a large back and forth movement to and from Indian Reserves and Metropolitan Areas, probably among the same migrants". (Siggner, 1977: 8).

Analysing data from surveys administered to Aboriginal residents of Winnipeg, Regina, and Saskatoon, Clatworthy (1980, 1983) and Clatworthy and Hull (1981) have found additional evidence of return mobility and of circulation. Of recent migrants to Regina and Saskatoon, more than one third reported that they had lived in the city on at least one prior occasion, and more than 16 percent had lived in the city on at least two prior occasions (Clatworthy and Hull, 1983: 47). Among recent migrants to Winnipeg, more than 22 percent had made two moves to the city, and more than 18 percent had moved to the city at least three times (Clatworthy, 1980: 23). These results would seem to suggest that there is a fairly large component of reserve-to-city migrants who make multiple moves between the two areas. However, when asked whether they intended to return to reserves, only about ten percent of Status residents in Regina, four percent in Saskatoon, and seven percent in Winnipeg indicated that they intended to move away during the coming year (Clatworthy, 1983: 22; Clatworthy and Hull, 1983: 50). Clatworthy and Hull take this as an indication that



many return or multiple moves between First Nations and urban areas are not anticipated (Clatworthy and Hull, 1983: 50).

#### **2.11.6 Characteristics of Registered Indian Primary and Return Migrants**

There have been few attempts to identify the sociodemographic characteristics of those who choose to move from reserves into urban areas. The information presently available is limited in scope to age, gender, and family status. Additional research to determine the effects of education, employment, and income on the mobility of Status people into urban areas is warranted.

As with other migration streams, younger people have been found to be more likely to move from reserves into urban areas (Clatworthy, 1980, 1981, 1995; Clatworthy and Hull, 1983; Peters, 1994; Siggner, 1977). This effect may be more pronounced because of a large number of families, both dual- and single- parent (Clatworthy, 1980, 1981, 1995). However, we must also bear in mind that the Aboriginal population in general is younger than the Canadian population, and that the proportion of migrants in young adult age groups may therefore be higher (INAC, 1997b).

Status women have been found to be more likely to move into the city than are men (Clatworthy, 1980, 1981, 1995; Clatworthy and Hull, 1983; Peters, 1994). Clatworthy (1983: 16) reports that females comprised about 57 percent of recent status migrants to Winnipeg in 1981-82. As well, female migrants seemed to move for different reasons than did their male counterparts. Using 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey Data, Peters (1994: 24) has found that men are more likely to move as unattached, economically-motivated individuals, whereas women are more likely to move in a family context, and particularly as heads of single-parent families. This corroborates earlier evidence from Clatworthy (1980, 1981) and Clatworthy and Hull (1983) that women migrants to prairie cities were more likely to cite housing or family reasons, or problems with their home communities as their reasons for migrating, while men tended to report that they had moved for economic reasons.

In the only study to examine the effects of education on Aboriginal mobility, McCaskill (1970: 127) has found that migrants to the city tend to have higher educational

attainment than those who remain on-reserve. This effect may be due in part to there being a number of people who move into the city expressly for educational purposes.

While there have been few attempts to discover the sociodemographic characteristics of migrants from Aboriginal communities to cities, there has been even less evidence collected about the characteristics of return migrants. Clatworthy (1983: 22) reports that male urban residents are more likely to indicate a desire to leave the city than are females, and that young adults are more likely to express this desire than are older people. This may be an indication of the greater amount of labour market difficulties experienced by males in urban areas (Ibid. 22). On the other hand, Clatworthy and Hull (1983: 51) find that more male than female residents of Regina and Saskatoon intend to remain in the city.

## **2.12 Research Questions and Methods**

As we have seen, the existing literature on return and circular migration is quite broad, and includes several theoretical approaches. The empirical research that has been done on migration between First Nations communities and Canadian cities suggests that there are significant amounts of return and circular migration between the two areas. However, the literature on this migration stream has not been well related to the literature on migration in general. There are several questions that should be addressed, in order to determine how these theoretical approaches may be applied to the present case. As well as being a look at migration between First Nations and urban centres with a more theoretical focus, this study tries to answer some empirical questions about the migration between the two areas that have been suggested by previous studies.

While it is important to examine migration at an aggregate level, this study will be conducted with an individual level of analysis. A compelling case may be made that it is important to understand the characteristics of communities that lead to in- and out-migration. However, it is equally important that we study the ways in which individual decisions are made, in order that we be able to put the effects of community characteristics in their proper perspective. As well, it is important to know something about the characteristics of those who choose to move, as they affect the composition of the

communities at origin and at destination. It is hoped that some future research will examine return and circular migration at a community level, while the contribution of the present study will be to focus on the individual.

#### *Return Migration and Human Capital*

Return migration, as it has been described by the human capital model, involves movement in order to maximize benefits, either psychic or economic (Sjaastad, 1962). These approaches often consider return moves to be due to a lack of success in the receiving area, which results in a return to the area of origin, where the supports of friends and family can be found. This leads us to ask whether people who return to First Nations do so because of difficulty in finding satisfactory employment in the city, and so are pushed to their home communities, or whether there are significant pull factors in their communities that may lead people to return, regardless of their economic success in the city. The hypothesis that people tend to return because of a lack of success in the city is tested by examining the socioeconomic differences between people who return and those who remain in the city. While some other studies of return migration have found that return migrants and primary migrants differ significantly in terms of education, income, or other characteristics related to human capital, there has been no such research on the migration of Aboriginal people between reserves and urban areas. Knowing whether people who return to their home communities are different than those who move to the city and remain there may provide some insight into the roles that education, employment, and other factors play in movement between the two areas.

As well as examining differences between those who move and those who do not, this study is also an attempt to investigate whether those who move to the city generally consider the move to be permanent, as human capital models suggest, or whether they make the initial move with the intention of returning. Knowing what are people's intentions when they undertake the primary migration to the city will help us better understand the factors involved in their return.

#### *Gender, Family Status, and Migration*

There has been some evidence found that women are more likely to make the move from First Nations communities into cities than are men, and that they may do it for reasons that are more related to family status and the presence of children, while men may move as unattached, economically-motivated individuals (Peters, 1994). However, the existing literature does not go very far in describing what different motivating factors may be affecting Aboriginal women. As well, if women are more likely to move to urban areas, are they more or less likely to return home than are men? This study attempts to discover how gender is related to migration between the two areas, and whether there are different motivations or conditions that lead to different patterns of migration for men and women.

#### *Migration Systems and Information*

The idea that migration takes place within a system that includes the areas of origin and destination has been suggested by Hoffmann-Nowotny (Kubat and Hoffmann-Nowotny, 1982). As well, Lurie (1969) has suggested that migration between reserves and Canadian cities is properly viewed as a system in which there is good communication and feedback between people in the two areas, and in which people move in order to utilize the strengths of each area. However, not much evidence of the amount and quality of the information that people who move to the city, and of the role of this information in their decisions to return home has been gathered. This study includes some investigation into the type of information that people who move have about the city, and the way in which this information affects their migration.

#### *Community Integration and Migration*

Goldscheider (1971) has indicated the importance of community integration in migration, and has suggested that people who move may be those who have weaker ties to their home communities. As well, some of the literature on return migration has suggested that people who return do so because of the pull of family and friends in the community of origin (Gmelch, 1983; Richling, 1985). We would expect that this would lead to more mobility among younger people, who have had less time to make these community connections. This study attempts to find evidence to support the idea the community

integration affects people's mobility between First Nations and cities. It may be possible to find evidence of the effects of community integration on migration in the quantitative data, through the incorporation of age and other proxies for integration into the models. The interview data also may provide some information about the importance of integration in return and circular mobility.

### *Circular Migration*

Circular migration has been identified as a common pattern of migration between rural and urban areas in Africa, and may also be an important part of migration between First Nations and Canadian cities. While several Canadian studies have suggested that it may be a prominent feature of the mobility of Aboriginal Canadians, there has been little empirical evidence presented about the amount of circulation that takes place, or of the motivations of those who undertake these multiple moves. The current study is also an attempt to understand what factors are involved in the making of circular moves, and what sorts of motivations are involved. As with return mobility, the human capital and community integration approaches may be of use in describing circular migration.

The human capital model would suggest that people who make several moves between two locations do so in order to maximize their employment opportunities. A series of cyclical migrations then may result from an inability to find permanent or suitable employment, and the decision to return to the support of the home community during periods of unemployment. Personal characteristics, particularly income, education, and age, may then be important factors in predicting circular mobility.

As with migration in general, the human capital approach generally considers moves to be made with the intention of permanent resettlement, or at least of remaining in the new location until a compelling reason to move arises. Cordell, Gregory, and Piche (1996) have found that people who move circularly generally consider these moves to be temporary, and move to the city with the intention of returning home. Is circular mobility between First Nations and urban centres characterized by similar intentions, or do people initially move with the intention of remaining in the city permanently? It may be that

circular migration is a planned event, in which the migrant moves with intentions to return to the home community, and perhaps to move back to the city someday.

The idea of community integration and its affect on mobility, as suggested by Goldscheider (1971), may be of some help in understanding this phenomenon. It may be that people who move circularly are somehow less integrated into the First Nations community and the urban community, than are other migrants. It could be that these people are initially more likely to move, as Goldscheider suggests, because they are less integrated into the social fabric of the community. However, some of these people who move to urban areas may have difficulty being integrated into the urban community, and may eventually return home to the community that they had originally left.

### **Methodological Approach**

These questions demand flexibility in the methods used to address them, and a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches. It is important that we investigate quantitatively the socio-economic and demographic differences between those who return and those who do not, and those who move circularly, and those who do not. The question of "who moves" can give us important information about why they move. This study uses the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey individual level data to investigate the characteristics of those who make return and circular migrations between First Nations and Prairie cities. This quantitative analysis takes the form of a series of logistic regressions. The likelihood of having moved is regressed on demographic variables, such as age, gender, and family status, as well as the socioeconomic status variables education, income, and labour force activity. The effect of community integration on migration is also addressed, through the inclusion of a variable indicating knowledge of an Aboriginal language. Some important community-level variables such as the size of the reserve population and the distance from the city are also included in the models.

There a history of this approach in studies of migration. Individual characteristics and their relationship to mobility have been of interest to demographers for a long time. In the Canadian context, several studies have used regression techniques and Canadian data to

determine the importance of personal characteristics in predicting mobility of various types (Rosenbaum, 1988; 1993; DaVanzo, 1976; Hou and Beaujot, 1994).

As well, we have employed qualitative methods to inform our understanding of the context in which people migrate, and the factors that they see as affecting their mobility. This approach allows us to gain insight into the role of information and community integration, and the intentions of people who decide to move to the city. Taking a qualitative approach to the investigation also allows us to place the quantitative data in some context. While the multivariate analysis is able to examine the relationship between specific characteristics and migration, the qualitative analysis allows a more complete view of the various factors that affect people's mobility, and gives us the opportunity to present some of the issues involved in migration in the words of those who have themselves moved.

**Table 2.1: Proportions of Registered Indians living on- and off-reserve by gender, Prairie provinces, 1985-96.**

	<i>On-Reserve</i>			<i>Off-reserve</i>			<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>% by Gender</i>	<i>% on-reserve</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% by Gender</i>	<i>% off-reserve</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
<b>1985</b>								
Males	53397	51.3%	71.9%	20895	47.5%	28.1%	74292	50.2%
Females	50683	48.7%	68.7%	23128	52.5%	31.3%	73811	49.8%
Total	104080	100.0%	70.3%	44023	100.0%	29.7%	148103	100.0%
<b>1991</b>								
Males	69458	51.5%	64.3%	38610	46.2%	35.7%	108068	49.5%
Females	65503	48.5%	59.3%	44964	53.8%	40.7%	110467	50.5%
Total	134961	100.0%	61.8%	83574	100.0%	38.2%	218535	100.0%
<b>1996</b>								
Males	82444	51.3%	62.6%	49272	46.6%	37.4%	131716	49.4%
Females	78244	48.7%	58.1%	56525	53.4%	41.9%	134769	50.6%
Total	160688	100.0%	60.3%	105797	100.0%	39.7%	266485	100.0%

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *Indian Register Population by Sex and Residence*. 1986; 1992; 1997.

Indian Register Data.

Notes: "On-reserve" includes those living on Crown land.  
Prairie Provinces include Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta.

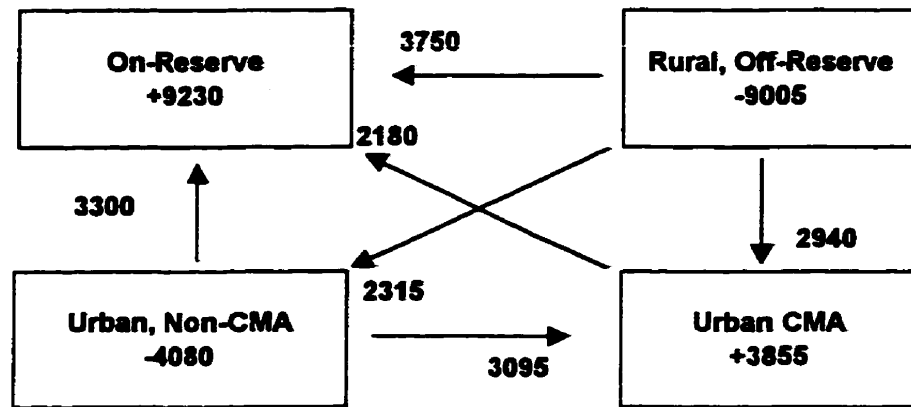


**Table 2.2: Registered Indians residing off-reserve in major urban areas, 1981 and 1991.**

Major Urban Area	1981		1991	
	Registered Indians living off-reserve	% of total CMA Population	Registered Indians living off-reserve	% of total CMA Population
Montreal	4545	0.2	3255	0.1
Ottawa-Hull	2095	0.3	3480	0.4
Toronto	6645	0.2	4920	0.1
Winnipeg	8185	1.4	14935	2.2
Regina	4140	2.5	6345	3.2
Saskatoon	2335	1.5	6050	2.8
Calgary	3185	0.5	5390	0.7
Edmonton	4295	0.7	11055	1.3
Vancouver	7480	0.6	11605	0.7

Sources: Lithwick, Schiff, and Vernon, 1986; Statistics Canada, 1994.  
Census Data.

**Figure 2.1 Summary of net migration flows between on- and off-reserve locations.  
Registered Indians, Canada, 1986-91.**



Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1997b: 31.

Notes: A CMA is an urban area centred on an urbanized core with a population of 100,000.

### **Chapter 3. Qualitative Investigation of The Migration Process**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

As indicated, this research project incorporates both a quantitative analysis of 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey data and an analysis of qualitative interviews with people who acted as informants, and who were able to describe the context in which migration takes place, as well as what they saw as the important factors in the migration process. This chapter provides an overview of the methodology used in the collection and analysis of the qualitative data as well as an overview of issues that were addressed in the interviews.

#### **3.2 The Use of Qualitative and Quantitative Data**

Qualitative research methods, while not used nearly as much in demography as they are in anthropology or sociology, are increasingly augmenting quantitative studies of population issues (Obermeyer, 1997; Greenhalgh, 1997). While the discussion of the place of qualitative methodologies in demography is beyond the scope of this chapter, there are some specific reasons for using interview data in the current study.

Qualitative researchers are frequently concerned with the understanding of context (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Geertz, 1983; Miles and Huberman, 1994). Whereas quantitative analyses are very good at describing phenomena and testing hypothetical relationships, they tend not to be able to describe very well the material and social circumstances that affect people's decisions. The use of qualitative data can help to avoid the abstractions that are inherent in purely quantitative analyses (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 41). Knodel (1997: 848) suggests that demographers in particular may benefit considerably from a limited contextualization of demographic behaviour through qualitative data. They allow the researcher to explore relationships that appear only as correlations in survey data, and to try to understand the ways in which the various facets of social life can affect particular types of behaviour, such as migration or fertility decisions. Incorporating the perspectives of those who are engaged in these demographic processes can also confirm or contradict survey results, and can help inform the collection of quantitative data (Knodel, 1997: 851).

In this study, the use of quantitative data helps us see migration as a process, and can be used productively with the quantitative data. The Aboriginal Peoples survey, which is the richest set of data on the Canadian Aboriginal population, is somewhat limited for the study of mobility. Most of these problems are addressed in the chapter on quantitative methodology. The most serious problem is inherent in the use of cross-sectional data to study migration. In particular, because the characteristics of the migrants are measured after a migration has taken place, we are unable to determine whether these characteristics affected the decision to move, or were themselves changed by the move (DaVanzo, 1981; Rosenbaum, 1988; 1993). Interviews with people who know about the ways in which these decisions are made, and the patterns of mobility that they see in their communities, can overcome some of these problems, and provide a more complete understanding of the migration process.

### **3.3 Qualitative Research and the Objectives of this Study**

There are several specific questions which we hoped to answer with the help of the qualitative interviews, and which could not be addressed through the quantitative data. One major area of interest was in the importance and nature of circular migration patterns. How important is the pattern of multiple moves between reserves and urban areas perceived to be by those who are knowledgeable about migration between these areas? We also set out to determine the dynamics of circular and return mobility, and in particular the factors that participants consider salient in their decisions to move to the city, or to move back. Why do people move to the city in the first place? Do people leave with the intention of someday returning, or do they intend to stay in the city permanently? When they do move back, to what pulls toward their home community, or pushes from the city, are they responding?

The qualitative interviews were also intended to investigate the importance of communities and networks of relationships on people who move, both through their effects on the availability of information about potential destinations, and the weighing of closeness to community, friends, and kin in mobility decisions. For example, do people who move to the city often have friends or relatives in the city who can provide them with information and support after the move? How good is this information and how does it affect their

success and likelihood of moving back to the reserve? How well are ties maintained between people who move to the city and those who remain in the reserve community?

We also attempted to gain some information about other issues surrounding mobility that were identified in the literature. In particular, participants were asked about the higher mobility of women from reserves into cities, and how this may be interpreted. Other patterns of movement and motivations were suggested by the participants that we would not have predicted, based only on the existing literature. For example, participants referred to the effects of the political situations in First Nations communities and concerns about crime levels in the city, which were not discussed in the migration literature reviewed.

Most importantly, the qualitative interviews were used in the design of this research project so that we would be able to provide answers to our research questions in the words of people who have participated in the migration process, and who have experienced the factors that affect migration themselves. This allows us to more accurately present the experiences of these people than would be possible through an analysis of the quantitative data alone, and hopefully to come closer to presenting the underlying reality as experienced by the participants.

### **3.4 Construction of the Interview Guide**

The interviews were conducted with the use of an interview guide, but with the intention that the interviews would be allowed to move considerably from the constraints of this guide. The purpose of the guide was primarily to remind the interviewer to cover certain key areas, and to make sure that certain questions were asked. This approach was intended to help focus the interviews, while providing the space for a more informative interaction, and the freedom to explore issues not considered during the construction of the interview guide (Fontana and Frey, 1997).

As we would not be able to identify a sample consisting only of return or circular migrants, we had to rely on the knowledge of people who have migrated from First Nations, regarding the patterns and processes of migration to and from their home communities. The first section of the interview guide, included as Appendix A, was devoted to asking the respondents for their knowledge of patterns of mobility in general, although it

was anticipated that people would volunteer their own stories as examples of patterns of mobility. The second section of the questionnaire focused on community issues concerning migration. The third section of the questionnaire was devoted to asking people directly about their mobility experiences. The fourth section contained short questions to obtain demographic and socio-economic information on the participants.

### **3.5 Sample Selection and Recruiting Participants**

As we are interested primarily in return and circular migration, an ideal situation would have been to interview a sample of people who either returned to a reserve after moving to the city, or who undertook several moves between the two locations. However, this would likely have required access to several reserve communities, in order to locate potential participants. Unfortunately, there has been an increasing and quite understandable reluctance of Aboriginal communities in Canada to participate in research that is directed by academic researchers not working for the community (Dyck and Waldram, 1993). As well, this approach would have required considerable time and travel that were not available. Our solution was to interview a sample of people who have moved from a First Nation to Winnipeg. While these people may not have made return or circular moves, they acted as informants, telling us something about migration as they see it, and opening a window through which we may view the process.

The sample of participants included people who were registered under the Indian Act and who had moved to the city of Winnipeg. Originally, it was intended that the sample would include only those people who had moved from a First Nation within the previous ten years. However, because of the difficulty in finding participants, this condition was dropped. Although some participants had been in the city for more than ten years, most of them retained some ties to the community of origin in the form of friends or relatives, and most returned for visits occasionally. Regardless of the amount of time that they had spent in the city, it was felt that they would be able to offer insights into the process of migration. The sample was selected with the help of several Aboriginal service organizations and tribal council offices located in Winnipeg. These organizations were asked to help us identify people who might be willing to participate, and who would be the beginning of a snowball

sample, in which respondents were asked to refer the researchers to other people who may be willing to participate (Birnacki and Waldorf, 1982).

While the small sample size does not permit statistical inferences to the larger population, they do not pose a problem in our current application. The goal of the qualitative analysis was to understand the dynamics of the process, adding “depth, rather than breadth” to our understanding of the migration between First Nations and Prairie Cities (Ambert et al. 1995). We wished to use these people’s experiences to add to the quantitative analysis and to suggest directions for future research. We do not intend that the conclusions drawn from such a small number of interviews be generalized to the Aboriginal population at large.

### **3.6 Ethical Considerations**

In terms of ethics, the greatest risk to the participants in the interviews was the possibility that they could be identified. In order to protect the anonymity of the participants and confidentiality of the interview contents, the names of the participants were recorded only on the informed consent form. Audio tapes and interview transcripts contained no reference to the interviewee’s name, and no names of people or First Nations communities were reported in the findings. The audio tapes and interview transcripts were to be destroyed after the analysis, except in the case of one man who requested that the tape be sent to him. All participants were asked if they would like copies of the research findings after they were written, and were encouraged to send comments.

### **3.7 The Interview Participants: Description of the Sample**

While quota sampling was not specifically undertaken, we did hope that our sample would include people who were both young and more mature, and who would be able to tell of a variety of experiences. The sample did include people of different educational and employment backgrounds, as well as an almost equal number of men and women. The total sample included seven men and ten women, whose education levels ranged from less than grade ten to university degrees. Some were students, some were unemployed at the time of the interviews, and some were professionals of various types. Three people lived in First

Nation communities at the time of the interview. Of those who lived in the city, some had moved within the last five years, while others had lived in the city for twenty years or longer. Some people had moved from communities that are within an hour's drive from Winnipeg, while a few people had moved from up to 600 kilometres. The sample included people who identified themselves as Anishinaabeg, including Ojibwa and Saulteaux, as well as Cree and Dakota.

While the sample included a wide variety of people, there are two characteristics of this sample which should be kept in mind. Many of the participants were found with the help of Aboriginal service organizations in the city, and because of this, several were community workers of various types. These participants were particularly helpful because of the insights they had into the amount of migration to and from their communities, and the issues faced by people in the city as well as First Nations. These people were able to add valuable information and depth because of their own personal experiences, and the research is greatly enriched by their participation.

Secondly, while respondents varied in ages from twenty to over sixty, there was a concentration of people in their forties. These people had largely not moved very recently, and a couple of them considered themselves to have been urban people for most of their lives. These people were also very helpful, as they had family and friends in First Nations communities, and knew people in the city who had moved recently. However, if younger people are more likely to move into the city, a younger sample may have included people who had moved into the city more recently and who could give us a more immediate impression of the issues involved in migration.

### **3.8 The Data Collection Process**

The agencies which had offered to help find research participants, and which had been originally contacted by telephone from London, were visited in person as soon as the researcher arrived in Winnipeg. While there were several agencies that had initially offered support, some did not follow through. The reasons for this are unknown. However, those agencies which did provide potential participants were very helpful. Some suggested changes to the wording of questions that would make them more culturally appropriate, or



respectful. Others offered the use of their facilities as a site for the interviews, or contacts at other organizations that might be able to help.

The initial process of finding potential participants was slower than expected. This was partly because of the lack of support from agencies which had previously volunteered their help. As well, there were a number of contacts and potential participants who were on vacation away from Winnipeg during the summer months. However, it became easier to find participants toward the end of the initial summer visit, as the number of people providing names for the snowball sample grew.

Most individuals approached to participate were willing, and there were few refusals. This was partly because usually the organizations and people who provided the names of potential participants had made a first contact, and helped to gain their consent. A few people indicated some reluctance to participate in a study conducted by non-Aboriginal researchers. While still agreeing to participate, some of these people were aware of the colonial history of anthropology, in particular, and saw much of the research that is done on Aboriginal people as serving only to further the careers of non-Aboriginal researchers.

