# FROM THE RESERVE TO THE CITY:

# AMERINDIAN WOMEN IN QUEBEC URBAN CENTRES

**December 1995**

**LISE GILL**

**in collaboration with**
**Constance Robertson, Monique Robert**
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Status of Women Canada | Condition féminine Canada

Canada

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Thank you, Tshinishkamiten.

Lise Gill
December 1995

* * *

I IMAGINE

That living in a community
Is learning day after day
My true identity
In the hope of a better day to come.

. . .

My reserve, my ghetto, my home
It doesn't matter what I call you
You enfold a part of me
You hide a part of my being

. . .
[translation]

Excerpt from the poem "I Imagine"
Rita Mestokosho.
Piekuakami Publications, 1995.

## SUMMARY

*From the Reserve to the City: Amerindian Women in Quebec Urban Centres* looks at the situation of Aboriginal women who leave their home communities to live in urban centres.

A review of the literature and an analysis of the data in the *Aboriginal Peoples Survey* were used to prepare this critical essay, as well as an annotated bibliography which shows the deep gaps in knowledge of the subject.

We tried to understand why Indian women leave their family, friends and community. Do they have a choice in settling outside their home community? Are they exercising a free choice? How does their life differ from that of people living on reserve? What are their needs? How do they get involved in the political debate about First Nations' political and economic rights? Finally, we briefly reviewed Aboriginal literature to demonstrate why the expression of their common identity and their aspirations should be left to them.

Key respondents suggested various avenues of research to us. The interviews with these women of different nations helped us to identify the subjects to study: family violence, health, education, access to services, culture and language, belonging to the community, reintegration of people affected by amendments to the *Indian Act*, self-government, etc.

Using the information obtained, we first describe Aboriginal women migrants and identify the reasons for their move to urban centres. We then discuss the issue of whether migrants are really free to choose to stay in the city or to return to the reserve. A statistical portrait also shows the different conditions of Aboriginal women in urban centres in comparison with those on reserve. However, the lack of significant data on the needs of Aboriginal women who leave their community is clear. Finally, looking at the political aspect, we examine the difficulties Aboriginal urban residents experience in terms of participation and the organization of institutions to represent them in the process for implementing Aboriginal self-government.

There was no doubt in the minds of those whom we met in carrying out this work that Indian women in urban centres have particular needs, for even though they retain the rights and advantages of their Indian status, they find it more difficult to access services and programs designed for Indian people. Moreover, major differences, particularly related to personal support networks, were found between life in cities and on reserves. However, in the home communities, people find it more difficult to obtain confidential services because everyone knows everyone else.

Consequently, when women are experiencing family violence, they often have no choice but to leave their reserve to find "more confidential" assistance outside.

These women often find themselves without resources and forgotten by their community. They come to live in cities where services, though plentiful, often seem inaccessible. Many must adapt to a new pace of life, communicate in a new language, learn how to make appointments, and meet deadlines. In short, they must learn how to "function" in cities where concepts of time

and space have a quite different meaning. Many give up and return to live in their home community, where they face the same problems as before.

On the other hand, those who left for other reasons - some to study or work, others to accompany a non-Indian spouse - sometimes have quite different experiences. For the former, cities may represent places where they can be more independent, choose activities more easily, have more privacy and better quality of life and provide more opportunities for their children. The latter, who are rejected by their home community, know that their reintegration is far from automatic. While they may be free to return to the reserve, they know nonetheless that they are not always welcome.

A detailed analysis of the *Aboriginal Peoples Survey* data on the socio-economic conditions of Indian women migrating to urban centres shows us that they are often similar to those of Métis and other Aboriginal people who have always lived in cities. We compared them with the socio-economic conditions of on-reserve Indians.

The survey reveals in particular that Indian women living off reserve seem to be better educated, are more often gainfully employed, have somewhat different social concerns but have much less opportunity to participate in cultural activities. The data also show that they have similar health problems to those experienced by women who have remained on reserve.

The survey shows, however, that the lifestyles of Indians living off reserve, especially in relation to alcohol and tobacco use, are not necessarily better than those of people living on reserve. Social issues and ways of improving conditions also indicate significant differences. Off-reserve Indians identify unemployment as a major issue while on-reserve Indians point to alcohol abuse. The data gathered for the survey on ways of improving the situation do not allow an exploration of solutions within a cultural context. In terms of housing, the survey reveals that Indians off reserve are more often tenants than owners. Many of them have submitted requests for housing in their home community.

We were also interested in the concerns of Aboriginal urban residents with regard to their participation in Aboriginal governments. How can self-government be exercised in the case of Aboriginal people living outside their Aboriginal communities and lands?

The exercise of self-government by Aboriginal people in urban centres thus seems difficult to imagine. Of course, urban Aboriginal people find themselves in different situations: some may have maintained their political links with their home community and wish to preserve them; others may try to organize groups in urban centres so as to be better represented in the political arena. In any event, specific political structures are necessary so that Aboriginal people can make their voices heard and participate in the decisions which affect them.

Amerindian women who want to preserve political links with their home band also deal with the decision of First Nations to set their own membership criteria. These women do not

know how their involvement in Aboriginal government and land claims settlements will be secured.

The attachment of different groups of Aboriginal people in urban centres to their home communities (nation and land) takes on quite distinctive aspects but there is one common thread. Whether they have always lived in cities or whether they have just move there, Aboriginal people demonstrate a will to protect and pass on their cultural identity. They want to regain control of their choices and exercise their rights, which seem limited to one place of residence - the reserve. However, their daily way of life and the expression of their identity are profoundly marked by their inherited philosophy. It is through this philosophy that they express their resistance to assimilation and affirm their contemporary values.

In spite of their distance from the community, Amerindian women who have left the reserve maintain a link of belonging to their home community. They want to participate in the projects and activities of their people. They bring a distinct culture with them which organizes their daily life around values they learned from their people, values that they want to pass on. However, they cannot rid themselves of the feeling of belonging to societies that still do not have the freedom to make their own choices.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research on Amerindian women in Quebec urban centres, based on quantitative and qualitative data, was to assess current knowledge and to suggest an appropriate framework for further research. In light, however, of the scarcity of information on the subject and the fact that it will be impossible to implement the second phase of the research for the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, we wanted to contribute to the greatest extent possible to a better understanding of the situation of Amerindian women in urban centres.

We will thus try to portray the situation of Aboriginal women in urban centres, especially those who have preserved a link with their home community, specifically their reserve. We made this choice for the following reason: the circumstances of different Aboriginal women (Indian, Métis and Inuit) living in urban centres may be quite diverse. However, the determination of a distinct legal status for registered Indians under the *Indian Act* irrevocably links Aboriginal people recognized as Indian members of a band to the principal place they exercise their rights: the reserve. Consequently, the emigration of Indian women from the reserve to cities has a specific impact on the exercise of their rights. We wanted to know the extent of this impact.

Thus, while giving due regard throughout this research to the circumstances of all Aboriginal women living in urban centres, our work focuses on a specific objective: to take stock of knowledge about the impact of the emigration of Indian women to Quebec urban centres. This choice became clear as we reviewed the information we had gathered.

The initial objective of this work was to provide a critical analysis of documentation about Aboriginal women in Quebec urban centres, in order to be able to sum up what is known about the situation of these women. We therefore had to assess information provided in the documentation in order to identify gaps and decide what further information was needed. Noting the almost total lack of research on Indian women in Quebec urban centres, we concentrated on gathering information on the general socio-economic and political situation of Aboriginal people in urban centres. This approach was to enable us to see the overall picture in order to better understand and assess the specific subject of our research.

An analysis of existing literature was used to prepare a critical essay and an annotated bibliography which reveals the deep gaps in knowledge of the subject. Interviews as well as data from the *Aboriginal Peoples Survey* (APS) confirmed a real need for documentation about the situation on which we had focused.

The information we obtained enables us first to describe Aboriginal migrants and to identify the reasons for the migration of women in particular. Next, we tackle the question of the extent to which they are really free to choose to stay in the city or return to the reserve. A statistical portrait shows the different circumstances for Aboriginal women in urban centres compared with those on reserve. In attempting to identify the specific needs of women who left their community, we were brought up short once again by the absence of significant data. Finally, an examination of the political aspect shows that urban Aboriginal people find it difficult, in terms

of participation and the organization of institutions to represent them, to be involved in the process for implementing Aboriginal self-government. Nonetheless, Aboriginal authors, whether they are from the city or communities, express their attachment to a distinct culture which they want to protect and hand down.

## 1.1 Findings of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples

In its research program, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples made some observations that are directly relevant to this study. The Commission found that the situation of Aboriginal people in urban centres was not very well known, that the concept of government outside reserves was a very recent research area and that very little work had been done on the subject.

Moreover, the Commission planned to undertake a research program focused specifically on the "women's dimension". The aim of this program was to allow Aboriginal women to make their experience and points of view known about self-government, justice, development of resources, land use, treaty rights, land claims, labour force participation, health, education, culture and family relationships. The Commission also called for work on the "urban dimension". Matters such as cultural identity, the phenomenon of street children, self-government in urban centres, housing and obstacles to urban institutional development were thus to be the subject of specific research. Lastly, the Commission noted how little work it had received from Aboriginal people. Within the framework of the Commission's work, no research directly tackled the question of the situation of Aboriginal women in Quebec urban centres.

Following the example of the Commission's work, this paper focuses on two aspects of Aboriginal life, the urban dimension and the women's dimension. The Aboriginal author wishes to contribute to better knowledge of the situation of Aboriginal women in Quebec urban centres.

## 1.2 Documentary Research and Interviews

Documentary research in libraries and documentation centres of Aboriginal organizations provided an inventory of relevant work which enabled us to respond to our two main research questions: "Why do Indian women leave their home community?" and "How do they fare in the city?"

A number of reports and briefs submitted by various organizations, along with journals and specialized publications which have devoted one or more issues to Aboriginal women, proved to be useful sources of information about our subject. Moreover, research on services and programs for Aboriginal people shed light on the specific circumstances of Aboriginal women in urban centres. Indeed, the research showed that this population is neglected, even when it is directly concerned with situations being studied by Aboriginal organizations and other government agencies. Nonetheless, Aboriginal women are the focus of a number of reference documents, whether they live in Aboriginal communities or in urban centres. We also found, in

the personal accounts and memoirs of Amerindian women, that each person's experience seems profoundly influenced by where she lives. Moreover, whether women settle on a temporary or permanent basis outside reserves sheds light on the different relationships with their home community.