Interviews took place in locations that were preferred by the participants. Most were conducted in the participants' workplaces or school, while a few were conducted in participants' homes, or in a public place in which the participant was comfortable. Some of the participants were reserve residents who were interviewed while they were in the city for various reasons. One interview was conducted in a First Nations community. Most of the interviews were conducted in person and were tape recorded, however, two participants did not want to be tape recorded, so notes were taken during those interviews. One person was also interviewed by telephone, because of difficulties in scheduling an interview. All interviews and notes were later transcribed.

In some cases, the interview guide was followed closely, while in others interviews it was almost ignored entirely. In interviews which were not tape-recorded, the structure of the interview guide allowed notes to be taken more easily, without interrupting the conversation, and allowing as much as possible to be captured on paper. There were some cases, particularly with older people, in which excessive guiding of the interview by the researcher did not seem to be appropriate. The interview guide was also more closely

followed in the beginning of the research process. As the interviewer became more comfortable with the interview process itself, and as it became clear that some of the questions were not effective, the interviews increasingly left the structure of the guide.

### **3.9 Method of Analysis**

The analysis of the qualitative data involved coding passages of the interview transcripts in order to try to understand the issues which people saw related to migration, and the factors that they believed to go into the making of migration decisions. In order to accomplish this analysis, we used the QSR NUD\*IST software programme. NUD\*IST is specifically designed for analysis of qualitative data, and it allows for manipulation and attachment of codes to text files (Richards and Richards, 1994). The coding scheme for the interview data began with a rough outline, and grew in response to patterns that presented themselves in the data. The text units were first coded in fairly concrete ways, usually categorized by the motivation for mobility that they addressed. A passage may have been coded to "housing" if it addressed mobility caused by housing shortages in a community. Eventually, these categories were re-worked, and the text units were re-assigned to more abstract categories, grouping passages that addressed the effect of community integration on the migration process, for example. This method allows for the interpretation of texts to eventually move to explanatory levels (Miles and Huberman, 1994), and to move an analysis from the concrete to the theoretical.

### **3.10 Issues of Reliability and Validity**

One of the major problems in the use of qualitative data is that the typical analysis is by an individual researcher, drawing their own conclusions. This causes difficulty in terms of the reliability and validity, and the influence of the particular researcher on the participants and the conclusions of the study (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 262).

As qualitative research is largely an interpretive exercise, it is impossible to eliminate all forms of bias on the part of the researcher. We did, however, consciously employ methods for the confirmation of findings. Triangulation, or the use of multiple methods, helped us to confirm some of the findings. By using the qualitative and quantitative analyses

together, we were able to identify concepts and issues for which support was found through both approaches, as well as those for which there was more limited evidence. While we cannot question the veracity of the meanings of mobility processes of the respondents themselves, it may be that feelings about the nature of the patterns and amounts of migration do not accurately reflect the general reality, and may be more the result of the respondents' particular experiences.

One of the goals of including qualitative data in this project was to provide information about the process in the words of the people who have experienced it, or who have considerable knowledge about the reasons that people move. However, as Miles and Huberman (1994: 263) have pointed out, it is very possible for a lone researcher to fall prey to bias resulting from the over-weighting of accounts from particularly articulate respondents, people whose experiences fit well into pre-existing theories. One way to avoid these traps is to actively engage in a search for the cases that contradict the conclusions which have been drawn. Practically, this has been done through the inclusion of dissenting voices, and accounts of migration that do not fit the theories. In the coding of interviews and the reporting of findings, we have tried to make sure that all of the respondents' opinions on any particular aspect of migration are presented.

## **Chapter 4. Quantitative Methodology**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter will outline the methods to be used to quantitatively examine the phenomena of return migration and circulation between First Nations and Prairie cities. This study uses data from the 1991 post-censal Aboriginal People's survey, which is probably the richest available quantitative data on Canada's Aboriginal population. Much of the analysis in this study takes the form of an exercise in regression modelling, in which a number of personal and community characteristics are used to develop a model that can predict mobility at the individual level. The 1991 APS data include some specific questions about the reasons of mobility that are also analyzed, using crosstabulation.

### **4.2 Quantitative Data Source: The 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey**

The 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey was conducted by Statistics Canada as a post-censal survey designed to provide comprehensive data on Canada's North American Indian, Métis, and Inuit populations. As such, the 1991 APS has the advantage of having a very large sample size relative to the population universe, the total Canadian Aboriginal population. The APS includes a section specifically designed to collect information on mobility, which includes retrospective questions on previous residences, and the reasons for moving. This gives the APS a distinct advantage over the Census, in terms of its usefulness for the study of mobility. The survey also includes sections on health and lifestyle, education, and employment, as well as a complement of variables gathered in the 1991 Census.

This study uses the individual file of the 1991 APS data. Access to these data was arranged by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, which has access to the individual file through agreement with Statistics Canada. It was necessary to use the full data set, rather than the Public Use Microdata File for two reasons. First, whereas the 1991 APS Public Use Microdata File is only a subsample of the total APS sample, the dataset used for this study included the entire APS sample of 81,570 cases. As we shall see, this large initial sample size was necessary in order to select enough cases to model return movement in the prairie provinces. As well, the PUMF does not include certain key variables that would allow us to

positively identify people who had moved from reserve communities to cities, and who returned to the community of origin. This study has only been possible with the use of the full APS dataset.

#### **4.2.1 Sampling and Data Collection Methods for the 1991 APS**

The target population for the Aboriginal Peoples Survey was the Canadian population who either identified themselves as Aboriginal, or were registered under the Indian Act in 1991 (Statistics Canada, 1993: 12). The initial pool from which the APS sample was drawn was defined by questions on the 1991 Census long form, which was administered to about one in twenty off-reserve households, and all on-reserve households (Denis et al., 1991: 7). Those who responded that they were of Aboriginal ancestry, or that they were registered under the Indian Act, became eligible to be selected for inclusion in the APS sample.

From this list of people of either Aboriginal ancestry or who were registered under the Indian Act, samples were selected for each of the domains defined in the sampling frame. To this sample, a screening questionnaire and a follow-up questionnaire were administered. The screening questionnaire asked whether the respondents were registered under the Indian Act, and with which Aboriginal group they identified (Denis et al., 1991: 8). If either of these questions were answered in the affirmative, the follow-up APS questionnaire was administered.

The overall Aboriginal population was first divided into two geographic domains. Domain One included reserve communities, as well as other communities that had a high concentration of Aboriginal people. Domain Two included all other geographic areas, including census metropolitan areas, other urban areas, and rural, non-reserve areas (Statistics Canada, 1993: 13). The sampling for Domain One was almost a census of the on-reserve population, with a sampling frequency of enumerated communities of over 70%. In Domain Two, about one in ten people who identified with an Aboriginal group was included in the sample (Denis et al. 1991: 25).

The data collection for the APS was carried out differently in each domain. As we have mentioned, the sampling fraction was different for each domain. As well, in Domain

One, the on-reserve and other Aboriginal communities, the APS questionnaires were completed by in-person interviewers. In Domain Two, including off-reserve locations, the questionnaires were completed by the respondents themselves (Denis et al., 1993). This may have implications for data quality in each domain, although this is not evident from the APS data themselves.

#### **4.2.2 APS and Census Mobility Questions:**

In order to identify various types of migrants from the data contained in the APS database, we will employ both the APS mobility questions and the 1991 Census mobility questions. Each of these sets of questions has its own limitations, and the combination of these variables does not give us a perfect method of identifying those who undertook various types of movements between 1986 and 1991. While imperfect, the APS does provide the best existing data source for measurement and modelling of the migration of Aboriginal people.

##### ***Census Mobility Questions:***

There were two mobility questions asked in the 1991 Census, and the responses to these questions have been attached to the 1991 APS database. These are the one- and five-year mobility questions, and they ask the respondent to identify their place of residence on June 4, 1990, and June 4, 1986. The responses are coded in order to identify those who lived on-reserve, in a Census Metropolitan area, lived in a smaller urban area, or who lived in an urban, non-reserve area in 1986 and 1991.

##### ***APS Mobility Questions:***

There was an entire section of the APS questionnaire devoted to questions about migration and mobility. The design of this section involves a series of retrospective questions about previous residences to obtain information about past mobility patterns.

However, most of the retrospective questions are asked only of those who reported that they had moved in the previous 12 months. An overview of the APS mobility questions is presented in Figure 4.1. Those who reported that they had lived in their current place of

residence for the previous 12 months, but had not lived in that residence for their whole lives, were asked for the location of their last residence only. For those who reported that they had not lived in their current residence for the previous 12 months, there was a series of questions concerning last three places of residence, from which they moved in the last 12 months. These questions apply only to those who had moved to their current place of residence in the previous year, and also apply only to those residences from which the respondents moved in the last year.

#### **4.2.3 Limitations of the 1991 APS Data**

While the 1991 APS provides the most comprehensive data on the Canadian Aboriginal population to date, there are several problems with these data that must be highlighted. One of the largest problems with this post-censal survey data is the fairly large non-response rate from individuals of Aboriginal origin and entire reserve communities. This is a problem that is fairly common with the Census of Canada, and as the APS sample was selected from Census data, it has inherited the problem. There were 78 incompletely enumerated reserves in the 1991 Census, representing approximately 38,000 people (Peters, 1994: 4). These individuals therefore could not be included in the APS sample. As well, there were 181 reserves and 14 Aboriginal communities that were unenumerated or under-enumerated in the APS (Statistics Canada, 1993: 14). This may represent as many as 20,000 people (Peters, 1994: 4). Many of these communities were incompletely enumerated because of remoteness and difficulties with geographical access by interviewers, but some communities refused to participate. People who lived in reserves that were unenumerated or incompletely enumerated in the 1991 APS were not included in the final APS dataset.

As well as the large number of communities that chose not to participate in the 1991 Census or the 1991 APS, there was some non-response by individuals who were enumerated by the Census, and who were subsequently selected for an inclusion in the APS sample. The response rate for the overall sample was about 78%, with about 7% of these non-respondents being absent, and about 15% refusing to respond. Rather than selecting other respondents to replace those who did not respond, the remaining cases were weighted to enable the final estimates to represent the entire population (Statistics Canada, 1993: 13)

As mentioned above, there are also some problems relating to the design of the mobility questions in both the Census and the APS questionnaires, especially if these questions are to be used in the identification of return migrants. The problems with using the Census mobility questions in the identification of migrants has been well-documented (DaVanzo, 1981; Rosenbaum, 1988; Hou, 1993). Essentially, because both the one-year and the five-year mobility questions ask where the respondent lived on a given day in the year of interest, repeated and return moves in the intervening periods are lost. For example, the five-year mobility question would identify people who had moved and returned to the original place of residence between 1986 and 1991 as not having moved, when in fact they are return migrants. The one-year mobility question, which was added in the 1991 Census, does help address this problem by adding information about the 1990 place of residence, which can be compared to the 1986 residence. However, multiple moves that occurred within the last year, and between 1986 and 1990, are missed by these questions.

One way of addressing these limitations of Census mobility data is through the use of retrospective survey questions. These questions allow the respondent to provide a history of their mobility and previous residences, beginning with the most recent move. This is the method taken by the 1991 APS mobility questions. However, there is a serious limitation to the design of the APS mobility questions. As illustrated in Figure 4.1, most of the questions on previous places of residence are asked with regard to those residences from which the respondent had moved in the last 12 months. There are sets of questions designed to identify three such residences, providing what would be a useful set of retrospective mobility data, were it not confined to only the most recent 12 month period. While the making of multiple moves in a relatively short period is an important aspect of mobility, and is one of the concerns here, it is unlikely that there will be many people who report having moved three times in the past year. Even if this were a common pattern, it could be identified by a similar series of retrospective questions not limited to the last year, but in which the respondent could identify the approximate date of the move. Questions designed in this manner would be far more useful for the analysis of migration patterns than those employed in the 1991 APS questionnaire.



### **4.3 Mobility Universe**

The present analysis of return mobility is limited to those people who identified themselves as North American Indians, and who were registered under the Indian Act in 1991, and who lived in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, or Alberta in 1991. Institutional residents and members of the Armed forces are excluded from the APS database. We have included only those APS respondents who were 20 years or older on June 4, 1991. This ensures that all migrants were at least 15 years old on Census Day in 1986, which is the day for which we have place of residence data from the five-year mobility question. The interest here is primarily in the factors that are involved in the making of voluntary moves. It is reasonable to assume that those who are under 15 years of age move primarily in a family situation, and move largely as a result of their parents' decisions. This study also excluded people who reported that they were children in census families in 1991, regardless of age.

Using the census and APS mobility questions, it is possible to identify people who have made several types of moves that are of interest here. As described in Figure 4.2, these data can be used to identify five-year primary movers, five-year return movers, and hypermobile movers. These will be used to construct dependent variables for the regression analysis.

#### ***Five-Year Reserve-to-CMA Migrants:***

Previous studies of return mobility within Canada have been undertaken at the provincial level (Hou and Beaujot, 1994, Newbold and Liaw, 1990; Rosenbaum, 1988, 1993). These studies have been able to identify primary interprovincial migrants using census place-of-birth and current place of residence information. However, the place-of-birth data are not available on a sub-provincial level. This makes it impossible for us to identify those who were born on a reserve, and who have subsequently left the reserve. While there would still be the problem that people from reserve communities may be born in hospitals in nearby off-reserve areas, having an idea of the place of birth would make the identification of those who had ever moved to the city much easier, and more complete.

With the data available, one can identify people who moved to a CMA from a reserve in the five years preceding the Census. This study has employed the same

methodology used by Siggner (1977) in his study of the mobility of the Registered Indian population between 1966 and 1971. The Census five-year mobility question allows the identification of those people who lived on-reserve on June 4, 1986, and who lived in a CMA on June 4, 1991. These people will be referred to as *Five-Year Reserve-to-CMA Migrants*. The largest problem with this identification is that we cannot be sure of the moves that people made before 1986. In addition, moves occurring in the intervening time may be lost.

#### ***Five-Year CMA-to-Reserve Migrants***

Similarly, as described in Figure 4.2, we were able to identify people who were living in a CMA on June 4, 1986, and who were living in an on-reserve Census subdivision on June 4, 1991. These people will be referred to as *Five-Year CMA-to-Reserve migrants*.

#### ***Five-Year CMA-to-Reserve Return Migrants***

Using the Census 5-year mobility question, it was possible to identify those people who lived on-reserve on June 4, 1986, and who lived in the same on-reserve Census subdivision on June 4, 1991. Using information from the APS questions about moves made before and after June 4, 1990, or 12 months prior to the APS, we could identify people who moved to their current residence from a CMA. Using this method, it is possible to identify people who began and ended the five-year interval in the same on-reserve location, but who moved to a CMA in the intervening period. We will refer to these people as *Five-Year CMA-to-Reserve Return Migrants*.

#### ***Hypermobile or Circular migrants***

Circular mobility, as we have said, may be thought of as the making of a series of moves between the same two places, or between a single place of origin and a destinations of a certain type, such as urban areas. "Hypermobility", strictly speaking, should probably refer to the making of a number of moves, not necessarily between the same two places. While these two concepts are clearly not identical, it is in practice often easier to find evidence of hypermobility, which may provide general support for the hypothesis that there may be an amount of circulation in a particular migration stream. In an earlier study of the

migration of Registered Indians, Siggner (1977) has used the presence of hypermobility as an indicator of the possibility of a circular migration stream. This conclusion must be made with caution, however, as we have no way of knowing if these people are in fact circular migrants, or moved to a new destination each time.

While the APS dataset contains a lot of information on mobility, the data do not offer a clear way to identify circular movement. Unfortunately, the 1991 APS did not ask respondents whether or not they had made multiple moves between reserves and urban areas. With the available data, there are two ways in which we may identify people who may be considered to have migrated in a circular pattern. Neither method is sure to identify those who have made circular migrations, but may provide some indications that could be further tested as better data become available.

There was a question about dual residence in the APS questionnaire, that can be used to identify some people who have made multiple, circular moves. The question asked whether respondents had gone back and forth between two homes in two different communities in the past 12 months. This is a far from sufficient method to identify circular migrants. At best, any information gained from this question can only give us some evidence of what may be one pattern of mobility; that which consists of people making several short-term moves between established residences in two areas. However, as we indicated above, circulation may involve short or long-duration stays. Identifying people who have dual residences and the locations of these residences only provides weak evidence of circulation.

The other way in which we may gain some idea of the amount of circulation is to examine the amount of short-term migration. The APS data include information on the total number of moves made within the last 12 months. It may be that the making of multiple moves between different reserve and urban areas between June 4, 1990 and June 4, 1991 would give us some evidence of hypermobility. Using the APS mobility questions, it is possible to identify people who have made multiple moves in the past twelve months, each of which was from an on-reserve census subdivision to a CMA. While these people may not necessarily have made multiple moves between the same First Nations community and the same CMA, and this approach clearly only allows the identification of the small number of

people who have made multiple moves between communities in the past year, providing some support for the presence of a circular migration pattern.

#### **4.4 Modelling the Determinants of Return Migration and Circulation**

As indicated, this study is an exercise in modelling the individual-level determinants of return and circular mobility. Logistic regression models are used, as they allow the use of dichotomous dependent variables (Pedhazur, 1997). In this case, we are able to use the procedure to create models which predict various types of mobility between Census Metropolitan Areas and First Nations. Dependant variables modelled include Five-year CMA-to-Reserve Return Migration, Five-Year CMA-to-Reserve Migration, and Hypermobility.

As is common in multivariate models of migration (Hou and Beaujot, 1994: Rosenbaum, 1988: 1991) the dependent variables used are dichotomous, and the models predict the likelihood of an individual with a given set of characteristics having made a particular type of move. The dependant variables are constructed in order to compare those who have made a particular type of move to those who have not, but who were at risk to do so. Because of the dichotomous nature of the dependent variables, logistic regression models are used, in order to avoid violation of the assumptions of linear regression.

##### **4.4.1 Logistic Regression**

In an analysis in which the dependent variable is dichotomous, important assumptions of ordinary least squares regression are violated. The violations of these assumptions make the use of OLS regression inappropriate. The first is the assumption that the errors are normally distributed, and have a constant variance. This is to say, it is assumed that the differences between the predicted and actual values of the dependent variable are not systematically related to the dependent variable. The assumption of normality of the errors is important to the efficiency of procedures using least-squares estimators (Fox, 1997: 296; Hosmer and Lemeshow, 1989: 8). In the case of a dependent variable with only two possible outcomes, the errors cannot be independent of the dependent variable.

Another assumption of the general linear model is that of a linear relationship between the independent and dependent variables. In the case of a dichotomous dependent variable, the regression equation effectively predicts the probability of a particular outcome, or of the dependent variable having a value of one. However, if a linear relationship is assumed, it would be possible for a given set of coefficients to cause a regression equation to predict a value for the dependent variable that is greater than one, or less than zero. Because of the dichotomous nature of the dependent variable, these values are logically impossible. As well, having a set of values for the independent variables that perfectly predicts an outcome, or a value of one or zero for the dependent variable, is also logically impossible. The assumption of linearity is untenable when the dependent variable is dichotomous (Hosmer and Lemeshow, 1989: 7).

These problems can be avoided through the use of a logistic regression model, fitted by maximum-likelihood rather than through ordinary least squares. Logistic regression predicts the natural logarithm of the odds of a particular outcome (Pedhazur, 1997: 718). This log-odds function is referred to as the *logit*, and is expressed as:

$$\ln(\Omega) = \ln\left(\frac{P}{1-P}\right) \quad 1.1$$

Where P is the probability of the dependent variable being equal to one (Fox, 1997: 444). This transformation of the dependent variable assures that the predicted value of the dependent variable will not exceed zero or one, and that the error variance may be constant. In general, the logistic regression model can be written in the form:

$$\ln(\Omega) = e^{a+bX+c} \quad 1.2$$

Where:

$a$  = Y-intercept

$X$  = independent variable

$b$  = the regression coefficient for independent variable  $n$

$c$  = the error term

The use of logistic regression thereby allows us to use the dependent variables to predict the likelihood of mobility, and to determine the effect of each of the variables on the predicted probability of belonging to a category of “movers” or of “non-movers” or of undertaking any particular type of migration.

***Assumptions of Logistic Regression:***

The assumptions made by the logistic regression procedure are generally the same as those of more common multiple linear regression. Here, we will briefly describe the approach taken to avoid serious violations of these assumptions.

a) *Linearity*: The regression of each independent variable (X) on the dependent variable (Y) is assumed to be linear. The relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable is assumed to be along a line (Pedhazur, 1997: 32). In this study, if there is a theoretical reason to believe that an independent variable may not have a linear relationship with the dependent variable, it has been transformed such that the relationship is more linear, or recoded and entered in to the model as a categorical variable. The linearity of this relationship is judged by testing whether entering the variable in the model as a linear term significantly improves the fit of the model, as measured by the change in chi-square. As well, the distribution of the residuals of each of the independent variables will be examined, as this may often give an indication of nonlinearity (Pedhazur, 1997: 37).

b) *Multicollinearity*: It is assumed that the independent variables in the regression equation are uncorrelated. When variables are highly correlated, the standard error of their parameter estimates is inflated. As the standard error increases, the significance of the variable in the model is falsely increased (Pedhazur, 1997: 295). In order to detect multicollinearity, the bivariate correlations between each of the continuous x-variables were examined. This approach may uncover the most grievous collinearity problems. However, it must be

remembered that an examination of bivariate relationships cannot inform us about the possibility of multivariate collinearity problems, which may be undetected by first-order correlations (Pedhazur, 1997: 309).

c) *Residual Distribution assumptions*: Regression models assume that the error terms, or residuals, are unrelated to the dependant variable, and are normally distributed. The assumption of *heteroscedasticity* is most easily defined as non-constant error variance, or that the residuals are independent of the value of the dependent variable. Non-normal errors may make estimates unstable, especially with small samples (Hamilton, 1992: 51). In order to detect heteroscedasticity, and non-normal residual distributions, plots of the standardized and studentized residuals are examined, as recommended by Pedhazur (1997: 59).

Correcting residual distribution problems can be difficult, because these problems may indicate several types of deficiencies in the model. Some heteroscedasticity problems can be corrected through transformation of continuous independent variables, or their categorization into nominal-level variables. As well, a non-normal residual distribution may indicate that there are important independent variables or interaction terms not included in the model, and the model has thus been mis-specified. Where these problems have been encountered, we have transformed the variables and removed or added interaction terms in order to correct the problem. As each of the models has been constructed independently of the others, the final models contain slightly different forms of the independent variables, in order that each of them has the best fit possible.

### ***Assessing the Fit of the Models***

Several measures that are provided by the SPSS v. 9.0 output can be used to measure the fit of the models. The likelihood, presented as -2 times the log of the likelihood, is a measure of how “likely” the sample values of the dependent variables are, given the calculated parameters of the independent variables. A perfect model fit is indicated by a -2 log likelihood of zero, so the lower the value of this figure the better the model fit (Pedhazur, 1997: 47).

In a linear regression model,  $R^2$  is interpreted as the amount of the variance in the dependent variable that is explained by the independent variables. A similar measure is available for logistic models, although the amount of “variation” must be considered somewhat differently (Pedhazur, 1997: 48). The Cox and Snell  $R^2$  for a logistic model, provided in the SPSS v. 9.0 output is:

$$R^2 = 1 - \left[ \frac{L(0)}{L(B)} \right]^{2/N} \quad 1.3$$

where  $L(0)$  is the likelihood for a model that contains only the constant, and  $L(B)$  is the likelihood for the model which contains all of the independent variables, and  $N$  is the sample size. (Pedhazur, 1997: 48). Unlike the  $R^2$  in a linear regression model, this value cannot be equal to one. A variation on  $R^2$  has been proposed by Nagelkerke (1991, in Pedhazur, 1997: 48), which allows the value to be achieved. The Nagelkerke  $R^2$  is also provided by SPSS, and can be more accurately interpreted as the proportion of the “variation” in the dependent variable that is explained by the variables in the model (ibid.: 48).

#### 4.5 Model Specification

As a result of the previously reviewed literature, we have selected a set of variables that could be important in predicting the likelihood that an individual had moved. These independent variables include demographic variables, socioeconomic status variables, some community characteristics, ethnic affinity variables, and a number of control variables. These variables were used to construct three models. The first predicts return migration to a First Nations community among those who had made a primary migration to a Census Metropolitan Area. The second predicts five-year migration to a reserve community by people who were living in a CMA in 1986. The third model predicts hypermobility, which is defined as an urban or reserve resident having made multiple moves between within the last year, or maintaining two residences in two different communities.