Interviews, documentary research and an analysis of Statistics Canada's APS enabled us to depict the specific situation of Aboriginal women living in Quebec urban centres.

We tried to understand why Indian women leave their family, their friends and their community. Can they choose to settle outside their home community? Are they exercising a free choice? What are the consequences of this choice? What are their living conditions? How does their life differ from that of people living on reserve? What are their needs? How do they get involved in the political debate about the political and economic rights of First Nations? Finally we briefly reviewed Aboriginal literature to show why the expression of their common belonging and their aspirations should be left in their hands.

The remarks of people we met and those which appear in the documents we consulted were used to summarize the situation of Amerindian women in Quebec urban centres. We also included several excerpts of personal accounts from Aboriginal women themselves.

The documents which enabled us to portray and describe the situation of Aboriginal women in urban centres come from a variety of sources as noted in the bibliographic section of this work. For the specific needs of this particular bibliography, analytical notes or critical summaries about our topic accompany each of the texts selected.

The attachment of different Aboriginal groups to their home communities (nation and land) takes on quite different aspects but there is one common thread. Whether they have always lived in cities or have just moved there, Aboriginal people all demonstrate a will to protect and pass on their cultural identity. They want to regain control of their choices and exercise their rights, which seem limited to one place of residence -- the reserve. However, their daily way of life and the expression of their identity are profoundly marked by their inherited philosophy. It is through this philosophy that they express their resistance to assimilation and affirm their contemporary values.

A brief portrayal of Aboriginal migrants underlines the fact that women in urban centres experience very different circumstances. However, the socio-economic conditions of Indian women who migrate to urban centres are often similar to those of Métis and other Aboriginal people who have always lived in cities. The data from Statistics Canada's APS provide an opportunity to compare different circumstances. The fairly strongly expressed desire of Amerindian women to return to their home communities reveals the special situation of women who never really had a choice about leaving. However, a number of these women find that cities allow them to be more independent and freer. And yet, Amerindian women in urban centres have more difficulty accessing services and cannot fully participate in debates on political and economic matters in their home communities.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

There are three principal sources for the information in this paper: documentary research, interviews with key respondents and the *Aboriginal Peoples Survey*.

### 2.1 Information Gathering

We began by formulating the research topic: an analysis of the situation of Aboriginal women in Quebec urban centres. Our preliminary reading on this topic enabled us to formulate questions for key respondents who worked with the women concerned. We identified and met about a dozen people: Aboriginal women living in urban centres who have worked with other women in the same situation.

We also organized discussion groups which brought together Aboriginal case workers in health, social services, training and employment. General discussion shed light on the situation of Aboriginal women in urban centres. As a result of these meetings, we learned that the women are especially concerned about issues such as their health, access to services, training and employment, and Aboriginal self-government.

At the same time, we identified sources of information such as finding aids, indices and bibliographies. In doing so, we again noted the relative scarcity of specialized works about Aboriginal women in urban centres. We then selected and reviewed different kinds of documents which could provide information relevant to our research.

In addition to looking at secondary documentation (books, anthologies, periodicals, articles, etc.), we visited various organizations that work with Aboriginal people in urban centres, including friendship centres, a shelter and an association of urban women. We had access to primary sources essential to an understanding of our subject (reports, working documents, etc.). We also chose texts written by Aboriginal authors.

Moreover, we selected comments from Aboriginal people themselves, in the form of personal accounts, points of view and poems. They appear in issues of specialized journals devoted to Aboriginal women (*Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*) or in reports on topics of special interest to Aboriginal women in general and to Aboriginal women in urban centres in particular (the *Gazette des femmes* and the magazine *Rencontre*).

We looked at several works by Aboriginal authors that suggested relevant points of view for our research. Although none of the listed works directly addresses our research topic, these texts shed a different light on ways to tackle Aboriginal issues. Like the work of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, the writings of Aboriginal people are essential to learning more about them.

## 2.2 The Annotated Bibliography

We organized the various documents we used by subject, from the general (Aboriginal people in Canada) to the specific (Aboriginal women in Quebec urban centres). We identified those works which deal with the question of rights and placed an emphasis on the Aboriginal analytical perspective. The place where rights are exercised seems to be the common thread since the themes stressed by key respondents (rights, education, health, services, programs, identity, etc.) are always linked to place of residence.

The documents inventoried in the annotated bibliography give us access to a great deal of information on the situation of Aboriginal women in Quebec urban centres.

The documents included deal with the issue of Aboriginal rights in general, rights attached to place of residence, the needs of Aboriginal people in urban centres and, more specifically, the needs of the group identified for the research -- Aboriginal women in Quebec urban centres. The documents are broken down into seven categories:

1. Aboriginal people in Canada
2. Aboriginal people in Quebec
3. Aboriginal women in Canada
4. Aboriginal people in Canadian urban centres
5. Aboriginal women in Quebec
6. Aboriginal people in Quebec urban centres
7. Aboriginal women in Quebec urban centres

We included briefs, summaries of hearings and committee reports which describe the circumstances of Aboriginal women in urban centres. Their specific situation has been raised by relevant agencies (Aboriginal women's groups, friendship centres), but up until now, their demands do not seem to have had the support of Aboriginal political organizations or the attention of other governmental agencies.

The following criteria were used to select documents. We gave preference to some sources over others, first on the basis of the topics covered, which had to have been mentioned by key respondents during the preparatory interviews. Then, the documents had to provide relevant information and bring forward points of view and personal accounts that were both enlightening and original. Titles, works and unpublished documents were chosen for their informational, conceptual or methodological contribution. We tended to choose sources in French although certain English works were also selected. Sources written by Aboriginal people are highlighted. We prepared this bibliography as a working tool for the development of future research projects and for the use of individuals and agencies working with Amerindian women in Quebec urban centres.

## 2.3 Aboriginal, Amerindian and Indian Women

This paper uses three different designations to identify the groups of interest to us; this helps to distinguish among different situations. When we deal with issues affecting all women of Aboriginal origin (Indian, Métis or Inuit), we speak of "Aboriginal women". We use the expression "Indian women" when it is a question of women of Indian status or who are recognized as Indian by their home community. The term "Amerindian women" also denotes women who have maintained links with their home band. It should be noted, however, that this choice is not guided by a desire to categorize the different individuals concerned. Its sole purpose is to make a distinction between different sets of circumstances.

## 3. ABORIGINAL PEOPLE IN QUEBEC

Aboriginal women living in Quebec urban centres belong to different groups: Métis, Inuit, and status or non-status Indians within the meaning of the *Indian Act*.[1] While taking account of the specific circumstances of all Aboriginal women living in Quebec urban centres, we must remember that this project focuses especially on Indian women who have already lived on reserve and who have maintained a link with their home community. General data on these populations point to problems.

Table 1

| Population reporting Aboriginal identity in Quebec | |
|---|---|
| Men | Women |
| 23,740 | 28,555 |
| 52,295 | |

Table 2

| Registered Indians in Quebec | |
|---|---|
| Belonging to an Indian band | Not belonging to an Indian band |
| 33,015 | 3,135 |
| 36,150 | |

Source: Statistics Canada, *Aboriginal Data: Age and Sex*, Catalogue 94-327, 1991.

The 1991 census data tell us that 137,615 people living in Quebec **reported that they were of Aboriginal origin**. Still in Quebec, 52,295 people, of whom 28,555 were women, **identified themselves as Aboriginal people**.[2]

Among this population, 36,150 people reported themselves as registered Indians, 33,015 said they belonged to an Indian band and 3,135 said they did not belong to any band.[3] The sample population for the 1991 Statistics Canada APS "was selected from respondents who had indicated at least one Aboriginal origin and/or that they were registered under the *Indian Act* on their census questionnaire".[4] Individuals who **identified with** their Aboriginal origin (North American Indians, Métis, Inuit and others) or reported being registered under the *Indian Act* thus made up the APS sample.[5]

Table 3

| On-Reserve | | | | Off-Reserve | | | | Total | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | | Women | | Men | | Women | | Men | | Women | |
| # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| 19,021 | 49.7 | 19,282 | 50.3 | 7,060 | 44.2 | 8,910 | 55.8 | 26,081 | 48.1 | 28,192 | 51.9 |
| 38,303 | | | | 15,970 | | | | 54,273 | | | |

Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Indian Register Population by Sex and Residence 1993.

According to the Indian Register,[6] the total population of status Indians in Quebec on December 31, 1993 comprised 54,273 individuals, of whom 26,081 were men and 28,192 were women. Of this population, 38,303 (71 per cent) lived on reserve[7] and 15,970 (29 per cent) lived off reserve.[8] Data from the Indian Register show that the population of off-reserve status Indians included 7,060 men and 8,910 women. According to these figures, 27 per cent of male status Indians live off reserve, as against 31.6 per cent for women. Breaking down the population of status Indians off reserve in per centages by sex, we see that 44.2 per cent are men and 55.8 per cent are women.

The Quebec Inuit population was 7,840 residents in northern communities and 530 non-residents.[9] According to 1991 Statistics Canada census data[10] for Quebec, 8,480 reported Inuit origin, 19,480 reported Aboriginal (Métis) origin and 112,590, North American Indian origin.

There are several reasons for the difference between Statistics Canada data (36,150) and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada data (54,273) on the number of status Indians. First, the 1991 census data and the 1993 Indian Register data were gathered two years apart. Moreover, several Indian reserves and settlements were only partially enumerated in the 1991 census. However, the magnitude of the difference reveals a significant problem in obtaining accurate data on the Quebec Indian population.

## 4. ABORIGINAL MIGRANTS TO URBAN CENTRES

Over the years, reserve lands, maintained for the benefit of Indian bands, have been the only lands remaining for Indians who signed treaties. Reserves have become the seats of new governments for those refusing the extinguishing of all their rights.

Reserves are no longer what they once were. Formerly symbolizing the exclusion and isolation of Amerindian populations, they have developed an intense community lifestyle. However, shutting away a population in a setting which does not allow it to grow or develop also brings about many socio-economic problems (violence, substance abuse, poverty). Although Indians are still not able to make their own choices as independent societies, reserves at least allow them to protect their cultural identity.