***Dependent Variable 1: Return mobility status***

The first model constructed is an attempt to predict the probability of someone who lived in a reserve community in 1986 and who lived in a CMA at some later point, having returned to the same reserve community by census day, 1991. The dependant variable in this model compares Five-Year CMA-to-Reserve Return Migrants to Five-Year Reserve-to-CMA primary migrants. The population at risk for making a return move to a reserve from a CMA is the population that has at some point made a primary move to a CMA from a reserve. The APS and Census mobility questions allow us to accurately identify some people who had moved to the city and who had later moved back to the same reserve community. Unfortunately, this precision comes at a cost. While we may say with confidence that those whom we have identified as return migrants did indeed move to the city and return, we cannot identify all of those who have made the move. The result is a sufficient, but small sample size.

***Dependent Variable 2: Primary CMA-to-Reserve Mobility Status***

The second model constructed is a comparison of those who moved from a CMA to a reserve during the 1986 to 1991 period, to those who lived in CMAs without having moved. While one cannot be sure that these CMA-to-Reserve Migrants are in fact return movers, this model will help to determine if those people who moved from CMAs to reserves are significantly different from those who did not move, in terms of the independent variables. It also provides a larger sample size than does the first model, allowing for a finer categorization of some of the categorical independent variables, and for the inclusion of interactions that would have resulted in small cell counts in the first model. In this model, the dichotomous dependant variable compares those who moved from a CMA to a reserve between 1986 and 1991 to those who lived in the CMA in 1991.

***Dependent Variable 3: Hypermobility or Dual Residence***

An important concern of this study is circular migration. Unfortunately, because of the limits of the APS mobility variables, it is impossible to identify people who have made

several moves between urban areas and First Nations. As described above, we are able to identify people who lived in a reserve or CMA in 1991 who have made multiple moves between communities within the previous twelve months, and those who have two homes in two different communities. Both of these groups of people could be considered to be hypermobile, and could be circular movers. Because there are not many people on each of these categories of people, they have been combined, in order that they may be compared to people who had moved only once between the two areas in the past year.

### ***Independent Variables:***

#### ***Demographic and Family Status Variables***

The demographic variables used in this analysis include gender, age, census family status, and the presence of children in the home. Because there are theoretical reasons that age may not have a linear relationship to the likelihood of migration, such as the possibility of an increased propensity to migrate on retirement, age was recoded into a series of categories. In the return migration model, because of the smaller sample size, age was more coarsely categorized than in the CMA-to reserve, or hypermobility models.

The Census Family Status variable was used as an indicator of marital and family status. A census family refers to a married couple, a couple living common-law, or a lone parent of any marital status with at least one never-married son or daughter living in the household (Statistics Canada, 1992: 119) People not living in census families include people who live alone, or people who live with people to whom they are not closely related.

One important component of family status that may affect migration is the presence of children in the home. This information is available in the APS database, however, the number of children living in the household is only available for women. This prevented us from including the potentially interesting interaction of gender and presence of children in the home in the models. However, the presence of children was entered as a main effect, so that its effect on mobility could be seen with the other variables held constant.

#### ***Socioeconomic Status Variables***

The variables used to indicate socioeconomic status included indicators of labour force activity, income, and education. The measure of labour force activity was the number of weeks worked in 1990. This variable was available on the database as an interval-level variable. However, the distribution of the number of weeks worked was seriously skewed, and there was a large number of respondents who did not work in 1991. As well, the small number who reported a negative income were recoded as having no income, so as to avoid having them deleted as missing cases. In the hypermobility and CMA-to-reserve migration models, this variable was entered as a series of categorical dummy variables. In the return migration model, there was no significant improvement in the chi-square of the model achieved by categorizing this variable, and it was entered as a linear term.

The highest level of schooling variable is a census variable that “refers to the highest grade or year of elementary or secondary school attended, or the highest year of university or other non-university completed” (Statistics Canada, 1992: 105). The levels of education were recoded into coarser categories so that the cells would have enough cases for the analysis. As with the age variable, the education variable entered in the return model is more coarsely categorized than the variable entered in the other two models.

There are several measures of individual and family income in the APS database. The one that seemed to fit our purposes best was the indicator of the total individual income earned in 1991. This measure of income includes wages and salaries, professional fees, various types of government payments including unemployment insurance, investment income, and other money income (Statistics Canada, 1992: 48-9). There were a large number of people in the total sample who reported no income, however, and the distribution of this continuous variable was decidedly non-normal. The fit of the models was improved by recoding total individual income into a series of categories.

### ***Ethnic Affinity Variable***

As a proxy for the level to which a respondent identifies with the Aboriginal community, or feels an attachment to the community of origin, a variable indicating retention of an Aboriginal language was included in the models. This is a very rough indicator of ethnic affinity, or of community integration, however, this dimension is

important to include in the models. The variable included is dichotomous, indicating whether or not a respondent has some ability to speak an Aboriginal language.

### ***Community-Level Variables***

There were two community-level variables included in the models, where possible. These include the population of the community of residence, and the geographic zone in which the community is located.

The 1991 populations of the communities in which the respondent lived in 1986 and in 1991 are included. The population of the 1986 community of residence was included in the return mobility model. Because all of the cases included in this model were people who had lived in a reserve community in 1986, this is the population of that community. It is also the population of the community to which return migrants eventually moved.

In the CMA-to-reserve migration model, a measure of community size could not be included. The size of the community of residence in 1986 would be meaningless, because all of the cases in the sample were people who had lived in a Census Metropolitan Area in 1986. As well, including the population of the community of residence in 1991 causes problems with model specification, because all of those who had not moved, and who had remained in a CMA, would have very high values for this variable, while all of those who had moved to reserve communities would have fairly low values.

The geographic zone of the reserve community of residence in 1986 was included in the return migration model as a rough proxy of distance between the reserve community and the city. As well, the zone of residence in 1991 was included in the hypermobility model. These variables in the APS dataset indicate whether a community was in the "Far North", "Mid-North", or "South". In the Prairie provinces, the southern region was essentially defined as the bottom half of the provinces, while the upper portion, extending to the Northwest Territories, was in the Mid-North. (Clatworthy, 1996: 4). In Manitoba, the line separating South from Mid-North was at approximately 53 degrees North latitude, or just south of Grand Rapids, near the top of Lake Winnipeg. All of the CMAs in the final sample were in the "South", as were some of the reserve communities. The rest of the reserve communities were in the "Mid-North".

***Control Variables:***

There are several variables that were included in the models as control variables. A variable indicating that an individual had been registered under the Indian Act as a result of the 1985 Amendment to the Act was included. As well, because the three provinces could have different economic conditions, the province of residence in 1991 was entered as a series of dummy variables. As well, a variable indicating full- or part-time school attendance was included as a control variable.

**4.6 Reasons for Migration**

As shown in Figure 4.1, and Appendix B, the APS questionnaire included questions about the respondents' reasons for making a particular move. These questions were open-ended, and the answers were then re-coded into a number of simple categories, and it is in this form that these data appear on the APS database. Ideally, one would like to be able to examine the reported reasons for mobility of those who returned to reserve communities, and those who made circular moves. However, the reasons for mobility are attached to the APS mobility questions, and not to the census mobility questions. We cannot therefore investigate the reported reasons for moving by either *Five-year CMA-to Reserve Return Migrants* or *Five-Year CMA-to-Reserve Migrants*. As stated above, we are also not able to clearly identify those who have made circular moves.

In order to incorporate these data into the study, we have examined the reasons for moving of those Prairie residents who reported that they had lived in their current residence for them past twelve months, and whose last move was from a CMA to a reserve, or from a reserve to a CMA. The categorized reasons for mobility were cross-tabulated by the sociodemographic variables gender, age, and family status.

Limiting the analysis of the reasons for mobility to those people who have not changed residences in the past year is related to the structure of the APS mobility questions. It would be preferable to examine the reasons for moving of those who had moved in the past year, because the other characteristics of the migrants, such as their socioeconomic

status, would be less likely to have changed since the move. However, there were not enough people in the sample who made these moves in the past year, and the resulting small cell counts made any type of meaningful analysis impossible. As a compromise, we have identified those who have made the types of moves in which we are interested some time before the previous year. While we have no idea when they made this last move, this approach yielded counts of sufficient size for analysis. This analysis was limited to crosstabulations by age and by gender, as well as by family status. It is recognized that family status may well have changed since, or as a result of, the last move.

Although this approach allowed us a sample size sufficient for an analysis, it was still necessary to recode the already coarse categories of reasons for mobility, into even broader categories. The categories that are available in the APS data are quite vague, and are given in Appendix C. While they are not able to approach the richness of the qualitative data gathered for this study, these data do allow some quantitative analysis of the reasons given for migration.

#### **4.7 Sample Size**

The APS dataset contains a weighting variable that allows estimates to be generated for the Canadian Aboriginal population. However, using this weighting variable in the regression models would inflate the sample size, and would probably result in most of the variables being falsely significant. To prevent this, but to keep the effects of the weighting variables, we have created a new, scaled weight by dividing the weight by the total sample size. This allows weights to be used without inflating the sample size.

The initial APS sample included 81,570 cases, which are weighted to represent a population of 630,760. A total of 47,846 cases were people who reported that they were registered under the Indian Act, and that they identified themselves as North American Indians. Of these people, 20,129 lived in Saskatchewan, Manitoba, or Alberta. After removing people who were under 20 years of age in 1991 and those who were children in a census family, there were 14, 667 remaining cases. Using the APS weighing variable, these cases represent 68,086 people. It is from this final sub-sample that the cases used in the analysis were drawn.

Figure 4.1: Structure of the APS mobility questions

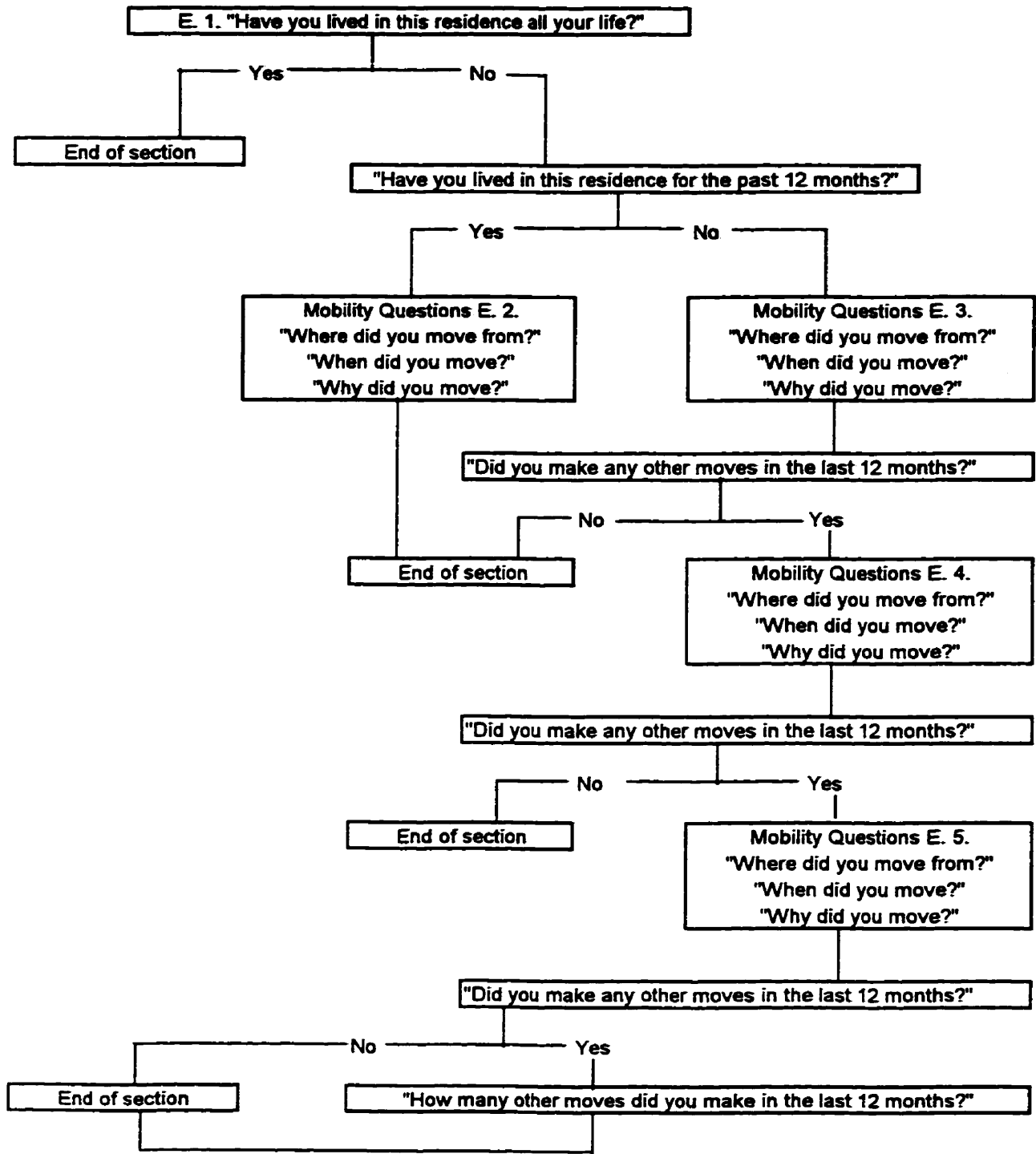
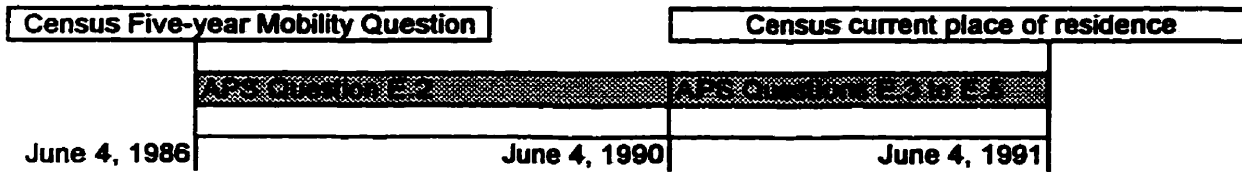
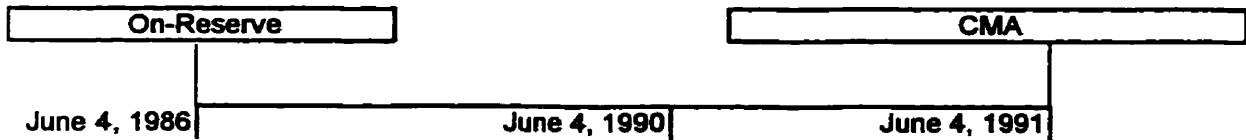


Figure 4.2: Identification of primary and return migrants

**APS and Census Mobility Questions:**



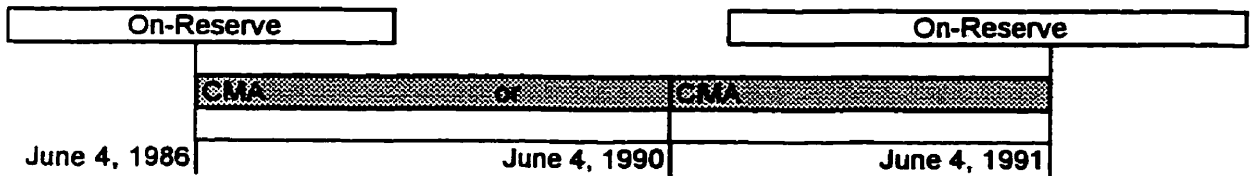
**Five-Year Reserve-to-CMA Migrants:**



**Five-Year CMA-to-Reserve Migrants:**



**Five-Year CMA-to-Reserve Return Migrants:**





## **Chapter 5. Who moves and Why: a Quantitative analysis**

### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter will review the results of the logistic regression models predicting movement to reserves from CMAs and hypermobility between the two areas. Bivariate crosstabulations of the reasons for mobility given by various types of movers will be also presented. In general, the results provided little evidence that those who returned to First Nation communities after moving to the city were different from those who did not return, in terms demographic or socioeconomic characteristics. Those who were hypermobile did appear to be different from other movers, however. As well, there was evidence that those who move to reserve communities tend to be motivated by family, rather than economic, factors.

### **5.2 Logistic Regression Models**

The three models tested predicted five-year CMA-to-reserve return migration, five-year CMA-to reserve migration, and hypermobility. A description of the samples used to test these models is found in Table 5.1.

#### ***Model 1: Five-year CMA to Reserve Return Migration***

The first model tested was one in which the dependent variable was the log of the odds of someone who had moved to a CMA from a reserve between 1986 and 1991, having returned to that same reserve by June 4, 1991. This model most directly addressed the issue of return migration, as we were able to be fairly confident that those identified as return migrants really had made a return move. However, as mentioned previously, this precision leaves a fairly small sample size. The sample for the first model included 280 individuals who moved from a reserve to a CMA between 1986 and 1991, of which 210 returned to the same reserve, and were living in that reserve community in 1991. The remaining 70 cases were people who had not left the CMA in 1991. Weighted to reflect the full population, there were 625 return movers out of 1310 people who moved from a reserve to a CMA between 1986 and 1991.

**Significant Variables:**

The most notable observation was the insignificance of all socioeconomic status indicators. Neither income, education, nor labour force activity were significant predictors of return migration. As shown in Table 5.2, interactions between the SES variables and gender also were not significant at the  $\alpha = .05$  level. The variables which did have an effect on the likelihood of having returned to a reserve were Aboriginal language retention, geographic zone of residence, and the interaction of age category and gender. As well, the control variables indicating the province of residence and school attendance were significant.

Table 5.3 shows effects of the significant independent variables on the predicted probabilities of an individual having made a return migration. Because of the small sample size, the fairly large number of independent variables, and the choice of reference categories, some of the predicted probabilities were quite high, and even approaching one. This does not mean that an individual with these particular combinations of the independent variables would have a nearly one hundred percent chance of moving. The low value of  $R^2$  in the model indicates that the model was only able to "explain" a small proportion of the variation in the dependent variable, and that there were certainly important factors missing from the model.

The interaction between age group and gender suggests that there may be different forces affecting the return migration of men and women. Figure 5.1 shows that, among people in their twenties, males are more likely to have returned to the reserve community of origin. The probability of a man in the 20 to 29 age group having returned was about 94%, with the effects of the other independent variables evaluated at the modal categories. The probability of women in this age group having returned was about 74%. The probability of women having returned increased with age. In the 45 or older age group, a woman who was a member of the modal categories on the other independent variables had probability of having returned that was more than 20% higher than that of a woman in her twenties. For men, though, the probability of having returned was highest in the youngest age group.

Aboriginal language retention appears to have the effect of increasing one's likelihood of having returned. People who reported that they spoke an Aboriginal language were about 15% more likely to have returned than were those who did not speak an Aboriginal language.

As shown in Table 5.3, residents of Alberta were significantly less likely to have returned to the reserve in which they had lived in 1986. The probabilities of return for people in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, however, were quite similar, with people in Manitoba being somewhat more likely.

The overall explanatory power of the model was fairly good, with a Nagelkerke  $R^2$  of .507, and a Cox and Snell  $R^2$  of .380. However, there were some problems with the distribution of the residuals. A plot of the studentized residuals (Pedhazur, 1997: 44) revealed that the errors were not normally distributed. Recoding of the continuous age, income, and labour force activity variables did not seem to help this situation, nor did changing the ways in which the resulting ordinal variables were categorized. After adding and removing variables and interaction terms, it was found that the greatest improvement in the distribution of the residuals was gained with the addition of the educational attainment by gender interaction, so this interaction was included in the final model.

### ***Model 2: CMA-to-Reserve Migration***

The second regression model predicts the log of the odds that an individual who had lived in a Census Metropolitan Area in 1986 had moved to a reserve community by 1991. The sample used for this model was larger, and this allowed the age and education variables to be more finely categorized than in the first model. The sample included 1,240 cases, of which approximately 900 remained in the CMA in 1991. Using the APS sample weights, these cases reflect a total of 15,500 people who lived in a CMA in 1986, and who either lived in the same CMA in 1991, or who had moved to a reserve community by the time the APS data were collected. There were 1,375 people who lived in a reserve community by June 4, 1991. Those who began this period in a CMA and who were living in a non-reserve, non-CMA location, or another CMA by 1991 were excluded from this subsample.

There were more significant independent variables in the second model than in the first model, as shown in Table 5.4. Family status, highest level of schooling, total income in 1991, and Aboriginal language retention had significant effects on the likelihood of having migrated to a reserve from a CMA. The control variables indicating Bill C-31 registrant status and province of residence were also significant. As well, the interaction of highest level of schooling and gender was significant.

As shown in Table 5.5, the effect of census family status on the probability of having moved from a CMA to a reserve takes the form of a increased likelihood of having moved for people who were married or living common-law. Both lone-parents and people who did not live in census families had a probability of having moved of about 15%, when the effects of the other independent variables were held constant. People who reported that they were married in 1991 had a probability of having moved that was close to 30%.

Total individual income in 1990 had a significant, but obviously nonlinear effect on the likelihood of having moved. In general, people in the lowest income categories were the most likely to have moved from a CMA to a reserve. Those most likely to have moved had some income, but less than \$10,000 in 1990, with a probability of about 30%. The least likely to have moved were those with incomes above \$20,000 in 1990.

Those who spoke an Aboriginal language were more likely to have moved to a reserve, as they had been in the first model. All other independent variables held constant, people who reported that they spoke an Aboriginal language in 1991 were had a probability of having moved to a reserve of about 30%, while those who did not speak an Aboriginal language had a probability of having moved of about 18%.

The interaction between the highest level of schooling attained and gender identified some interesting differences between men and women in the relationship between education and mobility to reserves. Among the least educated, the difference in mobility between men and women was very little, as shown in Figure 5.2. However, men with intermediate levels of education, between grade 11 and having some trade or vocational training, were much more likely to have moved to a reserve community than were their female counterparts. Men whose highest level of education was between grade 10 and grade 13 had a probability of having moved of about 30%, when the effects of other variables

were held constant. Women who were similar to these men on the independent variables, had a probability of having moved of only about 9%. The group most likely to have moved was that including men who had a secondary school certificate or some trade or vocational training. These men had a probability of moving of about 40%, while women with similar educational attainment were slightly more than half as likely to have moved.

On the whole, people in the highest education category were the least likely to have moved from a CMA to a reserve. This category included those who had a certificate or diploma from a trades or vocational school, college, or who had some university education. In this group, women had a probability of having moved that was about 50% higher than that of similarly-educated men.

The control variable indicating the province of residence was significant in this model, as it was in the five-year return migration model. However, while Albertans were again less likely to have moved than were residents of the other two provinces, in this model, people in Saskatchewan were much more likely to have moved to a reserve than were Manitobans.

While it included more significant predictors of migration, the fit of the second model was considerably poorer than the first. The Nagelkerke  $R^2$  of the 5-Year CMA-to-Reserve model indicates that the model was only able to explain about 19% of the variation in the dependent variable. As well, the distribution of the residuals was considerably less normal than the first model, and was resistant to correction. This poorer model fit was partially due to a handful of cases which were multivariate outliers, and which affected model fit considerably. However, these cases were not found to be extreme on any particular variable. In the absence of a rationale for the exclusion of these cases, they were retained in the model.

The second model also may have been poorer than the first because of the way in which the model was specified. Whereas one could be quite confident that the migrants in the first model were in fact return migrants, five-year CMA-to-reserve migrants include a wide variety of people, including return migrants, who perhaps were more diverse in their reasons for moving than were those in the first model. All of the return and non-return migrants in the first model were people who lived on a reserve in 1986, and who had moved

to a CMA. Five-year CMA-to-reserve migrants include people who have returned to their home communities, as well as those who moved there for the first time. As well, those who remained in CMAs include those who had once moved to the city, as well as those who had been born there. Because of the way in which this dependent variable subsumes a number of different types of moves, it might be expected that the model fit would be weaker. As well, the fit of both of the models probably suffered because of the absence of important variables. In particular, it may be that including a good measure of the distance between origin and destination would help the ability of the model to predict mobility between CMAs and First Nations.