Indeed, a new community life has developed around reserves. This community is like a large family where everyone knows everyone else, and where everyone is protected. According to Marcelline Picard-Canapé, Chief of the Betsiamites band, the family clan is very close and community life very visible. "Whether you like it or not", she says, "the community is our family" [translation].[11] It is never easy to leave this community and just as difficult to return to it.

A study on Aboriginal people and urbanization distinguishes three kinds of Aboriginal people not living on their reserve:[12] transients, migrants and residents. Although this study dates back to 1977, the questions Gurstein asks are still current since he focuses, as we do, on the causes of Aboriginal emigration to urban centres and he tries to discover what happens to them in cities. This study leads us to recognize and to consider all those who form part of the urban Aboriginal population, whether they are there temporarily or on a permanent basis. Moreover, migratory movement between reserves and urban centres brings to light the socio-economic problems of these communities. According to Dolorès André of the Native Friendship Centre of Montreal,

> Aboriginal people come to town because they can't find work in their communities, because the only available work is temporary or seasonal, or because they want to gain knowledge and experience that they could eventually use to some benefit on reserves in order to help their people. It's a real challenge and those who succeed are very respected in their communities.[13] [translation]

Dolorès André's remarks and the categories used by Gurstein enable us to tackle the issue of the causes and effects of the emigration of Indian women to urban centres. This information prompts us to point out that these women do not always have a choice about leaving and that their attachment to their community seems to persist even when they decide to settle outside reserves. Moreover, a new category of urban Aboriginal people is more and more obvious: those who are born in the city or who settle there when they are still very young. Some of these individuals identify with a totally urban Aboriginal community.

## 4.1 Aboriginal Urban Dwellers

Among Aboriginal people living in urban centres, some have never lived in totally Aboriginal communities (reserves, northern communities) while others were born in the city. These are mainly non-status Indians, Métis and children of women who lost their Indian status after their marriage and who were re-registered after Bill C-31 was passed. Some of them are also registered as members of different Quebec Indian bands. Their registration as members of a band makes them status Indians on band lists but living off reserve. They are thus attached to the home community of their parents, mainly that of their mother. They are eligible for financial aid managed by band councils to undertake postsecondary studies.

The situation of urban Aboriginal people (status and non-status Indians, Métis and Inuit) received particular attention in the work of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.[14] During the hearings of the Commission, Aboriginal people reported being "at home in the city", and did not believe that they could feel any better in a strictly Aboriginal community (reserve or village). On the other hand, these urban Aboriginal people found that it was very difficult for them to preserve, share and freely pass on their cultural heritage. Thus the lack of means for preserving and sharing their kinship in an Aboriginal community threatens what they themselves see as being essential for their collective survival.

## 4.2 From the Reserve to the City, A Choice?

Amerindians who have already lived on a reserve and who decide to settle in cities do so for a number of reasons, mainly socio-economic ones, to study and to work.[15] For Amerindian women who have migrated to urban centres in Quebec, there are a number of grounds for leaving reserves. The people met during the research reported the same socio-economic reasons, but the documents and interviews reveal that the choice to leave is not always a free one and that planning a move to the city is related to an urgent need to leave the reserve.

The problem of family violence seems to be one of the decisive reasons for the exile of many Indian women. These women leave their community because they have no other choice. "It's a question of survival" [translation], the manager of a shelter for Aboriginal women in Montreal confirmed. The remarks gathered in various reports we consulted also highlight this situation.

For example, some women come to the city to look for assistance after an attack. They flee because they cannot stay in their community, where silence prevails with respect to problems of family violence.

In an article by Gilles Chaumel published in 1991 in the magazine *Rencontre*,[16] a woman reports, "It's the mentality of the communities. You want to protect the clan and the family at all cost. Victims are doubly victimized because they have to leave, on top of everything else"

[translation]. A study on mental health and Aboriginal people in Quebec[17] also points out that women who are victims of violence in their community have no choice but to leave. "This is an involuntary and not a voluntary departure and it most often involves an integration into an urban centre" [translation].[18] In short, it appears that even if women decide to move to the city temporarily or permanently, the choice is often dictated by circumstances beyond their control.

### 4.3 Who Takes A Husband, Takes A Country!

Another reality also surfaces when we examine the issue of Indian women living in urban centres. Before 1985, women who lost their Indian status because of marriage[19] had to leave their reserve.

These women did not necessarily choose to live in cities or, at least, outside their Aboriginal communities. After their marriage, they no longer had the freedom to live where they wanted. Some women report having suffered from this isolation and exclusion. Suzan Craig, in her Master's thesis, deals with this issue. The title *Qui prend mari prend pays? A Study of Women's Role in Ethnic Boundary in a Native Community in Quebec*[20] is very evocative. The personal accounts of many of these women reproduced in this thesis reveal their desire to return to their community.

In spite of the Bill C-31 amendments to the *Indian Act*,[21] women who want to return to reserves still face many problems. We will return to this specific situation later. For whatever reason, the place of residence of women affected by the discriminatory sections of the *Indian Act* still seems today to be determined by circumstances beyond their control rather than by their free choice to live where they wish.

## 5. LEAVE OR STAY!

From the interviews and documents, it appears that in spite of an attachment to their home community, Amerindian women who have been living in town for a fairly long period hesitate to return to the reserve, although they still hope to do so.

The decision to stay in town or return to live on a reserve may be dictated by as many reasons as the choice to leave Aboriginal communities (villages and reserves) in the first place. We tried to learn why Indian women choose to stay in cities.

### 5.1 Preferring Cities

Women who have already lived on a reserve and who have had to leave for one reason or another say that they prefer cities because they have greater individual freedom, more privacy and more opportunity to develop, to study and to work. Some state that they are able to have a private life in the city and provide more for their children. Others say that they do not have a choice about living in cities since there is no available housing on reserve. Lastly, mental health problems on reserve worry mothers, who prefer to bring their children up in a less difficult setting.

A study on Aboriginal people in the Val d'Or area[22] provides quite relevant information. It contains socio-demographic data, a description and an assessment of the various facets of life for Aboriginal people in Val d'Or; discrimination, spirituality, culture and the future are also dealt with. It shows that the vast majority of Indians in the area would decide to stay in town if they had the choice because of the services that urban centres offer: schools, shops, activities, recreation, etc. However, these Indians maintain contact with the elders of their respective nations, who remain role models for them.

The people we met during our interviews also identified other reasons for remaining in cities. Some women said that they felt safer there. And yet, in answer to the question *Do you feel safe when walking alone at night in the community or the neighbourhood where you are living at the moment?* in the APS (Table 8), more Indian women living on reserve (69.4 per cent) responded that they felt safe. Among women living off reserve, only 62.6 per cent said the same thing. According to the APS, a higher per centage (5.1 per cent) of Indian women living on reserve had experienced assault during the previous year, although this is nonetheless close to the per centage for Indian women off reserve (4.4 per cent). It would no doubt be interesting to know a bit more about what this feeling of safety means for Indian women living off reserve. Nonetheless, we found that in addition to services, the feeling of safety and the sense of belonging to an urban Aboriginal community, some women feel they are able to live more freely in an anonymous city than in a community where everyone knows everyone else and people protect one another. But links with family, the clan and the community seem strong.

## 5.2 Belonging to the Community

Attachment to the Aboriginal home community is reflected most clearly in the desire to preserve and hand down the cultural heritage of First Nations. Participation in cultural activities in urban centres and communities is an indicator of this desire to protect and transmit Aboriginal culture. Indeed, we noted in our research that urban Indian women often meet one another in the context of cultural activities in urban centres.

The analysis of APS data also gives us an idea of the level of participation of Indian women in traditional activities (Table 3). Among Indian women living on reserve in Quebec, 70.7 per cent reported participating in traditional activities, while 35.3 per cent of women living off reserve said they participated in such activities. The gap is significant but it does show that in spite of the distance from their community, Aboriginal women in urban centres do participate in traditional activities. Moreover, we were able to observe that urban Indians participate actively in Aboriginal festivities and cultural activities held in urban centres. Performances as well as exhibitions by Aboriginal artists and artisans also attract many Indian spectators.

If Indians can maintain links with the Aboriginal community despite their migration to a city, why do some women continue to hope to return to live in their home community?

## 5.3 Hoping to Return

This desire to return to the reserve reflects a need to find a way back to the home community, family, clan and community life. Dolorès André writes:

> Even though some Aboriginal people live in cities, they still carry with them their culture, which they integrate into their daily life. They nurture the hope of living on their reserve.[23] [translation]

Many women who leave their community because of family violence problems want to return to their reserve even if the problems have not been resolved. "A way has to be found to help them at home, because they are going to return there, it's inevitable, it's part of the cycle" [translation], the manager of an urban shelter for Aboriginal women told us.

For some women the home community appears to be a place where rules, time and space have a different meaning. The pace of life and easier access to various services draw many women back to their community as well. Virginie Michel, a Montagnais student, expresses her uneasiness at having left her community and her desire to return:

> When I am in town, there is an uneasiness which torments me -- the feeling of being cut off from my freedom. I am subject to all sorts of rules. There is a mixture of two values, there are regulations, deadlines and a loss of freedom.[24] [translation]

However, this desire to regain freedom seems linked more to the living environment associated with Montagnais (Innu) land and community life than to the environment on reserves. For many women living in urban centres, the reserve does not appear to be a place where people can develop.

## 5.4 Quality of Life

The "living environment" of reserves does not always seem to be ideal for bringing up a family. Indeed, managers of organizations that help Aboriginal women in urban centres say that the creation of reserves and the replacement of traditional values by those of white society have promoted a cycle of violence that encourages many women to leave their community.[25] Some women living off reserve are worried about the quality of life and the mental health of people living in Aboriginal communities. They wonder about the impact of the living environment of reserves on the development of the people who live there. These women are very concerned by the numerous social problems of people who live on reserve.

A study on suicide on reserves reveals the role that the living environment plays in the rate of suicide and other violent deaths for young Amerindians.[26] Blame is placed on the shutting away of a population that no longer has any freedom or the resources or real power needed to extricate itself from its severe problems. Indian women in urban centres rightly wonder how their children would be able to develop freely in communities that are not free. On the other hand, they worry about not being able to preserve and hand down their cultural heritage and ask how they can do so if they do not maintain their relationship with their home community.