### ***Model 3: Hypermobility***

The third model in this analysis predicted the likelihood of someone who had moved between communities in the past year, having made two or more moves, or having homes in two different communities. The sample included about 450 hypermobile migrants, and about 325 people who had made one move between communities, but were not hypermobile. With the full APS weights applied, these cases represent 7060 people who had made at least one move between communities in the past year, of which 4420 were hypermobile, by the definition used in this model, and 2640 were non-hypermobile migrants. Of the hypermobile migrants, 350 made two or more moves between communities in the past year, and 2290 migrants had two homes in two different communities.

Table 5.6 summarizes the results of this model. The age of the respondent, the presence of children in the household, the number of weeks worked in 1990, and the retention of an Aboriginal language had significant effects on the likelihood of having been hypermobile in the past year. The interaction of the highest level of schooling and gender was also significant at  $\alpha = .05$ .

While gender did not have a significant effect on hypermobility, the interaction of gender and education yields some interesting results. As Figure 5.3 shows, in all categories of education, men were more likely to have made two or moves, or to have two homes in two

different communities. The differences between men and women were the greatest in the lowest category of education. Men with less than grade 10, and who were in the modal categories on all other variables, had a probability of having been hypermobile of about 58%, compared to about 28% for women in the same categories.

Those most likely to have been hypermobile were those with the highest education. As with lower levels of education, men who had trades or college certificates, or some university had a higher probability of having been hypermobile than did women with similar levels of education. Interestingly, the group which was the least likely to have moved was the second-highest educational category, including those people who had a secondary school graduation certificate, or some post-secondary education but without a diploma or degree.

The other socioeconomic status variable that was of some use in predicting whether an individual had been hypermobile in the past year was the number of weeks that they had worked in that year. Migrants who reported that they had not worked in that year, or refused to answer, were the least likely to have made multiple moves. This group had a probability of having been hypermobile of about 28%. By far the most likely to have made multiple moves were those who worked 40 or more weeks in 1990. These migrants had a probability of hypermobility of about 78%. Those who worked between one week and 26 weeks, and those who worked 26 to 40 weeks had little difference in their probabilities of hypermobility, as shown in Table 5.7. It is important to remember that these effects of labour force are independent of effects of income or of education, as the model controls for the other factors.

There seems to be a fairly direct relationship between the age of a respondent and his or her likelihood of having been hypermobile in the past year. A very rough categorization of age was included in this model, because of the small sample size and the small number of people at older ages. The small sample size was mostly due to the fact that all of those in the sample used in this model had moved between communities in the past 12 months. Nonetheless, the age variable as it was entered in the model had a significant effect, and indicates an increasing probability of hypermobility with age. Those least likely to have been hypermobile were those in their twenties, with a probability of about 28%,

holding the other factors in the model constant. Those in the 45 and older age category had a probability of having been hypermobile of about 55%, and the intermediate age group of 30 to 45 were about 42% likely to have made multiple moves.

Although census family status was insignificant, having children in the home increased an individual's likelihood of having been hypermobile, from a probability of 0.16 for those with no children to 0.28 for those who lived with children.

As with the other models, the control variable indicating school attendance was significant. However, where it reduced return migration and mobility to reserves, it had the opposite effect on the likelihood of being hypermobile.

### **5.3 Reasons for migration**

#### ***CMA-to-Reserve Migrants***

There were significant differences found between men and women in their reasons for mobility, as shown in Table 5.8. Of people whose last move was from a Census Metropolitan Area to a reserve community, family reasons were the most commonly reported. This was true for both males and females, although a larger percentage of women than men cited family reasons for moving to a reserve community. While 27% of men who moved from cities to First Nations moved for family reasons, almost as many moved for schooling or employment reasons. Schooling or employment reasons were also the second most common reason for movement to reserves by women, although only 15.4% indicated these reasons for having moved, while 48% of women had moved for family reasons.

Table 5.9 is a crosstabulation of reasons for migration by age group. Among those who had moved to reserve communities from CMAs, younger people most commonly cited family or schooling or employment reasons. Among people who were in their twenties at the time of the survey, more than half reported that they had moved to the reserve for family reasons. This was true also of about 40% of those in the 30 to 45 year age group. Among the oldest group, those over 45 years, the most common reason for moving to reserves were "preference, affordability, or need" reasons, which were given by about 26% of the members of that age group. Family reasons were less common for this group than



the younger age groups, and “community or location reasons” were much more common among people above 45 than those in the younger age groups.

Table 5.10 shows a crosstabulation of reasons for migration by 1991 census family status. Among those who were married or living in common-law unions in 1991, and those who were lone parents, family reasons were the most common reasons for migration. Perhaps not surprisingly, this was not the case among people who were in another form of census family, or those who were not living in a census family. Among these people in the “other” family status category, community and location reasons and schooling or employment were also quite common answers to this question.

### ***Reserve-to-CMA Migrants***

Among people whose last move, made more than a year prior to the survey, was from a reserve community to a CMA, the reasons given for moving were quite different than those who had moved in the other direction. As shown in Table 5.11, almost 60% of males and a similar percentage of females reported that they had moved to the city for reasons of employment or schooling. For both genders, community or location reasons were the second most common reasons. As in the case of people whose last move was from a CMA to a reserve community, women were more likely to have given family-related reasons for this move. However, family reasons were a much less common response in the case of people moving from reserves to CMAs, than for those moving to reserves.

Among most people whose last move was to a CMA from a reserve, employment and education reasons were important. This was especially true for those above 45, 78% of whom indicated that they had moved to the CMA for schooling or employment, either for themselves or for someone else. Table 5.12 also shows that family reasons for moving to the city were most common among those in the youngest age group. This was also true for those whose last move was from the city to a reserve community, indicating that family reasons for migration are commonly given by young adults moving in either direction.

### **5.4 Summary of results:**

When drawing conclusions from this quantitative data, we must keep in mind the

limitations of the data, and the fact that the personal characteristics of the individual respondents were measured after any moves would have taken place. As well, the distribution of the residuals in the models suggests that any conclusions should be made cautiously. Nonetheless, the results of the quantitative analysis have implications for our research questions.

### ***The Amount of Migration to Reserves***

There was a large amount of migration to reserves among those who had moved to cities. Of those who had moved from a reserve community to a CMA, almost half had returned to the same reserve community within five years. This large amount of return migration further underlines its importance as a distinct phenomenon. As well approximately nine percent of Status people who lived in prairie CMAs in 1986 lived in a reserve community in 1991. While this seems to be a large amount of migration, it is consistent with reserve communities having positive net migration between 1986 and 1991 (Clatworthy, 1996).

### ***Return Migration and Human Capital***

The models give us some limited amount of support for the human capital approach to return migration, and for the view that people who return to reserves do so because of a lack of employment or poor economic success in the city. None of the socioeconomic status variables were significant in predicting return migration. However, the effects of income on migration to reserves would seem to indicate that people who move to reserves had lower incomes than those who remained in the city. It could be that some of these people have returned to their home communities due to an inability to find suitable work in the city. However, we must keep in mind the low employment rates in reserve communities, and that many people who move to a First Nation will find themselves in a poorer labour market than in the city. As well, the model controlled for the respondents' 1990 labour force activity, so that the income differentials are to some extent independent of their employment in 1990.

The effects of education are even more ambiguous. Again, education was not significant in the return migration model. Men and women with the highest levels of education were relatively unlikely to have moved to a reserve from a CMA. This would support the idea that these people who presumably have the best chances at employment in the city are less likely to have moved to a reserve. However, those who had the greatest likelihood of having moved to a reserve were men with secondary school or some post-secondary education. This is not what would be expected if those who move to First Nations are those who have the least human capital, and who find economic difficulty in the city.

It does appear, from the reasons given for migration, that many people move to urban areas from First Nations for employment or schooling reasons, and that many people who move in the opposite direction do so for family reasons. This tends to corroborate some of the other evidence on return migration that suggests that people tend to make primary moves for economic reasons, but those who return are often motivated by the pulls of friends and family.

### ***Age and Return Migration***

While age has often been found to be the only reliable predictor of migration propensities, in this case it is not clear that younger people are more likely to have returned or moved to a reserve. What was notable about the effects of the interaction between age and gender on return migration was that young women were much less likely to have returned than other categories. It may be that there is a lack of employment opportunities for young women on reserves. It may also be that some women who move to cities do so to be more independent of family constraints, and thus are more unwilling to return. However, this is only an assumption, and would require further research.

As well, it seems that people in their twenties are more likely to have given family reasons as their motivation for moving either to a city or to a reserve. This may represent a number of different motivations for moving. It might be because of people moving to a location in order to be near to their families, young parents moving to provide a better environment for their children, or people moving upon marriage. However, this does

provide evidence that even if younger people are not significantly more likely to have moved to a reserve, they might tend to do so for different reasons.

### ***Gender, Family Status, and Migration***

Other than young women being less likely to have returned to a reserve community, gender alone seems to have little effect on return migration or mobility to reserves. In the CMA-to-reserve migration model, women were less likely to have moved to a reserve than were men, among those with lower levels of education. This might be because employment opportunities on reserve are better for less-educated men, than they are for women.

Census family status did not have an effect on return mobility, but those who were married were the most likely to have moved to a First Nation. It is tempting to conclude that these people may be moving in order to provide a better environment in which to raise their children. However, the presence of children indicator was not significant in any of the models. It may be that some of those who made this move did so in order to get married, or to be with a common-law partner, as their family status is reported after the move.

Women did seem to be more likely to have moved for family reasons than were men, and this was particularly evident for those moving to a reserve from a CMA. Again this might be due to employment on First Nations communities being more available for men, leading men to move, rather than to a difference in the reasons that women undertake migration.

### ***Community Integration and Return Migration***

There is some evidence about the effect of community integration on migration that we can glean from the quantitative results. In the return and CMA-to-reserve models, those who spoke an Aboriginal language were more likely to have moved to a reserve, than those who did not speak an Aboriginal language. Knowledge of a Aboriginal language was included in the models as a proxy for ethnic identification, and these findings may indicate that those people who return may feel more strongly a part of the Aboriginal community. However, language retention is only a rough proxy for connection to the Aboriginal community, and this interpretation must be made cautiously. It should be noted that Gerber

(1984) found that communities using Aboriginal languages in their day-to-day activities tended to more members living off-reserve than did communities that used English or French, because use of official languages increased the communities' ability to secure funding for development. This does not contradict our current finding, as it is possible to find opposite effects at the individual and the aggregate levels, and the level of return migration may in any case be somewhat independent of out-migration.

### ***Circular Migration and Hypermobility***

While we were not able to positively identify circular migrants, we did find evidence of a potentially important amount of hypermobility, or the making of multiple moves between communities. Weighted to reflect the population counts, there were 4,420 Prairie residents who reported having two homes in two different communities, or who moved two or more times in the past year, out of a total Prairie population of 68, 086. This is nearly 6.5% of the Prairie Registered Indian population above the age of 20, according to the APS data, and over 90% of our sample of hypermobile migrants. Three hundred and fifty people made two or more moves in the past year, representing only five percent of the approximately 7060 people who moved between communities at least once in the past 12 months.

Those who were attending school were more likely to be hypermobile than those who were not students. We would generally have expected that being enrolled in school would limit one's movement between communities. This finding might indicate a problem with the variables used to indicate hypermobility. It is difficult to know what someone may mean when he or she says that they have two homes. A home may be a residence that one owns, or it may be a former residence or one in which family members still live. Students might consider their family's home or their community of origin to be their permanent residence, while they are away at school.

People who were hypermobile were significantly different than non-hypermobile migrants in terms of socioeconomic status. They tended to be more active in the labour force. People with some post-secondary education were the most likely to have been hypermobile. Hypermobility migrants also tended to be older. This may be because of the

relatively large number of hypermobile migrants who were classified as such because they owned homes in two communities. These people may be of high socioeconomic status simply because they are the people who can afford to have two homes. The specification of the model was not able to identify those who made multiple moves over periods of more than a year, and is largely describing those with two homes. Having dual residence is also an interesting aspect of mobility, particularly because it appears to be quite common. It may be that some of these people commute between two communities. If this is the case, dual residence may provide an innovative strategy for reconciling the benefits of living in each community. However, the results of this model make it clear that those in our sample of hypermobile migrants are generally those who are able to afford dual residence, or students, rather than those who have made a series of moves between the two locations.

Table 5.1: Percent who returned to reserve, percent who moved to reserve, and percent hypermobile, and corresponding sample sizes

<b>Demographic Variables</b>	<i>Model 1: returned to reserve</i>		<i>Model 2: CMA to reserve</i>		<i>Model 3: Hypermobility</i>	
	<b>% Returned to reserve</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>% Moved to Reserve</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>% Hypermobile</b>	<b>Total</b>
<i>Gender</i>						
Male	76.0%	125	44.6%	485	44.0%	475
Female	78.1%	160	50.0%	820	47.1%	595
<i>Age group</i>						
20 to 24	55.6%	45	44.2%	215	52.6%	285
25 to 44	74.2%	155	37.2%	780	57.4%	610
45 +	84.6%	65	30.0%	250	72.2%	180
<i>Census Family Status</i>						
Married or common-law	75.7%	185	42.9%	735	60.6%	660
Lone-parent	65.9%	44	25.0%	260	53.3%	150
All others*	81.8%	55	35.9%	320	54.9%	255
<i>Presence of children</i>						
No children in home	76.6%	235	32.6%	230	60.4%	910
Children in home	75.0%	40	38.6%	1075	46.7%	150
<i>Highest level of schooling</i>						
None to grade 10	69.2%	65	35.6%	505	56.6%	495
Grade 11 to 13	90.0%	100	26.9%	130	60.0%	75
High school certificate or some post-secondary	81.3%	80	37.5%	360	54.2%	295
Trades certificate, diploma, or some university	76.9%	65	45.1%	255	67.5%	200
<i>Total individual income</i>						
No income	50.0%	20	20.0%	125	60.0%	75
\$1 to 9,999	87.5%	120	43.9%	615	67.4%	445
\$10,000 to 19,999	62.5%	80	34.8%	330	56.9%	255
\$20,000 to 29,000	90.0%	100	33.3%	120	68.2%	110
\$30,000 +	50.0%	20	31.8%	110	70.6%	85

Table 5.1 continued

	<i>Model 1: returned to reserve</i>		<i>Model 2: CMA to reserve</i>		<i>Model 3: Hypermobility</i>	
	% Returned to reserve	Total	% Moved to reserve	Total	% Hypermobile	Total
<i>Number of weeks worked in 1990</i>						
1 to 26 weeks	71.4%	35	43.5%	230	61.1%	270
27 to 39 weeks	50.0%	20	30.0%	100	50.0%	90
40 or more weeks	55.6%	45	37.8%	225	75.3%	219
Did not work/not stated	50.0%	110	36.9%	745	50.0%	490
<b>Ethnic affinity variable</b>						
<i>Aboriginal language retention</i>						
Speaks an Aboriginal language	33.3%	30	40.9%	575	59.3%	725
Does not speak an Aboriginal language	71.0%	155	35.2%	725	56.5%	345
<b>Community-level variables</b>						
<i>Zone of residence *</i>						
Mid-North	71.4%	35	--	--	64.4%	390
South	77.1%	240	--	--	55.1%	680
<i>Population in 1986 place of residence</i>						
Under 500 people	88.6%	175	--	--	60.0%	375
500 to 1,500 people	77.8%	45	--	--	68.9%	225
Over 1,500 people	36.4%	55	--	--	51.6%	475
<b>Control Variables</b>						
<i>School attendance</i>						
Attending school full-or part-time	79.2%	240	30.0%	200	63.9%	180
Not attending school	66.7%	30	37.8%	1045	56.8%	880
<i>C-31 registrant status</i>						
Registered under C-31	57.1%	35	19.6%	280	55.0%	200
All other registrants	79.2%	240	42.2%	1030	59.2%	870
<i>Province</i>						
Manitoba	87.5%	80	35.4%	495	60.0%	325
Saskatchewan	88.0%	125	49.5%	535	56.8%	510
Alberta	46.2%	65	18.2%	275	60.0%	230
<b>Total Sample Size:</b>	100%	285	100%	1305	100.0%	1070

Source: 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey Data.

Note: Totals on each variable may differ because of rounding.

Counts are unweighted.

\* Model 1: 1986 zone of residence. Model 3: 1991 Zone of residence.



Table 5.2: Regression results for Model 1, predicting return migration to reserve

	Unst. Beta	Standard Error	Significance
<b>Demographic Variables</b>			
<i>Age group</i>			0.1075
20 to 29	-0.7389	0.4100	0.0715
30 to 35	-0.5288	0.3898	0.1747
45 and over	ref		
<i>Gender</i>			0.7546
Female	0.8348	2.6705	0.7546
Male	ref		
<i>Census family status</i>			0.0610
Married or common-law	-0.1419	0.4042	0.7255
Lone parent	-1.3053	0.6329	0.0392
Others <sup>1</sup>	ref		
<i>Presence of children</i>			0.2641
Children in the home	0.5888	0.5272	0.2641
No children in the home	ref		
<b>Socioeconomic Status Variables</b>			
<i>Highest level of schooling</i>			0.1041
Elementary-secondary only	-0.738	0.3957	0.0622
Other non-university only	0.8491	0.4533	0.0611
University with or without degree	ref		
<i>1990 Individual Total Income</i>			0.2393
No Income	2.537	10.4426	0.8080
\$1 to \$9,999	0.5351	2.6648	0.8409
\$10,000 to \$19,999	-0.4696	2.6431	0.8590
\$20,000 to \$29,999	-0.3905	2.6622	0.8834
\$30,000 +			
<i>Number of weeks worked in 1990</i>	0.006	0.0221	0.7851
<b>Ethnic affinity variable</b>			
<i>Aboriginal language retention</i>			0.0058 **
Speaks an Aboriginal language	0.7448	0.2697	0.0058
Does not speak an Aboriginal language	ref		
<b>Community characteristic variables</b>			
<i>Population of reserve of residence</i>			0.1453
Under 500 people	-0.4568	0.3902	0.2418
500 to 1,500 people	-0.5532	0.4464	0.2153
Over 1,500 people	ref		
<i>1986 Zone of residence</i>			0.0366 *
Mid-North CSD	-0.9062	0.4337	0.0366
Southern CSD	ref		
<b>Control Variables</b>			
<i>School attendance</i>			0.0125 *
Not attending school	0.895	0.3581	0.0125
Attending school	ref		
<i>Bill C-31 registrant status</i>			0.0576
Registered under C-31	-0.8734	0.4599	0.0576
All other registrants	ref		
<i>Province</i>			0.0123 *
Manitoba	0.7998	0.4785	0.0946
Saskatchewan	0.758	0.4264	0.0754
Alberta	ref		

Table 5.2, continued

<b>Interactions</b>			
<i>Family status * gender</i>			
Married or common-law * female	-0.5176	0.3932	0.4167
Lone parent * female	0.3449	0.6174	0.1890
All others * female	ref		0.5765
<i>Age * gender</i>			
20 to 29 * female	-1.1522	0.4474	0.0345 *
30 to 45 * female	0.0171	0.3694	0.0100
45 or older * female	ref		0.9630
<i>Highest level of schooling * gender</i>			
Elementary-secondary only * female	-0.3446	0.3381	0.1061
Other non-university only * female	0.9774	0.4626	0.3011
Some university * female	ref		0.0346
<i>1990 total income * gender</i>			
No income * female	-2.1337	10.4474	0.8382
\$1 to \$9,999 * female	0.4074	2.6405	0.8774
\$10,000 to 19,999 * female	0.4998	2.6410	0.8499
\$20,000 to \$29,999 * female	1.2043	2.6548	0.6501
\$30,000 or more * female	ref		0.6151
<b>Constant</b>	-1.3663	2.7174	0.6151

Source: Calculated from 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey Data.

Notes: Cox and Snell  $R^2 = .380$  Naelkerke  $R^2 = .507$ .

-2 Log Likelihood = 151.609.

N = 285.

\* significant at  $\alpha = .05$ .

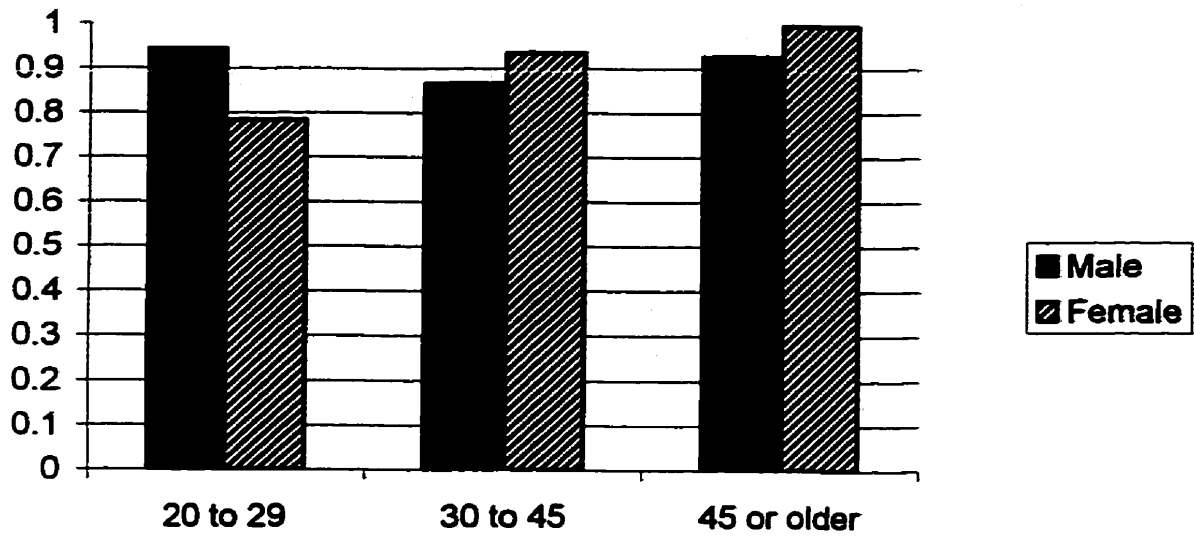
\*\* significant at  $\alpha = .01$ .

<sup>1</sup> Others include people who do not live in a census family.

DV: 1 = lived in a reserve community in 1986, in a CMA at some point between 1986 and 1991, and lived in the same reserve community in 1986.

0 = lived in a reserve community in 1986 and in a CMA in 1991.

**Figure 5.1: Probabilities of having returned to reserve, interaction of age group and gender**



Notes: Probabilities evaluated at modal categories; married or common-law, children in home, elementary-secondary only, 28 weeks worked in 1990, income \$0 to \$9,999, speaks Aboriginal language, less than 500 people in community, Southern CSD, not a Bill C-31 registrant, Manitoba.

**Table 5.3: Significant variables and their effects on probabilities of having returned to reserve**

	<u>Log-Odds</u>	<u>Probability of having moved</u>
<i>School Attendance</i>		
Not attending school	2.829	0.9442
Attending school	1.039	0.7387
<i>Province of residence</i>		
Manitoba	2.829	0.9442
Saskatchewan	2.788	0.9420
Alberta	0.472	0.6158
<i>Language retention</i>		
Speaks an Aboriginal Language	2.829	0.9442
Does not speak and Aboriginal language	1.340	0.7925
<i>Interaction of age group and gender</i>		
Male 20 to 29	2.829	0.9442
Female 20 to 29	1.285	0.7833
Male 30 to 45	1.870	0.8665
Female 30 to 45	2.664	0.9349
Male 45+	2.549	0.9275
Female 45+	5.579	0.9962

Source: Calculated from 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey data.

Notes: Return migrants are those who lived in a reserve community in 1986, lived in the same community in 1991, and who lived in a CMA at some intermediate point. Probabilities evaluated at: Male, 20 to 29, married or common-law, children in home, elementary-secondary only, 26 weeks worked in 1991, income \$0 to 9,999, speaks Aboriginal language, less than 500 people in community, Southern CSD, not a Bill C-31 registrant, Manitoba.