## 5.5 Isolation

Nonetheless, a number of people we met in the course of the research said that, although life seems "healthier" off reserve, they still feel isolated in cities. The Quebec Native Women's Association pointed to this solitude and the precariousness of living conditions for many women in urban centres in Quebec in its brief to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples:

> . . . by choice or by necessity (often to escape violent surroundings), [Native women] relocate to an urban environment. They are often poor, unemployed, have little education and have the custody of children. They are isolated and especially disadvantaged when it comes to living in an environment that is very different from their primary culture.[27]

On the other hand, this isolation seems less critical when women settle in towns close to their community.[28] Nonetheless, Indian women in urban centres often take an interest in the people living in their home community. As the Working Group on Mental Health notes, Indian women who have had to leave their community wish to help their people on reserve. The authors write:

> For many, once the problems which made them leave their community are resolved, confidence and self-esteem, the desire to contribute to the healing of others and even to return to the community to contribute to good mental health there, are restored.[29] [translation]

Because they do not face the daily social problems of people living on reserve, some women say that they see problems more objectively and believe they can more effectively help those living in difficult situations. These women want either to offer support in the city for people who leave their community or to return to work with their people.

This deep attachment to the home community expresses itself in the desire, fairly strongly expressed by many women who have lived for some years in urban centres, to return to their people. The conditions of such a return, however, seem difficult. According to the women we met, a lack of housing and a rather chilly welcome from people fearing a massive return of families living off reserve make such plans difficult to carry through.

### 5.6 Fears of Residents

Residents of reserves have a real fear that immigrants from cities will damage the cultural development of communities by bringing more individualistic values with them. Personal accounts gathered from on-reserve Montagnais are very eloquent.[30] Commenting on the impacts of Bill C-31, on-reserve women worry about a return of Métis people who would not be able to speak their mother tongue, who would be better educated, etc. There is particular anxiety about women who left their community because of their marriage to a non-Indian. According to Jocelyne Richer,[31] most of those who leave eventually come back even though they are often not welcome. Many of these urban emigrant women are still experiencing the rejection of their home community.

Whatever the reasons for this resistance to the return of "urbanized" Indian women, their reintegration is far from easy. On the other hand, according to the Working Group on Mental Health, the re-introduction of people to their Aboriginal identity seems to be "an essential factor for the survival and development of these same nations" [translation].[32]

## 6. A DIFFICULT RETURN

Institutionalized discrimination under the *Indian Act* has been very limiting for many Indian women living in Quebec urban centres. Like Amerindian women throughout Canada, they have had to leave their community, been deprived of their rights and had to struggle incessantly to be considered the equal of their brothers. Let us briefly recall the facts.

The *Indian Act* defines who can or cannot be a status Indian. Before the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* was enacted, Indian women who married non-Indians lost their Indian status and could no longer benefit from reserve lands or receive services or participate in programs designed for Indians.

The bill to amend the *Indian Act* was passed in June 1985 and its application was retroactive to April 17, the date that section 15 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* came into effect. In spite of the passage of Bill C-31 in 1985, the situation has not been totally corrected, particularly with regard to the "free" return of women to their home community.

In an article entitled *La Loi C-31, une étape vers l'égalité* (Bill C-31: A Step Towards Equality), Diane Joannette of the Quebec Native Women's Association writes: "In 1991, 10 per cent of women who had recovered their status were back living in their community . . . nothing was done to facilitate their return" [translation].[33] The Association, testifying before the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs on the implementation of Bill C-31,[34] maintained that a climate of uncertainty and confusion prevailed on reserves after the passage of Bill C-31. The anxieties arose from a lack of information, a shortage of funding for housing programs and cuts in education budgets. In brief, for many Aboriginal people, the re-registration of women and children discriminated against by the *Indian Act* meant fewer community services. These were not the first obstacles Aboriginal women discriminated against by the *Indian Act* had had to face, as the next section shows.

### 6.1 Re-registration and Reintegration

In 1973, Janet Lavell and Yvonne Bédard lost their Supreme Court case. Five judges to four maintained that the *Canadian Bill of Rights* could not have any effect on statutes predating its enactment, including the *Indian Act*.

When this case was heard by the Supreme Court, the Native Council of Canada, representing non-status Indians and Métis, intervened on behalf of women discriminated against by the *Indian Act*. However, the Indian Brotherhood of Canada, representing status Indians, opposed any amendment to the *Indian Act* as it considered it a protective measure under the *British North America Act* (*Constitution Act, 1867*). According to the Brotherhood, this Act could not be rendered inoperative by the *Canadian Bill of Rights*.[35]

In 1981 came the victory of Sandra Lovelace before the United Nations Human Rights Commission, but still Canada did not amend the *Indian Act*. Ms. Lovelace had brought her case before the Commission asserting that Canada was violating the international treaty on political and civil rights that it had signed in 1976.

There was, to be sure, strong pressure from Aboriginal chiefs not to alter any part of the *Indian Act*, which still seemed to provide protection for the collective rights of Aboriginal peoples. The First Nations representatives also declared that Aboriginal people would decide themselves who was Indian and who was not.