Table 5.4: Regression results for Model 2, predicting mobility to reserve from CMA

	Unst. Beta	Standard Error	Significance
<b>Demographic Variables</b>			
<i>Age group</i>			0.1508
20 to 29	0.1991	0.1631	0.2222
30 to 40	0.2268	0.1629	0.1639
40 to 55	-0.3172	0.1880	0.0915
55 and over	ref		
<i>Gender</i>			0.9724
Female	-0.0082	0.2360	0.9724
Male	ref		
<i>Census family status</i>			0.0169 *
Married or common-law	0.5094	0.1917	0.0079
Lone parent	-0.8077	0.3224	0.0122
Others <sup>1</sup>	ref		
<i>Presence of children</i>			0.1225
Children in the home	0.3196	0.2069	0.1225
No children in the home	ref		
<b>Socioeconomic Status Variables</b>			
<i>Highest level of schooling</i>			0.1718
No schooling to grade 10	0.1922	0.1627	0.2375
Grade 11 to 13	-0.4973	0.2561	0.0522
Secondary school certificate or non-university Trades certificate, diploma, or university	0.2880	0.1663	0.0833
	ref		
<i>1990 Individual Total Income</i>			0.0058 **
No Income	-0.2798	0.4320	0.5172
\$1 to \$9,999	0.6780	0.1851	0.0002
\$10,000 to \$19,999	0.0259	0.2027	0.8985
\$20,000 to \$29,999	-0.2030	0.2870	0.4794
\$30,000 +	ref		
<i>Number of weeks worked in 1990</i>	0.0030	0.0074	0.6798
<b>Ethnic affinity variable</b>			
<i>Aboriginal language retention</i>			0.0004 **
Speaks an Aboriginal language	0.3354	0.0954	0.0004
Does not speak an Aboriginal language	ref		
<b>Control Variables</b>			
<i>School attendance</i>			0.8097
Not attending school	0.0324	0.1345	0.8097
Attending school	ref		
<i>Bill C-31 registrant status</i>			0.0000 **
Registered under C-31	-0.7511	0.1417	0.0000
All other registrants			
<i>Province</i>			0.0000 **
Manitoba	0.1117	0.1317	0.3961
Saskatchewan	0.6569	0.1299	0.0000
Alberta	ref		

Table 5.4, continued

<b>Interactions</b>			
<i>Family status * gender</i>			0.9253
Married or common-law * female	-0.0673	0.1909	0.7243
Lone parent * female	0.1156	0.3219	0.7194
All others * female	ref		
<i>Age * gender</i>			0.3977
20 to 29 * female	-0.0281	0.1578	0.8585
30 to 39 * female	-0.2079	0.1646	0.2066
40 to 55 * female	0.2399	0.1891	0.2045
55 or older * female	ref		
<i>Highest level of schooling * gender</i>			0.0057 **
No schooling to grade 10 * female	0.2049	0.1560	0.1891
Grade 11 to 13 * female	-0.5192	0.2542	0.0411
Secondary school certificate or non-university * fe	-0.2216	0.1623	0.1721
Trades certificate, diploma, or university * female	ref		
<i>1990 total income * gender</i>			0.0882
No income * female	-0.6849	0.4171	0.1006
\$1 to \$9,999 * female	-0.1346	0.1703	0.4293
\$10,000 to 19,999 * female	0.3375	0.2006	0.0925
\$20,000 to \$29,999 * female	0.3960	0.2768	0.1525
\$30,000 or more * female	ref		
<b>Constant</b>	-4.0136	0.3313	0.0000

Source: Calculated from 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey data.

Notes: Cox and Snell  $R^2 = .080$  Nagelkerke  $R^2 = .188$ .

-2 Log Likelihood = 954.993.

N= 1305.

\* significant at  $\alpha = .05$ .

\*\* significant at  $\alpha = .01$ .

<sup>1</sup> Others include people who do not live in a census family.

DV: 1= Lived in a CMA on June 4, 1986 and in a reserve community on June 4 1991.

0 = Lived in a CMA on June 4, 1986 and in the same CMA on June 4, 1991.

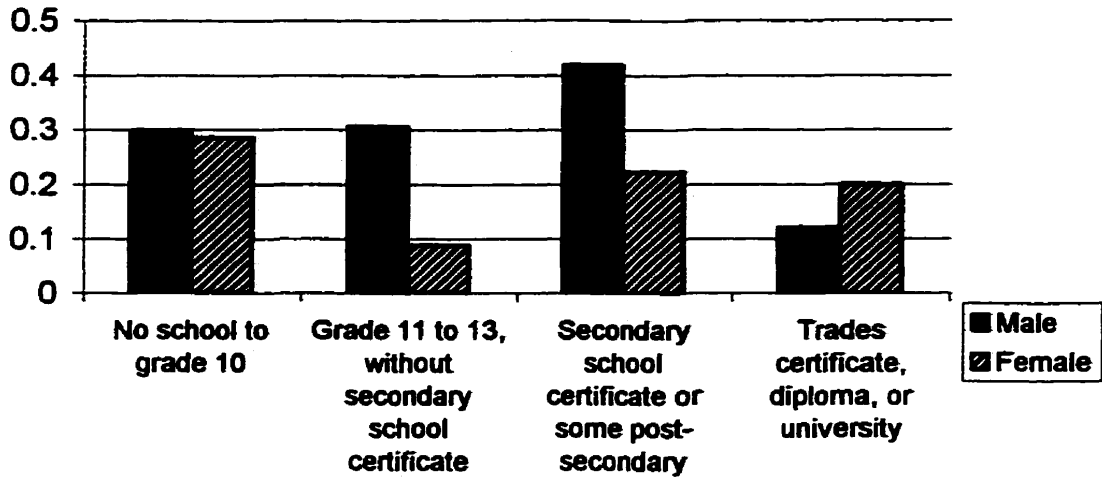
**Table 5.5: Significant variables and their effects on probabilities of having moved from a CMA to a reserve between 1986 and 1991**

	<u>Log-Odds</u>	<u>Probability of having moved</u>
<i>Census Family Status</i>		
Married or common-law	-0.8514	0.2991
Lone parent	-1.7166	0.1523
Other	-1.7163	0.1523
<i>Province of residence</i>		
Manitoba	-0.8514	0.2991
Saskatchewan	-0.3062	0.4240
Alberta	-1.7317	0.1504
<i>Aboriginal Language Retention</i>		
Does not speak and Aboriginal language	-1.5222	0.1791
Speaks an Aboriginal language	-0.8514	0.2991
<i>Bill C-31 Registrant Status</i>		
Bill C-31 registrant	-2.3536	0.0868
All other registrants	-0.8514	0.2991
<i>Total 1990 Individual Income</i>		
No Income	-1.2589	0.2212
\$1 to \$9,999	-0.8514	0.2991
\$10,000 to \$19,999	-1.9756	0.1218
\$20,000 to \$29,999	-2.2630	0.0942
\$30,000 +	-1.9711	0.1223
<i>Education and Gender Interaction</i>		
<i>Males</i>		
Less than grade 10	-0.8514	0.2991
Grade 11 to 13	-0.8168	0.3064
Secondary school certificate or some post-secondary	-0.3291	0.4185
Trade or post-secondary diploma, certificate, or some university	-1.9857	0.1207
<i>Females</i>		
Less than grade 10	-0.9180	0.2854
Grade 11 to 13	-2.3316	0.0885
Secondary school certificate or some post-secondary	-1.2487	0.2229
Trade or post-secondary diploma, certificate, or some university	-1.3903	0.1994

Source: Calculated from 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey Data.

Notes: Probabilities evaluated at: Male, 20 to 29 years, married or common-law, children at home, elementary-secondary only, 26 weeks worked, \$0 to 9,999, speaks an Aboriginal language, Not a Bill C-31 registrant, Manitoba. Migrants include those who lived in a CMA in 1986, and who lived in a reserve community in 1991.

**Figure 5.2: Probabilities of having moved from a CMA to a reserve community, interaction of education and gender**



Notes: Probabilities evaluated at categories; 20 to 29, married or common-law, children present, 26 weeks worked in 1990, \$0 to 9,999, speaks an Aboriginal language, not a Bill C-31 registrant, Manitoba.



Table 5.6: Regression results for Model 3, predicting hypermobility

	Unst. Beta	Standard Error	Significance
<b>Demographic Variables</b>			
<i>Age group</i>			0.0000 **
20 to 29	-0.5892	0.1277	0.0000
30 to 35	0.0341	0.1272	0.7884
45 and over	ref		
<i>Gender</i>			0.1050
Female	-0.4040	0.2492	0.1050
Male	ref		
<i>Census family status</i>			0.9254
Married or common-law	-0.0427	0.1584	0.7877
Lone parent	0.1069	0.2716	0.6937
Others <sup>1</sup>	ref		
<i>Presence of children</i>			0.0452 *
Children in the home	0.3706	0.1849	0.0452
No children in the home	ref		
<b>Socioeconomic Status Variables</b>			
<i>Highest level of schooling</i>			0.1324
No schooling to grade 10	-0.0723	0.1454	0.6187
Grade 11 to 13	0.1252	0.1944	0.5197
Secondary school certificate or non-university	-0.3287	0.1570	0.0364
Trades certificate, diploma, or university	ref		
<i>1990 Individual Total Income</i>			0.5974
No Income	0.3942	0.3305	0.2330
\$1 to \$9,999	0.0238	0.1743	0.8912
\$10,000 to \$19,999	-0.1177	0.1796	0.5125
\$20,000 to \$29,999	0.0747	0.2470	0.7622
\$30,000 +	ref		
<i>Number of weeks worked in 1990</i>			0.0000 **
1 to 26 weeks	-0.2202	0.1608	0.1707
27 to 39 weeks	-0.5384	0.2009	0.0074
40 or more weeks	1.4877	0.2280	0.0000
Did not work in 1990	ref		
<b>Ethnic affinity variable</b>			
<i>Aboriginal language retention</i>			0.5766 **
Speaks an Aboriginal language	-0.0540	0.0967	0.5766
Does not speak an Aboriginal language	ref		
<b>Community characteristic variables</b>			
<i>1986 Zone of residence</i>			0.0008 **
Mid-North CSD	0.3665	0.1089	0.0008
Southern CSD	ref		
<b>Control Variables</b>			
<i>School attendance</i>			0.0000 **
Not attending school	-0.5622	0.1185	0.0000
Attending school	ref		
<i>Bill C-31 registrant status</i>			0.1078
Registered under C-31	-0.1661	0.1033	0.1078
All other registrants	ref		
<i>Province</i>			0.3980
Manitoba	-0.0622	0.1159	0.5914
Saskatchewan	-0.1050	0.1174	0.3714
Alberta	ref		

Table 5.6, continued

<b>Interactions</b>			
<i>Family status * gender</i>			
Married or common-law * female	-0.0572	0.1565	0.2512
Lone parent * female	-0.2555	0.2710	0.3458
All others * female	ref		
<i>Highest level of schooling * gender</i>			
No schooling to grade 10 * female	-0.1323	0.1335	0.3215
Grade 11 to 13 * female	0.2028	0.1899	0.2854
Secondary school certificate or non-university * female	-0.3850	0.1509	0.0107
Trades certificate, diploma, or university * female	ref		
<i>1990 total income * gender</i>			
No income * female	0.3995	0.3039	0.1890
\$1 to \$9,999 * female	-0.2432	0.1567	0.1206
\$10,000 to 19,999 * female	0.3015	0.1717	0.0791
\$20,000 to \$29,999 * female	-0.0923	0.2335	0.6926
\$30,000 or more * female	ref		
<b>Constant</b>	1.1838	0.2408	0.0000

Source: 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey Data.

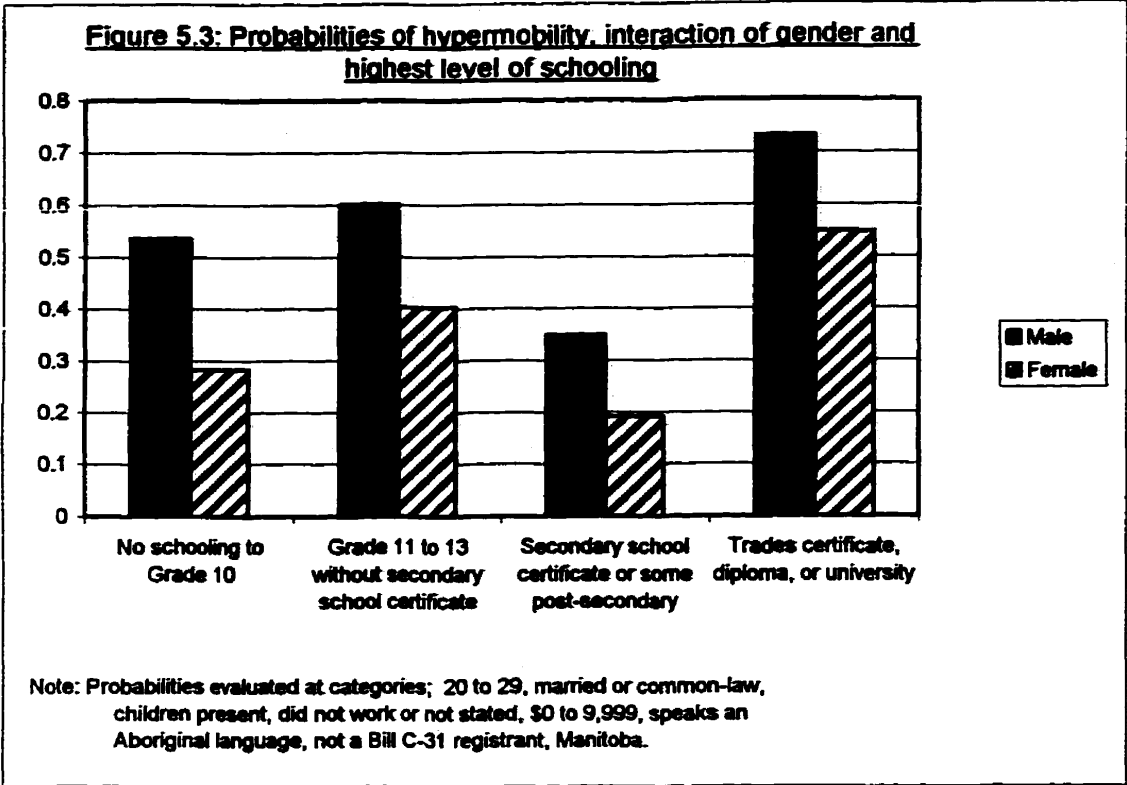
Notes: Cox and Snell  $R^2 = .214$  Nagelkerke  $R^2 = .291$ .  
 -2 Log Likelihood = 983.728.  
 N= 1070.

\* significant at  $\alpha = .05$ .

\*\* significant at  $\alpha = .01$ .

<sup>1</sup> Others include people who do not live in a census family.

DV: 1= Made 2 or more moves between different communities in the past year,  
 or had 2 homes in 2 different communities.



**Table 5.7: Significant variables and their effects on probabilities of having made two or more moves between two different communities, or having two homes in two communities, Prairie Provinces, 1991.**

	<u>Log-Odds</u>	<u>Probability of having been hypermobile</u>
<i>Age group</i>		
20 to 29	-0.9279	0.2834
30 to 45	-0.3046	0.4244
45 and older	0.2164	0.5539
<i>Presence of children in the home</i>		
Children in the home	-0.9279	0.2834
No children in the home	-1.6691	0.1585
<i>School attendance</i>		
Attending school	0.1965	0.5490
Not attending school	-0.9279	0.2834
<i>Weeks worked in 1990</i>		
1 to 26 weeks	-0.4190	0.3968
26 to 39 weeks	-0.7372	0.3236
40 or more weeks	1.2889	0.7840
Did not work/Not stated	-0.9279	0.2834
<i>Highest Level of Schooling by Gender interaction</i>		
<i>Males</i>		
Less than grade 10	0.1447	0.5361
Grade 11 to 13	0.4127	0.6017
Secondary school certificate or some post-secondary	-0.6290	0.3477
Trade or post-secondary diploma, certificate, or some university	1.0037	0.7318
<i>Females</i>		
Less than grade 10	-0.9279	0.2834
Grade 11 to 13	-0.3953	0.4024
Secondary school certificate or some post-secondary	-1.4370	0.1920
Trade or post-secondary diploma, certificate, or some university	0.1957	0.5488

Source: 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey Data.

Notes: Probabilities calculated at; female, 20 to 29, married or common-law, less than Grade 10, \$1 to 9,999, did not work/not stated, speaks an Aboriginal language, Mid-North CSD in 1991, not attending school, not a Bill C-31 registrant, Manitoba. Hypermobile migrants includes those who has moved 2 or more times between communities in the past year, or who had 2 homes in 2 different communities.

**Table 5.8: Reasons for Migration by gender, CMA to Reserve Migrants, Prairie Provinces**

	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Family	120	27.0%	250	48.1%	370	0.0%
Community, location	55	12.4%	55	10.6%	110	0.0%
Schooling						
or employment (1)	110	24.7%	80	15.4%	190	0.0%
Health or Housing (2)	75	16.9%	60	11.5%	135	0.0%
Preference, affordability,						
or need	85	19.1%	75	14.4%	160	0.0%
Total	445	100.0%	520	100.0%	965	—

Pearson Chi-square= 47.606

d. f. = 4

Significance = .000

Source: 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey Data.

Notes: Migrants include people whose last move was from a Census Metropolitan Area to a reserve community, and who had not moved in the previous year. Data are weighted to represent the population counts. Counts are rounded.

Prairie Provinces include Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta.

1) Include the schooling or employment of the respondent or of someone else.

2) Include health reasons of the respondent or of someone else, new house, house provided by a band, housing that was better than previous housing, or that previous housing was uninhabitable.

**Table 5.9: Reasons for Migration by age group in 1991, CMA to Reserve Migrants,  
Prairie Provinces**

	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>
<i>Aged 20 to 29</i>		
Family	140	52.8%
Community, location	10	3.8%
Schooling or employment (1)	65	24.5%
Health or Housing (2)	20	7.5%
Preference, affordability, or need	30	11.3%
<i>Total</i>	<i>265</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
<i>Aged 30 to 45</i>		
Family	195	39.8%
Community, location	45	9.2%
Schooling or employment	95	19.4%
Health or Housing	90	18.4%
Preference, affordability, or need	65	13.3%
<i>Total</i>	<i>490</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
<i>Aged 45 and older</i>		
Family	35	16.7%
Community, location	55	26.2%
Schooling or employment	20	9.5%
Health or Housing	35	16.7%
Preference, affordability, or need	65	31.0%
<i>Total</i>	<i>210</i>	<i>100.0%</i>

Pearson Chi-square=161.480, 8 degrees of freedom  
Significance = .000

Source: 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey Data.

Notes: Migrants include people whose last move was from a Census Metropolitan Area to a reserve community, and who had not moved in the previous year. Data are weighted to represent the population counts. Counts are rounded. Prairie Provinces include Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta.  
1) Include the schooling or employment of the respondent or of someone else.  
2) Include health reasons of the respondent or of someone else, new house, house provided by a band, housing that was better than previous housing, or that previous housing was uninhabitable.

**Table 5.10: Reasons for Migration by Census family status in 1991, CMA to Reserve migrants, Prairie Provinces**

	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>
<i>Married or common-law families</i>		
Family	280	39.4%
Community, location	65	9.2%
Schooling or employment (1)	140	19.7%
Health or Housing (2)	120	16.9%
Preference, affordability, or need (3)	105	14.8%
<i>Total</i>	<i>710</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
<i>Lone-Parent families</i>		
Family	60	46.2%
Community, location	15	11.5%
Schooling or employment	15	11.5%
Health or Housing	15	11.5%
Preference, affordability, or need	25	19.2%
<i>Total</i>	<i>130</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
<i>Others, including those not living in a census family</i>		
Family	30	22.2%
Community, location	35	25.9%
Schooling or employment	30	22.2%
Health or Housing	15	11.1%
Preference, affordability, or need	25	18.5%
<i>Total</i>	<i>135</i>	<i>100.0%</i>

Pearson Chi-square= 62.034, 8 degrees of freedom  
Significance = .000

Source: 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey Data

Notes: Migrants include people whose last move was from a Census Metropolitan Area to a reserve community, and who had not moved in the previous year. Data are weighted to represent the population counts. Counts are rounded. Prairie Provinces include Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta.  
1) Include the schooling or employment of the respondent or of someone else.  
2) Include health reasons of the respondent or of someone else, new house, house provided by a band, housing that was better than previous housing, or that previous housing was uninhabitable.

**Table 5.11: Reasons for Migration by gender, reserve-to-CMA migrants, Prairie Provinces**

	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Family	15	6.1%	40	11.3%	55	0.0%
Community, location	55	22.4%	65	18.3%	120	0.0%
Schooling						
or employment (1)	145	59.2%	210	59.2%	355	0.0%
Health or Housing (2)	10	4.1%	25	7.0%	35	0.0%
Preference, affordability,						
or need	20	8.2%	15	4.2%	35	0.0%
Total	245	100.0%	355	100.0%	600	-

Pearson Chi-square= 18.967

d. f. = 4

Significance = .001

Source: 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey Data.

Notes: Migrants include people whose last move was from a reserve to a Metropolitan Area, and who had not moved in the previous year. Data are weighted to represent the population counts. Counts are rounded.

- 1) Include the schooling or employment of the respondent or of someone else.
- 2) Include health reasons of the respondent or of someone else, new house, house provided by a band, housing that was better than previous housing, or that previous housing was uninhabitable.



**Table 5.12: Reasons for Migration by age group in 1991, Reserve to CMA migrants, Prairie Provinces**

	<u>Count</u>	<u>Percent</u>
<i>Aged 20 to 29</i>		
Family	30	23.1%
Community, location	15	11.5%
Schooling or employment (1)	65	50.0%
Health or Housing (2)	10	7.7%
Preference, affordability, or need	10	7.7%
<i>Total</i>	<i>130</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
<i>Aged 30 to 45</i>		
Family	10	4.5%
Community, location	100	45.5%
Schooling or employment	85	38.6%
Health or Housing	10	4.5%
Preference, affordability, or need	15	6.8%
<i>Total</i>	<i>220</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
<i>Aged 45 and older</i>		
Family	20	7.8%
Community, location	10	3.9%
Schooling or employment	200	78.4%
Health or Housing	15	5.9%
Preference, affordability, or need	10	3.9%
<i>Total</i>	<i>255</i>	<i>100.0%</i>

Pearson Chi-square=194.148, 8 degrees of freedom  
Significance = .000

Source: 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey Data.

Notes: Migrants include people whose last move was from a reserve to a census metropolitan area, and who had not moved in the previous year. Data are weighted to represent the population counts. Counts are rounded.

Prairie Provinces include Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta.

1) Include the schooling or employment of the respondent or of someone else.

2) Include health reasons of the respondent or of someone else, new house, house provided by a band, housing that was better than previous housing, or that previous housing was uninhabitable.

## **Chapter 6. Moving Between Two Worlds: Analysis of the Interview Data**

The qualitative interviews provided valuable information about several aspects of the overall process of migration between First Nations and urban areas. The research participants gave insights into the motivations that lead people to make the initial move into the city, including a lack of adequate housing in their communities, high unemployment, and poor access to health services, as well as mobility to attend school at various levels. Some participants felt strongly that some migration was triggered by political changes in their communities, and by the way in which jobs and housing were distributed. Some people, particularly younger participants, also suggested the importance of the attraction of the excitement of an urban lifestyle, fuelled by boredom and lack of opportunity in their communities. The relatively higher mobility of women from First Nations communities into the city was explained by some participants as resulting from a lack of employment that was considered appropriate to women. Others saw women as generally more willing to take risks, to move in the interests of their families, and to seek education and employment elsewhere. Some also suggested that some women may move to the city in order to escape domestic abuse.

The participants also gave their impressions about the reasons that people might return to their home communities and the issues that people face upon moving to the city, and the amount of return migration that occurs. Participants commonly mentioned the pull of community life, and the importance of contact with their extended families, along with the relative lack of community support in the city. The fast pace and impersonal nature of much of urban life were seen by most participants as drawbacks to living in the city. As well, crime in urban areas was a major concern for urban residents, and many considered their home communities to be safer and better places in which to raise children.

The interview participants also indicated that there may be a large amount of circular migration, or the making of multiple moves between First Nations communities and the city. Some claimed that this was a declining pattern of mobility, and most thought that younger people were more likely to make multiple moves. Some participants thought that the reasons for these multiple moves were similar to those for primary and return mobility.

Some participants indicated that they thought that people who had less connection to the community were more likely to make multiple moves. Migration back to home communities at retirement was frequently mentioned by the participants, as was the possibility that many people may commute daily between the two areas, and were thus able to exploit the strengths of the city and their home communities.

### **6.1 Moving to the City: motivations for primary migration**

While it was to be expected that many of the underlying motivations might be economic, and that mobility in search of employment would be common, there were a number of other issues that were cited as reasons for leaving First Nations in favour of the city. Of course, people's reasons for deciding to move are all shaped by their own unique situations and personalities. However, there were several reasons that participants commonly mentioned when describing what they thought led people to move. These reasons included the availability of health care services, education, the availability and conditions of housing on reserves, and the availability of other city amenities and leisure activities, as well as a tendency for young people to be attracted by the promise of excitement and escape from boredom.

In general, I think, from what I remember, it's economics- a better place to live. I know in (my community)...there was just better things up here (in the city) like running water, indoor toilets, stuff like that. Access to things, maybe. Maybe they can go to a picture, stores, and things.

...For my community, housing was an issue and it continues to be. Despite the number of houses that have been built in my community, there's still a huge waiting list of...maybe two hundred people waiting in line for housing there. So, people, they end up getting crowded out of the house they're living in because kids start having kids and stuff like that...getting families, they need to move out, so they come to the city. Job-wise, too, some people find jobs here that they can work at. Education, maybe.

(Male, 40-49)

It's the jobs. Jobs on the reserves are short. They're hard to come by if you don't know anybody, type of thing....It's, like, overcrowding. I've lived in plenty of houses where there's three children to a single bed, or something. It's overcrowding, and you want to find a job. There's no jobs on reserves. So, I think people, most of my friends and cousins have moved for jobs.

(Male, 30-39)

...for many years, and I don't think it's changed much, it's that people leaving the rural area to come into the city is usually job-related. They're looking for jobs, employment, or they come in for health purposes, if they have to go to the hospital or doctor's appointments. I know with our family, we had the older relatives come in the summer, because they couldn't live the winter on the reserves because these are older people, seniors.

(Female, 40-49)

Education....I don't know if that's the most common, but that's my reason. I also think lack of access to services, I think is a big, big reason, because there's nothing out here (on the reserve), there's no economy. There's just housing.

(Female, 20-29)

People move from First Nations into the city because of the better quality of education (that) is available in the urban setting. Employment. The unemployment figures is anywhere from 70 percent to 90 percent unemployment. Better access to health services, social services, medical services, hospital services. Also the other activities a town or a city would (have), that they don't have on a reserve. For the isolated communities, some of the people might move in for medical reasons. They might have complications from diabetes, cancer, those kind of things, those kinds of diseases we never had before are now getting more prevalent in our communities. These are some of the reasons why, I think.

(Male, 20-29)

Several people suggested that many decisions to move are taken in the family context, and that parents see moving as a means by which they may better provide for their children, as well as give their children better opportunities. Some of these people had themselves moved for their children, and some had moved as children with their parents.

[It's] more than jobs. I mean, I think it's an opportunity to do what's best for your family. You know, if you live in an environment where things were, status quo, things were not happening, you obviously move. In today's environment, if you're not happy with your job and things remain the same, you move on. We do the same thing as a people.

...I mean, there's hardly any jobs in the community. If you take a look at any community, with the exception of probably two or three here in Manitoba, the major employers are the Band office and the local schools. Other than that, there's nothing. There's no industry.

(Male, 40-49)

Overall, the participants indicated that while mobility for employment opportunities is important, other implications of a lack of economic development on reserves were also involved in people's decisions to move, including a lack of housing and social and medical services. As well, several participants suggested that there may be a desire on the part of young people to move to the city in order to experience what they believe to be a more exciting urban lifestyle, and to escape from boredom. This young woman thought that the problem of boredom or lack of activities on reserves led young people to want to move into the city, but that there were also benefits to living near family. She suggested that these feelings were probably similar for young people living in rural non-Aboriginal communities in the same area.

You get to feeling isolated, too. Like this whole side of the reserve...is my whole family, and I'm kind of used to it, the day-to-day goings on. But I get depressed too because I get isolated here too. I feel isolated and I want to have access to services, and I want to, you know, get involved in things, and I can't do that here because I don't have a vehicle, and it can get to be really depressing. It's the same issues with the

farmers, too, in the rural communities... I don't feel fulfilled at all. Really, I don't. I need other things to, you know, do and stuff.

(Female, 20-29)

One male participant of the same age suggested that young people become enchanted with urban lifestyles because of the influence of television in Northern communities:

Because they watch TV, they see TV and it's big lights, big city. Everything, you know, gets a little crowded, so you just leave for something better, thinking that you might be able to find a better life in the city. ...It's just that they get hypnotized by it. "Well, the closest place I'll get to Hollywood is Winnipeg. Let's go". I call it a syndrome. "Bright Lights, Big City syndrome"....I think they get that idea off TV, because you watch a lot of TV and it's all Southern TV. It's not Northern lifestyles.

(Male 20-29).

As well as pointing out the lack of employment opportunities and housing on reserves as common reasons for people to move into the city, several participants identified what they saw as inequities in the ways in which housing and employment were distributed leading to migration in some cases. These participants saw employment and housing used as political currency in communities in which jobs and houses are scarce. Several participants identified this as a problem which some communities must address.

...the other thing is the politics at the reserve level...if you're a small family, that you never get what you want from the people or the family that rules in the First Nation communities....It's a reality, and I think it's got to be brought out. It's the same as any little town. Like, if you have a big family in a little town then it's the big family that rules- it's the same system.

(Male, 50+).

I know that there's people moved out of my community because of politics, like some have moved back because of politics, and some have moved away because of politics.

Certain chiefs got elected, and they move back, kind of thing...so those people were kind of left in limbo when the old chief resigned (laughs).

(Male, 40-49).

I'm not saying I would never go back to my community, I still have brothers and sisters that live out there. But, you know, there would have to be an opportunity without me becoming a yes-man for a local politician.

(Male, 40-49).

One participant told of how a political change influenced his own mobility:

...After that, there was a change in government. They elected a new Chief and Council. They guy I knew who got in as chief didn't like me, so I was out of a job....so I had to come back into Winnipeg, and I've lived in Winnipeg, in the North End ever since.

(Male, 50+)

Another saw problems with the current political system, although he recognized that he was privileged by it.

...me and my family, we had a long line of being in office. So, if you're family's in office, you're more likely to end up working either full-time or seasonal (than) if your family wasn't in office. For some people, they say, "Oh yeah, right on.....[a relative] got in as chief, right on. We're all getting jobs". You still hear that in the city. I've heard some people say they're going to move back home because one of their relatives got in office. So they can get a job. (Male, 20-29)

Along with crime, substance abuse was mentioned as a problem in some communities which may lead people to leave. One woman in her twenties said that her mother had moved the family to the city because of alcoholism in their community. Some people said that widespread drinking in their home communities was not the reason that they moved to the city, but that it provided a disincentive for them to return. For others,

though, alcoholism was a problem more associated with the city, and which made their living in their home community more attractive for themselves and their children.

### *The Costs of Distance and Remoteness*

Several participants suggested that the lack of services and amenities on reserves was exacerbated by remoteness, and the increased prices for necessities in Northern communities and communities that are without year-round road access. While none of the participants themselves had moved to Winnipeg from more than 600 kilometres north of Winnipeg, they suggested that things were more difficult and expensive in remote communities, and that this would provide an additional incentive for people from those communities to move into the city. The cost of milk, gasoline, and other necessities were cited by a number of people as reasons to move into the city from Northern communities, and some thought that these reasons could be particularly compelling in the case of a family with young children.

A lack of health services were also seen as a particular problem in northern and remote communities, and some participants thought that this led people with health problems, and older people in particular, to move to the city on a temporary or permanent basis in order to receive treatment.

...I know people some people from up North especially, and there's a few from (my community), who, because of health reasons, needed to be in the city. Like, if they're on dialysis or something, like physiotherapy or whatever, where they couldn't travel back and forth.

(Male, 40-49)

Distance and remoteness were also suggested by participants as factors which could prevent people from returning to their home communities. In particular, road access was thought by some to be an important factor in accessibility. While reducing the costs of out-migration, and making it easier for people to leave in the first place, road access was also thought to make it easier for people who had left to return, or to move more easily between



the city and the reserve. Communities without road access, on the other hand, were thought by some participants to lose more migrants permanently.

Some people from up North or fly-in communities are, once you make a move you're kind of forced to stay for a period of time. You move, buy all your furniture, and if you're going to move back, sell all your furniture. I think for the ones that are down south here and connected by highway, or even the ones that are up north connected by highway, their accessibility is (greater).

(Male, 40-49)

For the communities that aren't accessible by road, they tend to lose their children. They generally don't come back because it's so hard, or it's so expensive. So they'll move to a closer reserve. Where I'm from, it's not a problem. If I want to go home and come back to the city, no sweat. But when you're closer to the city, an hour away, you're not losing anybody. The mobility's so there. I know people from the Eastern side of Manitoba. There's no roads. It's like eight hundred dollars to fly. They don't go home that often. It's cheaper to live in the city than to fly home or even go home, so those communities, those are the ones that I'm also worried about.

(Male, 20-29)

As well, remoteness was thought to contribute to a lack of information about the city, because there was less chance that migrants from communities that were very far away from the city, or with poor access would know someone who had been to the city, and who could provide them with information. People also seemed to think that the cultural difference between more isolated communities and urban areas was greater, and that this led to much greater problems in adjustment.

## **6.2 The Disadvantages of the city**

While there were many reasons for which people may choose to leave their home communities in favour of the city, there were also problems associated with life in the city that the participants suggested as reasons that people might return to their home

communities. Situations in the city that were thought to provide "pushes" back to reserves included problems associated with cultural adjustment to an urban lifestyle, racism and discrimination in employment and housing, the perception of crime in the city, and the cost of living in the city.

Issues of adjustment to the pace and expectations of life in the city were frequently mentioned by participants. For the most part, they thought that people who moved to the city were often quite unprepared for the significant adjustments that must be made in order to adapt to an urban lifestyle. Often, this was thought to be more severe for people who moved to the city from more remote communities, where the differences between rural and urban lifestyles are more pronounced, and where people may have had less contact with people who have urban experience, and who could provide information.

(When some people first come to the city), they don't know where anything is, if they want to go out, even to a movie. I'll give you an example. The people that come from way, way up North, they come here and you tell them to go for a walk. They won't because they'll get lost.  
(Female, 40-49)

Many people described the fast pace of city life as a drawback, and a shock.

What I first noticed when I moved to Winnipeg was the speed of everything. It seemed like even the people walked fast. Busses went fast. Everybody drove fast. If you didn't cross the street when the light exactly said to cross, you'd get run over. Where I'm from, you didn't have to look to cross the street. Nobody's running anywhere. No cars are driving fast, really. It's just, everything is too much. I mean, a lot of times it's too easy to party down here, too. There's parties all the time. Like, this city never sleeps. You can do whatever you want down here, and I think it just overwhelms some people.  
(Male, 20-29)

...it's constant movement. You know, everything's on the go all the time. Life's much slower in the country. A lot of

things that people think are important; time, money, cars, are not important in a First Nations community.

(Female 40-49)

The city thinks for you. Even the streetlights can be scary.

(Female, 60+)

One woman suggested that part of the problem of integration to the urban environment was a lack of information about what to expect in the city. She suggested that active dissemination of information would alleviate many problems that people had upon moving to the city.

I think what's needed, and it's most important, is to have them oriented. Orient them to what kind of services the city offers. How to take a bus. Even how to ride an elevator. Those kinds of things. Where's the nearest grocery store, and how do you get there? And where's the bank? Those kinds of things. If you need to go for appointments, where do you go for that? Do you ask somebody? So, that's what's really important, to do orientation.

(Female, 40-49)

Some people suggested that people who move to the city may have difficulties obtaining the required services, because of cultural differences, as well as intolerance in the city.

They have a lot of difficulty because they don't know where to go for help. And the kind of responses they get is not very positive at times. I went with this person to apply for welfare, and even me, I thought, "If I was just coming here, I would really have problems". Because they sit there and sit there, and Native people are, you only speak when you're spoken to, when somebody talks to you. And even when you have a discussion, you don't interrupt people when they're talking. That's the custom. And they could sit there forever. And the kind of responses they get, oh my God. So, it's very hard for them to adjust because it's strange, and the kinds of things you do. Your neighbour- you could go talk to your neighbour if you want something. Maybe I can use the phone, you know? And they don't respond to you. "Who are

you", you know? That kind of thing. So, it's very hard to adjust.  
(Female, 40-49)

Some participants described First Nations and the city as "two different worlds", in which culture, language, and even norms of dress were so totally different that one could not expect people to adjust easily from one to the other. These participants suggested that discrimination in hiring and the general intolerance of the larger community made things even more difficult for recent migrants, and made them more likely to want to move home.

One problem with life in the city that was commonly cited was the perception of a large amount of crime in the city. This problem was linked by most participants to the difficulty of finding employment in the city, and the tendency for Aboriginal people to live in what the participants perceived as low-income, high-crime areas. Crime was cited as a problem for people in terms of their own personal safety, but also as a threat to the well-being of their children, whom they feared were susceptible to becoming involved in crime, especially street gangs. One woman who moved to the city, and whose mother remained in the reserve community, described her mother as being "terrified" about the things she saw on the news from the city. Others were concerned for their children.

Probably one of the biggest disadvantages (to living in the city) I would see, personally, I hate to say it, but it's probably the gang activities. Frankly, the ability for young people to get into trouble is probably the biggest disadvantage. All of a sudden, that dream is gone by the wayside, and there's other opportunities which are negative in nature, but they become involved in.

...Let's face it, youth, being a kid, being a teenager's all about fitting in. You know, you find a place to fit in, and...in the cities, it's probably gang activity.  
(Male, 40-49)

...if they're not helped within their family, if they're new into a city, then what they'll end up is, they'll look for a house or an apartment. They'll be put in the core area, and those are the high crime areas.  
(Male 50-59)

One man suggested that the main reason that he had returned to his home community was that he thought it was a better, safer place in which to raise children.

...But the reason I moved back, the fundamental reason I moved home is because the city wasn't a place I wanted to raise my kids. I wanted to raise them on the reserve.  
(Male, 40-49)

As mentioned previously, several participants mentioned alcohol and drug abuse as disadvantages to living in the city. The increased availability of alcohol in the city was seen by some as a danger to young people especially, because it could provide a distraction from employment or educational goals that were the reasons for moving to the city in the first place. As with crime, some people mentioned drugs and alcohol in the city as reasons to move their families back to their home communities. While some people had indicated that people might move to the city to escape substance abuse on reserves, some may find more abuse in the city than in their home communities.

As we have seen, in the interviews people expressed that there are both advantages and problems associated with living in the city. While the relative advantages of the city in terms of labour market and availability of services might lead some people to decide to move from a First Nations community to an urban area, it is clear that not everyone who moves to the city stays there. One major concern of this project was to learn how important return and circular migration patterns are, and what specific reasons people see as influencing the decision to return.

### **6.3 Mobility Patterns and Strategies**

#### *The Importance of Return and Circular Migration*

When asked whether or not most people who moved to the city remained in the city, there was a range of responses from that of one woman who claimed that, "we all eventually return", and who had herself returned to a reserve, to others who thought that

most of the people who left their reserves remained in the city. Of the participants themselves, about half either lived on-reserve at the time of the interview, or indicated that they intended to return at some point, while the other half said that they were not planning on returning. Many participants described at least a component of the migrant population as making multiple moves between the reserve and the city. Usually, the idea of multiple moves between reserves and urban areas, or of circular migration, was brought up by the participants early in the interviews, without the interviewer asking about this particular form of migration. In fact, multiple movements between the reserve and the city were mentioned in all but one interview, suggesting that circulation is perceived as an important pattern of mobility.

Most people who saw this pattern of circular movement as important saw it predominantly occurring among the young, and that as people grew older, they were more inclined to settle down.

I'd say a lot of the younger people. There's a lot of moving back and forth. People come and move to the city and try it out, and then move back. For a lot of these people, I guess the reserves are a home base, and they're also...well, there's always insurance in case things don't work out. You've always got someplace to go.

(Male, 30-39)

I think the older ones would actually just stay on the reserve. Like, I don't think they're the ones that are moving, because that's where they belong, and that's where they live. But the younger, and the not too old, you know, like maybe thirties, forties, probably. Because....like my aunties and uncles, they move back and forth, back and forth, back and forth. I think it's because of the action, I guess. They want things to do here, too.

(Female 20-25)

Said one woman who had moved back to the reserve,

...Once you reach a certain age, you want to stay put. You want to be in a familiar environment with your family, friends, and everybody. And communities usually live in what we call a *tee-osh-pye-eh*. It means a family grouping, right? So if you go to a First Nations community...whatever area of the reserve you're in, you know whose area you're in (laughs).  
(Female 40-49)

One woman whose own family had moved often to and from the city while she was young, believed it to be a common but declining pattern of migration:

...normally what would happen is that people would sort of move back and forth quite a bit, back from the city to the reserve. And I think a lot of times people felt that the reserve is their home community, so that's their home...their home base, so the city is kind of a temporary thing for them, and, so that's why they move back and forth a lot. There's a lot of migration back and forth.

....but now I think there is more of a permanent residence taking place in the city...we're getting more and more Aboriginal people who...the city's becoming their home base.  
(Female 40-49).

Some participants who saw circular migration as quite common, did not seem to distinguish between the making of multiple moves between the two areas, and simply moving back to the reserve. These people didn't seem to see particular individuals as participating in a pattern of circular migration. Rather, they seemed to regard each move separately, with people weighing their options each time. For example, one woman described the migration of some of her family:

The younger ones, they seem to go back and forth. Like my cousins, they lived in the city for a while, they stayed here for so many years, and after a while they got tired of it and they moved back to the reserve.

When asked what it was that they got tired of,

The people...the people and the noise. It's awful noisy in the city...it's just like the money situation, like if they get more money somewhere else, they're eventually going to live there.

(Female, 40-49)

Another man reminded us that there are any number of reasons to move back to the reserve, and perhaps to come to the city again, and that everyone's motivation is different.

I see people go back. I see my cousins go back and forth, but that might just be because of a seasonal job down here. Like, why should they stay six months here in the winter and have to pay for rent and groceries when they could just go back home...fish for free, then come back down here when there's more construction down here. That's what I've seen. I've seen people go home because they have kids. Some people go home because they have kids. Some people go home because they tried university or they tried college and they didn't make it. They don't like the lifestyle down here, so they go back and live in the North.

(Male, 20-29)

*Return Migration on Retirement*

Of the interview participants who said that they were considering moving back, most of them said that they would like to move back to their home community on retirement, when a lack of employment in the community was no longer an issue for them. A fair number of participants suggested that there may be a lot of migration back to reserves by people who had reached retirement, while some thought that migration on retirement might not be too common, particularly because of housing shortages.

Some people were just tired of the city, and they basically want to go home and retire, kind of thing. ...when I was talking to (a friend), he was saying about the possibility of moving back to the senior citizen's lodge that we have there. So, he's talking about going back, just to basically be home and retire and see life out that way, kind of thing, I guess.

(Male, 40-49)



I hear that the older people, the older generation are planning to move back to the reserve as their retirement years are coming. I've seen, or heard people say, "Well, I'm moving back to my community and retiring". Well, that's nice.

(Female, 40-49)

While people who were considering moving on retirement were less concerned with finding employment in their communities, they did have housing issues with which to contend. Some of them told of problems with getting a house in the community, and those who had the means often said that they would finance the building of their homes themselves, rather than wait for a house to be built by the band.

Most of the people who considered moving home to their communities on retirement described that they were drawn by the peace and quiet of their communities, as well as the availability of activities such as hunting and fishing. Another suggested that retired people may seek the safety of rural communities, and wish to avoid problems of crime in the city. One woman said that financial considerations figured in her decision to retire to her community. Lower costs for utilities on-reserve and her perception that "you're taxed to death in the city" led her to conclude that she would be financially better off moving back.

### *Commuting*

The interviews provided a lot of evidence that, when possible, many people commute from reserves to jobs in the city. Participants often referred to people whom they knew as making trips into the city during the day to work, and returning to their home community in the evening. This was largely seen as a good arrangement for people from communities close enough to the city to make commuting practical, because it allowed people to remain in their communities and to avoid some of the problems in the city, while participating in the urban labour market.

I find with a lot of my relatives, they stay there. A lot of them drive back and forth if they've got a really good-paying

job. I'm not talking about minimum wage, but a salary like 30 grand a year or twenty-eight thousand a year. They drive back and forth to Winnipeg every day, and it works out like twenty bucks a day.

And I think a lot of people would rather commute if there was housing available for them. And even some of my friends who aren't band members, like my girlfriends who are from different reserves are always saying, "Gee, I wish I was a band member (of her community), then I could commute"...and they're always saying that.

(Female 20-29)

I think people, from my community anyway, it's a safer place to be, and I think that if you're working in the city, some of them don't see that big of a problem commuting. I know there's people commuting from (another community) to Winnipeg. That's a two-hour drive. Well, there's one family there that, they worked in (the city) and right into their retirement, they travelled from (my community).

(Male, 40-49)

While some people may commute from their homes on-reserve to jobs in the city, some people with employment in their community may keep homes in the city. One man interviewed worked as a counsellor in his community, more than one hundred kilometres from Winnipeg, but lived in the city with his wife, who was a nurse in the city. He suggested that there may be many people who commute to work, whether in the city or in a First Nations community, and who go home in the evening. To this man and his family, the distance involved did not seem to matter much, and "the big thing is that there is a job available". However, another man thought that commuting was difficult, and reported that many people who had tried it found that they were unable to keep up the long, dark drives in the early morning and evening during the Manitoba winter.

#### **6.4. Benefits to living on the reserve**

In the interviews, people were asked to describe benefits that people might associate with living in First Nations communities, and factors that might act to pull people back to

their home communities. Many of these benefits related to living near family and feeling as though one is a part of a close community. Several people described the extended family as being very important in First Nations communities. They described benefits to this organization such as the availability of emotional support, as well as practical support such as helping with child care, or temporary economic support. Often, though, people described simply being in a close community as the largest benefit to them.

Well, we have a traditional concept, and it's called "extended family". I don't know how you say it in Ojibwa, but we kind of look after one another, and it's a traditional concept. Like, it's just like my uncle next door I consider to be my father, and he treats me like I'm his daughter. And if you need something, you kind of look after one another. That's how it is with Indian people. A lot of that goes on, too, for a support system.

(Female, 20-29)

Probably just to connect back in to the community again. To be with friends, to be with your family members. That's probably the motivating factor, and that fact it's their home base, I would think. That's what I hear that's motivating them to go back. Ties to the family...we're very family-oriented, you know. We like to be around our family members if possible. Wouldn't you rather be among your family than be among strangers?

(Female, 40-49)

Advantages. Pretty hard. The advantage of family, like I noticed in the city here, family connections aren't as close as they are up North. I just had a conversation with my mother who said that somebody was complaining because one of my cousin's kids were always running around the town. But they have relatives like every three blocks, so you always know where your kid is. But down in the city here, your kid takes off...you don't know where that kid is. It just seems like the family connections are tight up there. It's close, close knit.

(Male, 20-29)

That's why a lot of people move back. Because a lot of people can't handle living in the city. Or some people who have moved to the city, and tried for a couple of years and

then moved back because they don't like living in the city....there's no...I guess a sense of community. Like I was back home this weekend, and there's a real strong sense of community. It's like a soap opera. If you go back to the reserve, somebody will give you an update of what's been happening lately. Who got in a fight with who, and who's been doing, like, whatever, you know? It's like a sense of community.

That's the thing about living on the reserve, all the support there, you're extended family, or whatever. That's one thing I noticed when I was....like, I have three children. Whenever I have to go somewhere I have to get a babysitter. But when I was out in the country I stayed at my brother's place, and he's got a whole bunch of kids. And we just leave. My brother would say to his eldest son, "you just stay and watch the kids". So, like they depend on each other a lot. I think that's something that people miss when they move to the city. They miss that extended family, because extended families are very important.

(Male, 40-49)

The advantages? In my community, anyway, I think you've got a group of people that have community conscience developing. I think there's people there that are taking pride in the community and are making the community aware that there's certain things that we want for our community, our kids. And they openly talk about those things, and they go towards those things. Like a safe school, for example, a safe community.

(Male, 40-49)

As well as the benefits of community, friends, and family, people commonly mentioned activities which they had enjoyed while living in their community, and which were not available in the city. Hunting and fishing were mentioned by a number of men and women, as activities that they missed while in the city. People also spoke about the peace and quiet that is available when you live away from the city.

Well, there are loads (of advantages). If I was to live on the reserve, for me, I'd take advantage of the hunting, and just having a good life out there, instead of having to depend on the system. The people are there, and your family is on the reserve too. If you're in the city, you've got nobody. Nobody to talk to, unless you go to, sometimes there's resource centres or drop-in centres, but it's not enough for people.

...Their family, and people are so close, too. Like us people, I think we're so close. Like, we're always communicating with our families. A lot of people miss that.

(Female, 40-49)

Like, when I'm in the city, I have to take a break sometimes because of the traffic and the noise gets to be too much because of I'm so used to this type of quiet peacefulness. There's a sweat lodge...at my uncle's, so I can have a sweat any time I want.

(Female, 20-29)

### **6.5 Reasons for not returning**

While the interview participants were able to suggest reasons which may lead people to return to their home communities, of course not all people who move to the city eventually go back. About half of the interview participants said that they planned on moving back home, or had already done so, and the other half had no intention of returning to the First Nations community they once had left. These people had various reasons for not wanting to return, but many mentioned the lack of employment in their home community. Some had married non-Natives, or people who had always lived in the city. In these cases, people had ties to the urban community that were at least as strong as those to the reserve community. In other cases, people who left their communities for particular reasons saw these issues as unresolved, and continuing to provide disincentives to return.

The reasons I wouldn't move there is that there's a lot of drinking, and also because there's no jobs. There's no work. I've worked most of my life and I don't like being

unemployed. If people don't have jobs, welfare's the biggest employer on the reserve.

(Male, 30-39)

There'd be nothing for me to move back for. I don't have a job there. I don't have a house. There's probably a waiting list of two or three hundred names for a house in my community. We build six or seven houses a year, sometimes it's every two years. There'd be no reason for me to move back.

(Male, 40-49).

...for me, I'm from the community. I've been educated here. I've worked in the hospital, my husband's from here. So, it's unlikely I would go back home, but we go back home to visit and stuff. And if I have a job or a project, I'll go. But other than that, I wouldn't, because his home is here.

(Female, 50-59)

One woman interviewed said that while she would like to move back to her community on retirement, her husband preferred to remain in the city, where he would be able to golf and perhaps to start a small business. However, while the reasons for not wanting to return varied, most of the people who indicated that they did not want to return did still have ties to the reserve community, including close relatives who lived there, and many people still visited the community regularly. As well as making their own trips home, several people mentioned relatives' and friends' visits to the city as ways of staying in touch with their home communities.

## **6.6 Planning and Information about the City**

One of the objectives of this research was to explore the extent to which primary and return moves are planned in advance, and the amount of information that migrants have about potential destinations when they decide to move. The participants were of mixed opinion about whether people who left First Nations communities for the city did so with intentions of returning. Some thought that most people expected to go home some

day. Others, including most people who themselves did not expect to return, thought that most people moved to the city in order to stay there permanently. These people largely saw most return migration as resulting from disappointment in the city. Others indicated that different people left with different intentions, and that there were people who intended to go back, as well as people who intended to stay.

As well, the amount of planning that went into moves to or from the city was thought to vary, and was related to the reasons that particular people gave for moving. Those who had moved for education tended to have their moves planned out well in advance. Some suggested that people who move in order to find employment largely do so without having a prearranged job in the city.

I have to say "no". They don't. A lot of our young people, too, come in to Winnipeg...I shouldn't say a lot, but some of them come in with the expectation of going to a better school. You know, get a higher education. Maybe those people plan, but I would have to say that a majority that come in probably have not lined up any jobs, any employment opportunities.

(Male, 40-49)

I'm not too sure, but I think probably the smart way to do it would be to arrange it. Because I know sometimes, too, some do come into the city because of jobs. Because they have a job lined up and they do move into the city for that reason. And there may be the odd time that they're just moving into the city for whatever reason- no reason at all. Just to be here. It's a varied area, I guess.

(Female, 20-29)

In the case of young people who are drawn from First Nations communities by the lure of an urban lifestyle, some participants thought that there was little or no planning involved. One man who had moved to the city as a teenager indicated that he had moved almost on a whim.

I was just bored one day, and I just said, "Who's coming with me to Winnipeg?" The guys looked. I said, "I'm leaving in a week." I moved down here with a hockey bag full of clothes

and two hundred dollars. That's all I had. I didn't even know where I was going to live.

(Male, 20-29)

Most of the participants said that, while people may not have had much good information about what to expect in the city, many people already know people who live in the city. Often, family or acquaintances provided support for people when they moved into the city. Many of the participants felt that, for people who did not have friends or family in the city, Aboriginal organizations and others provided some help.

Well, there's a lot of Native organizations, too. The Native community is actually pretty small, when you look at it. Everybody pretty much knows everybody....I know a lot of people because of my family. And that happens with a lot of other families, too.

(Female, 20-28)

A few people thought that, while there are a number of Aboriginal service organizations in the city that can help people with the adjustment to urban life, often people are unaware of them, or of the services that they provide. This feeling was expressed by people who worked for such organizations, as well as some who did not.

## **6.6 Communication and Connections between Reserve and Urban Communities**

The interview data seemed to indicate that it was usual for people who moved to the city to maintain close contact with their people in their home communities. Many participants mentioned making visits to relatives and friends who remained on reserve, and some indicated that it was not unusual for people to come to the city to visit them. In general, urban residents seemed to be knowledgeable about current conditions in their communities, indicating that they maintained a connection to those communities.

There was also some interesting information that arose about the relationship between people who have moved to the city and those who remain in reserve communities.



Most of the questions that were included in the interview guide seemed to adequately address the research questions, and were understood by the participants. However, the section on mobility and communities presented a particular problem, and was valuable in that it exposed a misunderstanding on the part of the researcher. The question asking, "In your opinion, is migration to or from the city a problem for First Nations communities?" was not understood by most participants, and most asked for clarification. The intent with this question was to determine whether too many people leaving communities, or too many people were moving back from the city, caused problems for local services or infrastructure. When the intent of the question had been explained, most participants answered in the negative. A large number of people leaving the community, even if it were a dominant pattern, may not be a problem because of the high fertility on reserves. In some cases, people indicated that there were some problems caused by large numbers of Bill C-31 registrants demanding community services or housing. Other people interpreted the question as referring to a community's responsibility for people who have moved to the city. They indicated that, in their opinions, young people moving to the city and becoming involved in crime or substance abuse were a problem for their communities.

This question was valuable in indicating that a loss of population through migration was not seen as a problem by the participants. More importantly, it showed that the fates of people who moved to the city were still a concern for their communities. This suggested that we should not conceive of First Nations communities as being similar to municipalities or rural towns, as we had when this section of the guide was written. While both First Nations communities and rural towns are responsible for similar services and support for their residents, Many First Nations are communities consisting of a few extended families. Whereas a municipal government has only legal responsibilities for the town's residents, and these responsibilities are extended only to those who live in the community, members of a First Nation may feel responsibility for and ties to one another that extend well beyond the geographic community.

### 6.7 Migration and Integration

With the importance given by the participants to community, friends, and family in the reserve communities, it is perhaps not surprising that the level of connection that people feel to a community may influence their likelihood of leaving or returning to that community. Some people may fall into a pattern of repeat movement because of a lack of attachment to either community. This man suggested that the people who tended to move back to the community and to stay there were people who felt some kind of connection to the community, and who wanted to work toward community goals. On the other hand, he thought that people who made many moves tended to be people who had more tenuous connections to the community.

The more stable a person seems to be, the higher the chances they are to return to the community, I find. Some of the people are living a real erratic lifestyle. They'll wind up in Regina, Vancouver, or back in the city, or they may even wind up back in the community for a while, but then they'll be gone again. There's those people that do that. I have a few people that do that.

...and then there's others that have come back, and stayed. I think that the reasons they stayed is they became active in the community.

(Male, 40-49)

One man who had moved to the city said that one of the reasons that might have contributed to his leaving the reserve was that he felt that he had some difficulty fitting in when he was younger, because he had a lighter complexion.

Because it's a small community, they knew I wasn't Métis...so the Métis didn't like me. Most of my cousins didn't like me, so I ended hanging around with other white kids, Filipinos, black people. We had a little group there. We were all intermixed. People used to bug us because we were kind of like outcasts, I guess. I got picked on by everybody. I was never white enough to be white, but never dark enough to be Indian, too dark to be Métis. So, that's also one of the reasons I left. I had a hard time fitting in.

(Male, 20-28)

Some evidence of the importance of integration on mobility may be drawn from some of the participants' experiences with residential schools. Four of the participants indicated that their first moves out of their communities were to attend residential schools. Some said that their experience in residential schools distanced them from their communities and their families.

For me, I was away from my reserve since I went to boarding school, since I was five or six years old. And then I didn't really want to go back there because there wasn't anything there for me. I was a teenager when I ran away from the school. Then I just hung around in Winnipeg, and I lived in a foster home.

(Female. 40-49)

One man spoke of the existence of an urban Aboriginal community from which people could draw support. However, he thought that most people living in the city did not become part of this community, that he saw as mostly being centred around involvement in Aboriginal community and service organizations. He suggested that if more people could become active in the urban community, they would feel less isolated in the city.

Overall, there was some support found for the idea that the people who tend to leave the reserve community are those who are less integrated into that community. Community integration also seemed to influence people's return mobility, and the making of multiple moves. The fact that most people saw circular migration as occurring primarily among the young might also be evidence that those who make multiple moves tend to be those whose economic and social ties to the reserve and city community are not strong. However, while integration into the urban community might decrease the likelihood of returning to one's home community, many of the participants who indicated that they planned to return to their communities on retirement had been in the city for years, and seemed to be well connected to the urban community, both economically and socially. It

may be that the amount of connection to the home community is more important than integration into the urban community in determining whether one will return.

### 6.8 Gender and Migration

One of our research questions was how one may account for the higher migration to the city among Aboriginal women, and whether women were more likely than men to return. A question in the interview guide directly asked the participants whether they thought that men or women were more likely to move, or whether men and women tended to move for different reasons. Their impressions of the amount of migration by gender were varied, with some people responding that more women moved to the city, and other people who thought that men were more mobile.

The most common reason given that women may be more likely to move to the city than men was that what jobs were available in reserve communities were mostly unavailable to women.

Well, yeah, there's actually...with the job postings that they have here (in my community), I notice that a lot of them are geared towards men. Like with the housing, there's a lot of construction jobs, and there's a lot of, like, drywalling, painting, security at pow-wow time. Those are all jobs for men, and there's really nothing for women, like there's no jobs for women like that, eh? There's always jobs that come up, because they have to build houses. So, I think lack of employment might be a reason that women leave.  
(Female, 20-29)

I think, in my community, ...the men ended up getting the jobs more than the women. Or, the jobs that were created were more male-oriented. It wasn't jobs that both males and females could have, I think. Although, lately, we've had women working on construction. They found out they can get more work done that way, because the guys, before the women came on site, they had a tendency to sit around and stuff like that. And now, they've got to work and show themselves what good men they are (laughs).  
(Male, 40-49)

One woman who had moved to the city also said that she thought that women were more likely to take risks than were men in her community, although most of the jobs that were available in that community were in the timber industry, and not, she thought, easily filled by women. She thought that women were more likely than men to move to the city in order to get an education or to look for work. Another woman told of changes in the roles of women in First Nations communities, and that women have become more likely to pursue education, and to move to do it, than were men.

There's been a reverse in how women, their roles, and how they are undertaken within the communities. And this happened quite a few years ago when women made a conscious effort to go forward and to receive higher education. So they're the professionals within the First Nations communities. More so than men. And right now, it's the men that more or less control the political field. That's their last stronghold. Very few women get into the political arena. They're the teachers, they choose the programmes.

...Women, because they want to have a better job to provide for their family, usually make the move. Men, to some extent, some of the younger ones now are going to school too...

(Female, 40-49)

This view was, to some extent, corroborated by one man who saw that women had become more economically active, and more effective in finding employment and supporting children than were men.

...I think the woman has more of a role as provider in today's society and that man has not adapted to that. When I say, "man", I mean the male part of our society has not adapted to this. Women are out working now... and they're bringing in more money than the men, usually.

...I think that today's society, the woman has gone even above and beyond what woman is traditionally known to provide. I mean, they go out there and they secure employment, and in a lot of instances, better employment than is usual (for men).

(Male, 40-49)

Besides moving for employment and education, it was suggested that the mobility of women may be more effected by a lack of health care in some remote communities than the mobility of men. Some women said that women may come to the city at least temporarily for treatment related to childbearing or health problems.

Another reason that women may be more likely to leave their communities is to escape violence or abusive situations. Some female participants said that some women who were faced with abuse or violence had little choice but to leave the community and to come to the city.

...another group that probably leaves the rural to come to the city are women who are coming out of abuse situations, in terms of family violence. Those women who do come to urban centres for supports, or whatever. So, they come with their children, or they don't come with their children. It depends on their situation. So, that's another group of people who come into the city.  
(Female, 40-49)

The women who mentioned that women may move for these reasons also indicated that this group of women typically have very little support available in the city, as they may have moved without much preparation or information, and they may have had to break ties with family members who could have been of help to them after the move. It was suggested that these women may find themselves in an especially difficult situation, and may not be able to return to their home community if they have difficulties in the city.

Not all of the participants thought that women were more likely to move than were men. One woman and some men did not believe that this was the case. These men reported that, in their experience, more women tended to remain in the on-reserve community, while men would go to the city. One man suggested that young men were perhaps more susceptible to boredom on the reserve. Another believed that, in male-female couples and families, men were inclined to go to the city in order to "scout" for employment prospects, and women may follow later. One young woman said that she did not know why women would be more likely to move than men.

The interviews did not provide much information about whether women were more likely than men to return home to their communities, after moving to the city. Most of the participants asked did not suggest gender as a making a significant difference in return migration. However, one female participant did suggest that women adapted more easily to an urban lifestyle, and were less likely to return to their communities.

## 6.9 Conclusions

The interview participants proved a very rich source of information about migration between First Nations and the city. They brought several issues to our attention that had not been suggested in the literature, and confirmed some speculations that had been made about factors affecting migration. For one, the effect of local politics on the distribution of employment and housing in some communities was thought by most participants to have some effect on mobility to the city, as well as return mobility. Also, health reasons were suggested as important motives for migration to cities, and this had not been predicted by the existing literature. Thirdly, the participants indicated several reasons why there may be more women migrating into the city than men, including movement to escape abusive situations and the nature of employment opportunities in First Nations communities. The interview participants also spoke of a large amount of circular mobility, particularly at younger ages. This is especially important, because this pattern of movement cannot be captured adequately using the cross-sectional quantitative data. Return migration on retirement and commuting between the two communities were also patterns of migration that were thought to be fairly common, but which we would not have predicted, based on the existing literature.

We can consider these various patterns of mobility as strategies that allow people to reconcile the various benefits and drawbacks of the urban and the reserve environments. The people who were interviewed for this study seemed generally to retain strong connections to their communities of origin. Even those who had no intentions of returning often mentioned making visits to friends or relatives who remained at home, or having people come to see them in the city. These connections seemed to be retained by people who were successful in establishing careers in the city, as well as those who had less stable

employment. Commuting between the two communities, making periodic visits to friends and family, or simply returning to one's home community, are all ways in which people may reconcile the various benefits available in the city with those available in one's home community. For some people, the benefits of living in the home community, compared to the difficulties encountered in the city, may lead them to return home, perhaps in order to provide a better environment for their children. People who have enjoyed considerable success in the city, and have remained there, may consider returning home at retirement, in order to enjoy the various benefits of living in a First Nations community. People who would not like to live back in their home communities, because the conditions that led them to leave, had not been corrected, might still be in contact with people who remained in the community, although they would not move back themselves. Each of these patterns, as well as the making of periodic circular moves, are viable strategies for reaping the benefits of each community, and can be thought of in the context of a system of migration that includes both types of community, and in which the participants have fairly good information about the advantages and disadvantages of living in each location.



## **Chapter 7. Conclusions and Discussion**

This research project had as its aim to increase our understanding of the process of migration between First Nations communities and Prairie cities, and to fit this migration into a broader theoretical context. It was primarily interested in the large amount of return migration amongst those who make the primary move to the city, as well as in circular migration, or the making of multiple moves between the two areas. These patterns of mobility had so far received little attention, although the results of this study provide evidence that both are important components of this migration stream.

### ***Return Migration and Human Capital***

One of the research questions was whether those who returned to their home communities after living in the city are different from those who did not return, in terms of socioeconomic status and demographic characteristics. The human capital model suggests that migration is primarily an economic phenomenon, and that people make migration decisions on the basis of rational cost-benefit analyses. As such, people's decisions are affected by their personal characteristics. According to the human capital model, people with lower education or income levels are more likely to return home after moving, because of difficulties in finding employment after the move. Return migration, seen from the perspective of human capital, is basically a corrective move, that follows a lack of economic success in the host community.

In the multivariate models, we have found little evidence that those who return to First Nations communities and those who remain in the city are different in terms of personal characteristics. Education and income were not clearly related to the likelihood of an individual having returned, and labour force activity seems unrelated to return migration, suggesting that people who return home tend not to be doing so because of an inability to find work in the city. There was some evidence that people who moved to First Nations communities from CMAs tended to have lower incomes than those who remained in the city, but we cannot be sure if this is a cause of migration to reserves, or a result of moving to communities with little economic opportunities. On the whole, the results of the

multivariate models indicate that for the most part, people who returned to First Nations after moving to Prairie cities are not much different from those who remained in the city.

However, the human capital model does not only include the economic costs and returns of migration. Sjaatstad (1962) recognized that people take into account factors such as proximity to friends and family, climate, and other “psychic factors”. The importance of these non-economic factors in people’s decision-making was quite evident from the qualitative interviews. While labour market conditions certainly were important in some people’s decision to return to their home communities, interview participants said that there was also return mobility because of concerns about crime and other social conditions in the city, and in order to be close to the supports of friends and family, among other reasons. As well, while many people move to the city in order to gain access to the wider job market, or to get education, we have seen that there are other motivations for making the initial primary move. Probably the most important finding is that people appear to move in both directions for reasons that are far from purely economic. According to the interview participants, people also leave First Nations communities for reasons such as a chronic lack of housing on reserves, lack of easily available health care, and political distribution of employment in communities. Given that people do not move to the city for purely economic reasons, it would be reasonable to conclude that their reasons for returning may also not be closely related to their economic situation in the city.

### ***Gender, Family Status, and Migration***

Just as socioeconomic status variables, family status variables also were not found to have much effect on the likelihood that an individual had returned to a First Nation after moving to a city. Those who were married or living in common-law relationships seem to be more likely to have moved to a reserve from a CMA, but as with income, it is difficult to interpret this finding because we cannot know whether marital status changed because of the move, or was a factor leading to the move. While families without children were not more likely to have moved to a reserve than those with children, there was a lot of evidence given in the interviews that people take the futures of their children into account when they decide to move. Crime in the city was a common concern, and several thought that

Aboriginal communities were safer places in which to bring up children. On the other hand, people also move to the city for the benefit of their children, in order to avoid various social problems on reserves, and to give them economic and educational opportunities that may not be available at home.

Concerns for children might be a more common reason for women to move than for men. Some evidence for this was provided by the APS data, as well as by the interviews. However, women were not more likely to have moved to reserves than were men, despite the higher number of women in urban areas, and the higher amounts of female migration to cities. The interview participants did not, on the whole, seem to feel that women had a more difficult time in the city than men. It seems as though more women may move to cities because of a lack of jobs in First Nations communities that are considered appropriate for women. A predominance of construction, maintenance, and primary resource-sector jobs on reserves was thought by the interview participants to lead more women to move to the city in order to seek employment. If this is the case, it suggests that programmes and initiatives that are designed to promote economic development in First Nations communities should strive to create employment opportunities for women as well as those for men.

### *Community Integration and Migration*

It had been suggested in the existing literature on migration that those who leave a community tend to be those whose social links to that community are less strong. Goldscheider (1971) has suggested that this is the underlying reason that migration takes place primarily among young adults, who are at a stage where they have a less extensive network of social connections to their communities. This project sought to determine the importance of community integration in the process of return migration to First Nations communities. In the multivariate models, retention of an Aboriginal language was included as a rough proxy for connection to community. As with the other variables, language retention was measured after return moves would have taken place, so it is impossible to know if the respondents' knowledge of the language had changed as a result of having moved to an Aboriginal community. However, to the extent that the knowledge of an

Aboriginal language does indicate a higher level of connection to a community, its inclusion in the model did demonstrate that people who had more social connections to the Aboriginal community were more likely to have left the city for a reserve community. This was largely corroborated by the interview participants, who told of the importance of extended families in Aboriginal communities. Some of those who did not return to their home communities indicated that they made this decision partly because they had strong ties to the adopted urban community. This seemed to be especially the case for those who had married someone outside their own community, and for whom the social ties to the urban community might be as strong as to their home communities. Others mentioned that their ties to their communities and to their families had been severed by their experiences as young people in residential schools. The people who mentioned this in the interviews seemed to be less likely to want to return to their communities as adults. It would seem as though, in the case of migration between First Nations and Prairie cities, the strength of social networks in the city and the home community are important considerations in people's migration decisions.

### *Circular Migration*

This study also set out to investigate the amount of circular migration that occurs between the two areas. The participants in the qualitative interviews did indicate that, in their opinions, circular migration between the two areas was common, especially for younger people. However, the multivariate model that was constructed to predict circular migration does not appear to have accurately defined those who made multiple moves between the city and First Nations communities. The model found that people who had two homes in two different communities, or who made more than two moves between the two areas in the past year, tended to be older people with higher income and education levels. This suggests that the model captured the factors associated with having two homes better than the determinants of circular migration.

This study was concerned with the amount of planning that goes into migration decisions. The interview participants were of mixed opinion about the extent to which return and circular moves were planned in advance. It seems reasonable to conclude that at

least some of those who move to the city, do so with the knowledge that they may make a return move in the future.

The interviews did indicate that commuting might be a common pattern of mobility between the two areas. Many people indicated that being able to commute between their communities and the city would be a desirable situation. This finding corroborates suggestions that had been made in the existing literature. It also provides some indication of the pains to which people will go in order to balance the ambivalent attractions of employment in the city and of family and community at home.

### *Migration and Information*

There was some information obtained about the amount and quality of information that people have about the city, before they make the decision to move. The interview participants generally thought that good information about what to expect in the city was lacking, and that this could lead some people to decide to return. However, many people said that those who move to the city often know people there, who are a potential source of help and support in the city. There also seemed to be a lot of urban people who would visit their home communities from time to time, and who would receive visitors in the city. This suggests that there is a reasonable amount of communication between the urban and reserve communities. People did describe many difficulties in adjustment to life in the city that are experienced by migrants, however. Some described the experience of moving to the city as positively frightening, despite having some information about what to expect. It may be that the kind of information that is important to being able to successfully function in the city is not easily transmitted by those who have been there to those who have not. Information about where to go to access services might be relatively easy to pass on, while it might be difficult to prepare someone for the noise, crime, and lack of community support that they could find on arrival to in the city.

It might be helpful to consider migration between First Nations and Prairie cities as composing a migration system, in which there is a fair amount of information available about the two areas, and in which the participants may move in order to maximize the utility of each area. This is the approach suggested by Lurie (1967) to explain circular

migration between First Nations and urban areas. It is also similar to the "ambivalence" that Cordell, Gregory, and Piche (1996: 314), describe as occurring in the West African context. As in the African case, migrants to cities from First Nations feel the pull of the community of origin, while the city represents a labour market that does not exist in Aboriginal communities. However, as we have noted, people do not always leave Aboriginal communities for employment, but for a number of different reasons. People seem to move between the two areas in order to balance all of the various benefits and disadvantages that each of these communities represent. The advantages that can be gained by moving are particular to each reserve community, and to each individual's situation. Depending on the community, people might feel safer in their home community, or they may feel that the city is a better environment. A lack of housing is an important disadvantage to living in some communities, but is not a problem in others. What seems to be the case is that migrants are more or less aware of the benefits to be had in each area, and undertake moves to maximize these benefits in different ways.

#### ***Limitations of this study and Suggestions for Future Research***

Future research would be greatly aided by the availability of better data on the mobility of Aboriginal people in Canada. This research was severely limited by the structure of the retrospective mobility questions in the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples' Survey. The restriction of the retrospective migration questions in the survey questionnaire to those moves made within the last year severely hampered our ability to identify people who had truly made multiple moves between the city and an Aboriginal community. While retrospective data are never perfect, and necessarily rely heavily on memories of events that may have occurred a number of years ago, a retrospective survey asking people to recall their mobility history would allow a much better identification of those who had made circular moves. Ideally, a retrospective mobility survey would include questions about the respondents' employment and marital histories as well, so that changes in other important characteristics could be linked to their mobility in such a way that causal order could be assumed (DaVanzo, 1981). This would significantly improve our ability to investigate the

factors that affect mobility between First Nations and Prairie cities, without incurring the expense of longitudinal data collection.

As well, future attempts to model migration between First Nations and urban centres should include better measures of the distance between the city and particular reserve communities. While our multivariate models predicting migration at the individual level included rough proxies for the effect of distance on migration, the qualitative interviews made clear the importance of distance in the migration process. As well as distance, other geographic factors such as the presence of road access, seem to be important to include in order to correctly specify an individual model of mobility.

As judged by the results of our models, characteristics of individuals do not seem to be of much use in predicting return migration to First Nations communities. Besides the distance between the cities and various communities, models should be constructed that test the effects of other community characteristics on migration. While an individual's labour force participation might not have an effect on his or her migration, it may be that the employment available in a First Nations communities has a significant effect on the amount of migration that occurs between those communities and urban centres. Other community-level factors such as the presence of health care and educational facilities should be incorporated in order to form a complete picture of the community conditions that affect migration, including those that have been suggested by those interviewed for this study.

Besides constructing more complete models, there are further research questions that arise from these findings. One of the research questions that was not fully addressed was the extent to which circular migration is intentional. Because we were not able to select a sample of interview participants who had made return or multiple moves between the two areas, we could not fully investigate the process of circular migration. Circular mobility appears to be a very important component of migration on the Prairies, as indicated by the perceptions of the interview participants. Besides trying to accurately measure the amount of circular migration, which would require better quantitative data, it is important that researchers try to understand why people make multiple moves, and the extent to which they are planned as a life strategy.

The interview participants made it clear that family considerations were often important in migration decisions. People indicated that people may move in order to improve the quality of life of their children, or to be near to the supports of extended family. However, this research was conducted with the individual as the level of analysis. It has been suggested that migration decisions are often made in a family context, and that migration may be seen as a strategy for improving the situation of the family (Hugo, 1998). Select members of the family may move permanently or temporarily, in order to maximize earnings, receive education, or to develop social contacts that will be of benefit to the entire family. If migration between First Nations communities and urban centres is seen as a strategy to maximize the benefits offered by each area, it is important to consider whether these benefits are best seen as accruing to an individual, or in terms of a family strategy. Future research should attempt to determine the extent to which decisions to move between these two areas are taken in a family context.

If return and circular mobility are as important components of the overall migration streams between First Nations and cities as they appear to be, it is not enough that we try to measure the amount of migration of these types. It does not appear that people who move back to their home communities are much different in terms of age, gender, or socioeconomic status than those who do not move, and so the composition of communities is not much affected by return migration. However, having a large number of people moving into and out of a community might seriously affect the ability of that community to build social and economic networks. In the case of First Nations communities, many of which are struggling to implement sustainable economic development programmes, and which may be facing a number of social problems, having a large number of people moving into and out of the community might negatively affect these efforts. As well, in urban areas, large population turnover may make it difficult for service agencies to promote a feeling of community within the city. Having determined that return and circular migration are important elements of migration between First Nations and Prairie cities, we must now investigate the ways in which these migration patterns affect communities and development.



### References

- Ambert, A.-M., P. A. Adler, P. Adler, and D. F. Detzner. 1995. "Understanding and Evaluating Qualitative Research." *Journal of Marriage and the Family*. Vol. 57, No. 4, pp. 879-893.
- Bearman, J. and C. D'Arcy. 1980. "A Typology of Internal Migration." *Canadian Studies in Population*. Vol. 7, pp. 9-20.
- Beaujot, R. 1991. *Population Change in Canada: The challenges of policy adaptation*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Biernacki, P. and D. Waldorf, 1982. "Snowball Sampling: Problems and Techniques of Chain Referral Sampling." *Sociological-Methods-and-Research*; Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 141-163.
- Bogue, D. J. 1969. *Principles of Demography*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Buckley, H. 1992. *From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare: Why Indian Policy Failed in the Prairie Provinces*. Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Chapman, M. 1978. "On the Cross-Cultural Study of Circulation." *International Migration Review*. Vol. 12, No. 4, pp. 559-569.
- Caldwell, J. C. 1968. "Determinants of Rural-Urban Migration in Ghana." *Population Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 3. pp. 361-377.
- Clatworthy, S. J. 1980. *The Demographic Composition and Economic Circumstances of Winnipeg's Native Population*. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1995. *Migration and Mobility of Canada's Aboriginal Population*. Ottawa: RCAP/CMHC.
- Clatworthy, S. J. and J. Hull, 1983. *Native Economic Conditions in Regina and Saskatoon*. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies.
- Cordell, D. D., Gregory, J. W. and Victor Piche. 1996. *Hoe and Wage: A Social History of a Circular Migration System in West Africa*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Courchene, T. J. 1974. *Migration, Income, and Employment: Canada, 1965-1968*. Montreal: C.D. Howe Research Institute.
- Comeau, P. and A. Santin. 1990. *The First Canadians: a profile of Canada's Native people today*. Toronto: J. Lorimer.

- Currie, R. and S. Halli, 1989. "Mixed Motivations for Migration in the Urban Prairies: a comparative approach." *Social Indicators Research*, Vol. 21, No. 5, pp. 481-499.
- DaVanzo, J. 1976. "Differences Between Return and Nonreturn Migration: An Econometric Analysis." *International Migration Review*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 13-27.
- DaVanzo, J. 1981. "Microeconomic Approaches to Studying Migration Decisions." In DeJong and Gardner, (eds). *Migration Decision Making*. Toronto: Pergamon. pp. 90-129.
- DeJong, G. F. and R. W. Gardner. *Migration Decision Making*. Toronto: Pergamon.
- Denis, J., J. Dufour, C. Grondin, M. Lavigne, and J.-P. Morin 1991. Methodology Report: 1991 Survey of Aboriginal Peoples. Ottawa: Statistics Canada
- Denton, T. 1972. "Migration from a Canadian Indian Reserve." *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 7, pp. 54-62.
- Denzin, N. K and Y. S. Lincoln (eds.). *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Dyck, N. and J. B. Waldram. 1993. "Anthropology, Public Policy, and Native Peoples in Canada: an Introduction to the Issues" In *Anthropology, Public Policy, and Native Peoples in Canada*. N. Dyck and J. B. Waldram (eds.). Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, pp. 3-38.
- Eldridge, H. 1965. "Primary, Secondary, and Return Migration in the United States, 1955-1960". *Demography*. Vol. 2, pp. 444-455.
- Fontana, A. H. and J. Frey. 1994. "Interviewing: The Art of Science." In *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (eds.). Thousand Oaks: Sage, pp. 361-676.
- Fox, J. 1997. *Applied Regression Analysis, Linear Models, and Related Methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Frideres, J. 1983. *Native People in Canada: Contemporary Conflicts, 2nd ed.* Prentice-Hall: Scarborough.
- Geertz, C. 1983. *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books.
- George, M. V. 1969. *Internal Migration in Canada: Demographic Analysis*. Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

- Gerber, L. M. 1984. "Community Characteristics and Out-Migration from Canadian Indian Reserves: Path Analyses." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 145-165.
- Glaser, B. G. and A. L. Strauss. 1967. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Gmelch, G. 1983. "Who Returns and Why: Return Migration Behaviour in Two North American Societies." *Human Organization*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 46-54.
- Grant, E. K and J. Vanderkamp. 1976. *The Economic Causes and Effects of Migration: Canada, 1965-71*. Ottawa: Economic Council of Canada.
- Greenhalgh, S. 1997. "Methods and Meanings: Reflections on Disciplinary Difference." *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 819-824.
- Gregory, J. W. and V. Piche. 1983. *African Return Migration*. Montreal: Universite de Montreal Departement de Demographie.
- Goldscheider, C. 1971. *Population, Modernization, and Social Structure*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Goldstein, S. 1954. "Repeat Migration as a Factor in High Mobility Rates." *American Sociological Review*. Vol. 19, pp. 536-541.
- Gould, W. T. S. and R. M. Prothero. 1975. "Space and Time in African Population Mobility." In *People on the Move*. L. A. Kosinski and R. M. Prothero (eds.) London: Methuen, pp. 39-49.
- Hamilton, L. C. 1992. *Regression with graphics: A second course in applied statistics*. Pacific Grove: Brooks/Cole.
- Hawthorn, H. B., ed. 1966. *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: A report on economic, political, educational needs and policies*. Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch.
- Hiscott, R. D. 1987. "Recent Migration from Ontario to Atlantic Canada: a comparison of returning and non-return migrants." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, Vol. 24, No. 4, pp. 586-599.
- Hosmer, D. W, Jr. and S. Lemeshow. 1989 *Applied Logistic Regression*. Toronto: Wiley.
- Hou, F. 1993. *Return Interprovincial Migrants in Canada: Impact, causes, and consequences*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Western Ontario.

- Hou, F. and R. Beaujot, 1994. "The Differentiation of Determinants among Return, Onward, and Primary Migrants in Canada." *Canadian Studies in Population*, Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 1-19.
- House, J. D., White, S. M., and P. Ripley. 1989. *Going Away...and Coming Back: Economic life and migration in small Canadian communities*. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research.
- Hugo, G. J. 1998. Migration as a Survival Strategy: The Family Dimension of Migration." In *Population Distribution and Migration*. United Nations. New York. pp. 139-149.
- Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. 1986. *Indian Register Population by Sex and Residence 1985*. Ottawa: INAC.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1992. *Indian Register Population by Sex and Residence 1991*. Ottawa: INAC.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1995. *Highlights of Aboriginal Conditions 1991, 1986: Demographic, Social, and Economic Characteristics*. Ottawa: INAC.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1997a. *Indian Register Population by Sex and Residence 1996*. Ottawa: INAC.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1997b. *Implications of First Nations Demography*. Ottawa: INAC.
- Knodel, J. 1993. "The Design and Analysis of Focus Group Studies." In *Successful Focus Groups*. D. L. Morgan (ed.). Sage: Newbury Park. pp. 35-50.
- Knodel, J. 1997. "A Case for Nonanthropological Qualitative Methods for Demographers." *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 847-853.
- Kosinski, L. A. and R. M. Prothero (eds). *People on the Move*. London: Methuen.
- Krishnan, P. and D. Odynak. 1987. "A Generalization of Petersen's Typology of Migration." *International Migration*, Vol. 25, No. 4, pp. 385-397.
- Kubat, Daniel and H-J. Hoffmann-Nowotny. 1982. "International and Internal Migration: Towards a New Paradigm." In *Sociology: The State of the Art*. T. Bottomore, S. Nowak, and M. Sokolowska (eds.). London: Sage, pp 201-232.
- Lee, A. S. 1974. "Return Migration in the United States." *Demography*, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 283-300.
- Lee, E. S. 1966. "A Theory of Migration." *Demography*. Vol. 3, pp. 47-57.
- Lithwick, N. H., M. Schiff, and E. Vernon. 1986. *An Overview of Registered Indian Conditions in Canada*. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.

- Loh, S. 1990. *Population Projections of Registered Indians, 1986-2011*. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.
- Lurie, N. O. 1967. "The Indian Moves to an Urban Setting." in *Resolving Conflicts- A Cross-Cultural Approach*. University of Manitoba Extension and Adult Education Department. pp. 73-86.
- McCaskill, D. M. 1970. *Migration, Adjustment, and Integration of the Indian into the Urban Environment*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Carleton University.
- Miller, E.. 1973. "Return and Nonreturn In-Migration." *Growth and Change*. (Jan.) pp. 3-9.
- Miles, M. B. and A. M. Huberman. 1994. *An Expanded Sourcebook: Qualitative Data Analysis*. Sage, Thousand Oaks.
- Morgan, David L. ed. *Successful Focus Groups*. Sage: Newbury Park.
- Nault, F., J. Chen, M. V. George, and M. J. Norris. 1993. *Population Projections of Registered Indians, 1991-2015*. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.
- Newbold and Liaw. 1990. *Characterization of Primary, Return, and Onward Interprovincial Migration in Canada*. Hamilton: McMaster University Program for Quantitative Studies in Economics and Population.
- Norris, M. J. 1990. "The Demography of Aboriginal People in Canada." In *Ethnic Demography: Canadian Immigrant, Racial, and Cultural Variations*. S. Halli, F. Trovato, and L. Drieger (eds.). Ottawa: Carleton University Press, pp. 33-59.
- Obermeyer, C. M. 1997. "Qualitative Methods: A key to a Better Understanding of Demographic Behavior?" *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 813-828.
- Pedhazur, E. J. 1997. *Multiple Regression in Behavioral Research: Explanation and Prediction*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace.
- Peters, E. 1994. "Demographics of Aboriginal People in Urban Areas, in Relation to Self-Government." Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.
- Petersen, W. 1958. "A General Typology of Migration." *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 23, No. 13, pp 256-266.
- Peterson, W. 1978. "West Indian Migrants Returning Home." *Race*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp 69-77.

- Ponting, J. R., and R. Gibbins. 1980. *Out of Irrelevance: A Socio-political introduction to Indian Affairs in Canada*. Butterworths, Toronto.
- Richling, B. 1985. "‘You’d Never Starve Here’: Return Migration to Rural Newfoundland." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*. Vol. 22, No. 2, pp. 236-249.
- Richards, T. J. and L. Richards. 1994. "Using Computers in Qualitative Research." In *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (eds.). Thousand Oaks: Sage, pp. 445-462.
- Richmond, A. H. 1993. "Explaining Return Migration." In *The Politics of Return: International Return Migration in Europe*. D. Kubat (ed.). New York: Centre for Migration Studies, pp. 269-275.
- Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. 1993. *Aboriginal Peoples in Urban Centres: Report of the National Round Table on Aboriginal Urban Issues*. Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada.
- Ritchey, P. N. 1976. "Explanations of Migration." *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 2, pp. 363-404.
- Rosenbaum, H. 1988. "Return Inter-Provincial Migration Canada, 1966-1971." *Canadian Studies in Population*, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 51-65.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1993. "Selectivity Among Various Types of Inter-Provincial Migrants, Canada 1976-1981." *Canadian Studies in Population*, Vol. 20, No.1, pp 85-106.
- Shaw, R. P. 1975. *Migration Theory and Fact: a review and bibliography of current literature*. Philadelphia: Regional Science Research Institute.
- Shulman, N. and R. P. Drass, 1979. "Motives and Modes of Internal Migration: Relocation in a Canadian City." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, Vol. 16, No. 3, pp. 333-352.
- Siggner, A. J. 1977. *Preliminary Results from a Study of 1966-1971 Migration Patterns among Status Indians in Canada*. Ottawa: Indian and Eskimo Affairs Program.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1980. "A Socio-Demographic Profile of Indians in Canada." In J. R. Ponting and R. Gibbins. *Out of Irrelevance*. Toronto: Butterworths, pp. 31-65.
- Siggner, A. J. and C. Locatelli. 1980. *Overview of Demographic, Social, and Economic Conditions among Saskatchewan’s Registered Indian Population*. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.

- Sjaastad, L. A. 1962. "The Costs and Returns of Human Migration." *Journal of Political Economy*. No. 70, pp. 80-93.
- Statistics Canada, 1998. "1996 Census: Aboriginal Data." *The Daily*, Jan. 13.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1994. *Canada's Aboriginal Population by Census Subdivisions and Census Metropolitan Areas, Cat. No. 94-326*. Ottawa: Industry, Science, and Technology Canada.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1993. *User's Guide to 1991 Aboriginal Data*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1992. *1991 Census Dictionary, Cat. No. 92-103E*. Ottawa: Industry, Science, and Technology Canada.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1991. *Aboriginal Peoples Survey Adults Microdata File Codebook*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- Stone, L. O. 1971. *Migration in Canada*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- Todaro, M. P. 1976. *Internal Migration in Developing Countries: A review of theory, evidence, methodology, and research priorities*. Geneva: I.L.O.
- Trovato, F. T., A. Romaniuc, and I. Addai. 1994. *On- and Off-Reserve Migration of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada: A Review of the Literature*. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.
- Wallerstein, I. M. 1974. *The Modern World-System*. Toronto: Academic Press.
- Weaver, S. M. 1981. *Making Canadian Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda 1968-70*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Wherrett, J. 1996. *Briefing Paper: Indian Status and Band membership Issues BP-410*. Library of Parliament: Ottawa.
- Zelinsky, Wilbur. 1971. "The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition." *Geographical Review*, Vol. 61, pp. 219-249.

## **Appendix A: Interview Guide**

### **Introduction:**

This research project is about the migration of Aboriginal people between reserves and prairie cities. In particular, we are interested in the extent to which people who move to cities return to their places of birth. These questions will mostly be about your perceptions of this movement between reserves and cities, and the reasons that people move. All responses are anonymous and confidential. As well, any Aboriginal communities that you may name will not be named in the research report. If any questions are too personal, please tell me and I will pass over them. Many of the questions may seem like the answers are obvious, but we are interested in anything that you might have to tell us. You are certainly free to ask questions at any time. Thank you very much for your participation in this project.

### **A. General Mobility of Aboriginal People**

*These questions are about the mobility of people between reserves and cities. They are designed to get your opinions about moving and why people move*

a1. In general, why do you think that people move from reserves and Aboriginal communities to cities?

a2. What do you think are the most common reasons for moving to the city?

Probe: Do people move to find a job, to get married, because of a lack of housing at home, or because of better availability of services, as examples?

Probe: Are there times in life when people are more prone to move?

a3. What do people see as advantages to living in the city?

Probe: Disadvantages?

a4. On the other hand, what are the advantages of living on a reserve?

Probe: Disadvantages?



a5. Do most people who leave home move to cities, or are there other places to which people are likely to move?

(other communities, rural areas, other provinces, the United States?)

a6. What do you think are the largest problems that people who move to the city are faced with once there?

a7. Do people usually know people from their home community who had previously moved to the city?

Probe: Do people make use of contacts that they have in the city, or do they tend to "go it alone"?

a8. How accurate do you think people's information is about what to expect in the city before they leave home?

Probe: do they know what to expect in terms of job availability, the presence of community within the city?

Probe: Do people often arrange things like housing and employment before they leave home, or do they do this once they are in the city?

a9. What is the adjustment to living in the city like for most people?

Probe: are there certain types of people for whom this process is more or less difficult?

a10. Do people often return home after moving to the city?

a11. For those people who do return home, what do you think are common reasons for returning?

a12. What do you think is the most important reason for moving home?

Probe: Are there specific times in life when people are more prone to return home?

Probe: What are the advantages to moving home? Disadvantages?

Probe: What are the advantages to staying in the city? Disadvantages?

a13. Some writers have indicated that people who leave to go to the city often don't intend to stay there. In your experience, do people who move to the city often intend to leave for good, or do they plan to return home?

a14. Do people who return often make another move to the city?

## **B. Mobility and Communities**

b1. In your opinion. Is migration to and from the city a problem for First Nations communities?

Probe: Are there too many people leaving or too many people moving to back reserves? Does this cause problems? What kind of problems does it cause?

b2. What do you think that governments, including Aboriginal governments, could do to help solve these problems?

## **C. Personal Mobility history:**

I would now like to ask you some questions about your own personal mobility experiences. Please let me know if a question is too personal, and we can skip over it.

c1. How long have you lived in this community/city?

c2. Where have you lived, before you came here?

Probe: in what order did you live in these places?

Probe: Were there times that you may have lived in two places at once?

*Interviewer: These questions are asked in order to establish a mobility history. The following questions should be asked for those moves that are between reserves and urban areas.*

c2a. When did you move between (*place A*) and (*place B*)?

What reasons do you remember having when you made this move?

What do you think was the most important reason?

c2b. When did you move between (*place B*) and (*place C*)?

What reasons do you remember having when you made this move?

What do you think was the most important reason?

c3. Is this the first time that you have lived here, or had you lived here before?

c4. Did you have relatives or friends who were living here before you came?

c5. Were there other places that you were considering moving to before you came here?

c6. Did you have employment arranged before you came to the city?  
If not, did you have difficulty finding work?

c7. Have you considered moving back home?  
Probe: did you intend this move to be permanent?  
In what situation would you consider moving home?

c8. Do you think you will move back home?

**D. Demographic Information:**

d1. Age group:

- Age 18-19
- Age 20-24
- Age 25-29
- Age 30-39
- Age 40-49
- Age 50-64
- Age 65+

d2. Gender:

- Male
- Female

d3. Marital status:

- Legally Married (and not separated)
- Separated, but not legally married
- Divorced
- Widowed
- Never married (single)

d3A: Are you living with a common-law partner?

- Yes
- No

d4. Number of children: \_\_\_\_\_

Number of children living at home: \_\_\_\_\_

Age range of children \_\_\_\_\_

d5. Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

d6. Total yearly Income:

\_\_\_ \$0

\_\_\_ Less than \$1,999

\_\_\_ \$2,000-\$9,999

\_\_\_ \$10,000-\$19,999

\_\_\_ \$20,000-\$39,999

\_\_\_ \$40,000 and over

d7. Highest level of schooling:

d8. Place of birth: \_\_\_\_\_

d9. Were you registered under Bill C-31 (1985 Amendment)?

\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_ No

d10. Are you a member of an Indian Band or First Nation?

\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_ No

d. 11. What languages, other than English or French, can you speak well enough to conduct a conversation?

\_\_\_ None

Specify other languages \_\_\_\_\_

d12: What language do you speak most often at home?

\_\_\_ English

\_\_\_ French

\_\_\_ Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

d13. What is the language that you first learned at home in childhood and still understand?

\_\_\_ English

\_\_\_ French

\_\_\_ Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**Appendix B: Retrospective Mobility Questions in the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey**

- E1:** Have you been living in this residence all your life? By residence I mean the house, apartment unit, mobile home, etc. where you are living.
1. Yes (*go to E7*)
  2. No
- E2:** Have you lived in this residence for the past 12 months?
1. Yes
  2. No (*go to E3*)
- E2.2a:** When did you move to this residence?  
(Indicate Month, Year, or "Don't know/can't remember")
- E2.2b:** Why did you move to this residence?  
(long answer, or "Don't know, can't remember")
- E2.2c:** When you moved here, did you move from another residence...
1. in this same neighbourhood?
  2. in this community but not this neighbourhood?
  3. in a different community in Canada? (specify)
  4. outside Canada? (specify)
  6. Don't know, can't remember.
- E3:**
- E3.3a:** When did you move to this residence?  
(Indicate Month, Year, or "Don't know/can't remember")
- E3.3b:** Why did you move to this residence?  
(long answer, or "Don't know, can't remember")
- E3.3c:** When you moved here, did you move from another residence...
1. in this same neighbourhood?
  2. in this community but not this neighbourhood?
  3. in a different community in Canada? (specify)
  4. outside Canada? (specify)
  6. Don't know, can't remember.
- E4:** Did you make any other moves in the last 12 months?
1. Yes
  2. No (*go to E7*)

**E4.4a:** When did you move to this residence?  
(Indicate Month, Year, or "Don't know/can't remember")

**E4.4b:** Why did you move to this residence?  
(long answer, or "Don't know, can't remember")

**E4.4c:** When you moved here, did you move from another residence...  
1. in this same neighbourhood?  
2. in this community but not this neighbourhood?  
3. in a different community in Canada? (specify)  
4. outside Canada? (specify)  
6. Don't know, can't remember.

**E5:** Did you make any other moves in the last 12 months?  
1. Yes  
2. No (*go to E7*)

**E5.5a:** When did you move to this residence?  
(Indicate Month, Year, or "Don't know/can't remember")

**E5.5b:** Why did you move to this residence?  
(long answer, or "Don't know, can't remember")

**E5.5c:** When you moved here, did you move from another residence...  
1. in this same neighbourhood?  
2. in this community but not this neighbourhood?  
3. in a different community in Canada? (specify)  
4. outside Canada? (specify)  
6. Don't know, can't remember.

**E6:** Did you make any other moves in the last 12 months?  
1. Yes  
2. No

**E6.6a:** How many other moves did you make in the last 12 months?  
(Number of moves, or "Don't know, can't remember")

**Appendix C: Categories of Reasons for Migration in the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey Dataset**

**Specific reasons moved to this residence (Questions E2.2b, E3.3b, E4.4b, E5.5b)**

<u>Content:</u>	<u>Code</u>
Family reasons	01
Community/location reasons	02
Schooling of respondent	03
Schooling of someone else	04
Employment reasons- respondent	05
Employment reasons- other	06
Health reasons- respondent	07
Health reasons- other	08
New house	09
It was provided (by Band)	10
Better than previous housing	11
Personal preference/reasons	12
Affordability	13
Need	14
Reserve housing unavailable	15
Old home uninhabitable	16
Incarceration	17
Do not know	96
Refused	97
Other	98
Blank/no response/no comment	99

Source: 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey Codebook.