All the same, Amerindian women continued their struggle. Supported by organizations like the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women and the National Action Committee, the Native Women's Association of Canada and the provincial native women's associations, they finally won. The *Indian Act* would be amended but that did not mean an end to the exclusion of women who chose a non-Indian spouse under the meaning of the *Act*.

In an interview with Diane Morissette in 1984, several months before Bill C-31 was passed, Bibiane Courtois, former president of the Quebec Native Women's Association, said:

> I do not see how women can go back to the reserve just like that, suddenly, after having been away for 15, 20 or 30 years . . . For them, to go back to the reserve could be a real lifesaver, but they're going to need help to regain an identity, help to feel at home once again among the others.[36] [translation]

With the enactment of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, the Canadian government no longer had any choice. It had to amend the *Indian Act*. To avoid having it ruled unconstitutional by the courts, the Canadian government provided for a delay.[37] Section 15 of the Charter, which guarantees equality, would not come into effect until 1985.

Bill C-31, adopted in June 1985, amended the *Indian Act* and henceforward allowed women who had lost their Indian status to regain it. According to the amendments, people entitled to Indian status were women who had lost it by marrying non-status men, people who had lost their Indian status because of a discriminatory clause or because of enfranchisement and, finally, children whose parents had been re-registered. However, the amendments did not grant Indian status to second-generation descendants of re-registered individuals unless both parents had Indian status under section 6(2) or unless one parent was a status Indian under section 6(1) of the *Indian Act*. As of February 23, 1995, 96,850 people in Canada[38] has been registered as status Indians under the Bill C-31 provisions of the *Indian Act*. In Quebec, 9,933 people had been registered under the same provisions and 800 applications were still pending.

Implementation of the amendments to the *Indian Act* has raised much controversy, for re-registered individuals as well as for Aboriginal communities in general. The impact of re-registration of several thousand people[39] was predictable, of course, but it seems that neither bands nor governments were ready to meet the new demands.

## 6.2 Impacts of Bill C-31

A national inquiry by the Native Women's Association of Canada, the Native Council of Canada and the Assembly of First Nations shows that the consequences of the passage of Bill C-31 for bands and communities are numerous.[40] Moreover, according to this same survey, there has been a significant increase in expenditure with regard to government programs.[41]

Re-registered individuals are indignant at having other restrictions imposed upon them, according to this national inquiry on the impacts of Bill C-31. The restrictions mainly affect services and benefits for status Indians. Housing conditions, the clause limiting second-generation status and invasion of privacy[42] are also new barriers that re-registered women and their children encounter.

Moreover, bands consider re-registered individuals a new burden and not a positive contribution to the community.[43] According to a study by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women on the impact of Bill C-31, " . . . there is a real fear that new members will unacceptably reduce the resources of bands and will alter the social and cultural fabric of the community" [translation].[44]

Band budgets are already clearly inadequate and councils cannot respond properly to the new demand for housing and various services. Moreover, Indians living on reserve do not always take a positive view of settlement by new families who no longer share, according to them, the same community values.[45] In summary, women affected by the amendments to the *Indian Act* become members of their home band once again, but they are not automatically reintegrated into their community. However, while developing new relationships in their adopted environment, these women maintain a special link with their family, their clan and their band. Nonetheless, while the Indian women affected by amendments to the *Indian Act* recover their rights, they do not have access to the same services as those on reserves. Sooner or later, many of them want to go back.

The socio-economic and cultural situation of Aboriginal women living in Quebec urban centres (Indian, Métis and Inuit) has some similarities with the problems encountered by Indians on reserves. Statistics Canada's APS sketches a profile of the lifestyles and living conditions of Aboriginal people, including their housing, health, labour market experience, schooling, mobility and use of one or more Aboriginal languages.[46] The analysis of survey data should provide better understanding of the socio-economic status of Aboriginal women.

## 7. ABORIGINAL WOMEN IN QUEBEC URBAN CENTRES: A Statistical Portrait

Statistics Canada's APS can give us an idea of the socio-economic and cultural conditions of Aboriginal women in Quebec urban centres. Data on women who identified themselves as "North American Indians" are significant when compared to those for men in the areas of employment, income, schooling, lifestyle, social issues and housing.

These data are, nonetheless, relative. Although they provide relevant information, we should keep in mind the limits of this survey, in which many Indians refused to participate. Moreover, the census and survey language as well as the temporary nature of some migration[47] to urban centres may have increased the margin of error already inherent in this kind of probability survey.[48]

Thus, it must not be forgotten that some people were not considered in the survey: Aboriginal women who settled in town for a short period and who lived in collective housing or shelters, as well as people with no fixed address. Unfortunately APS data do not allow us to know the real status of Indian women living off reserve.

### 7.1 Employment and Income (Tables 31A, B, C)

To sketch a picture of the employment situation of Aboriginal women living in Quebec urban centres, we can compare employment characteristics according to whether or not women lived on reserves and the barriers that they faced in finding work.

Among adults 15 years and over who reported Aboriginal identity in Quebec, fewer women had paid employment (45.8 per cent) than men (63.2 per cent). These figures are very close to the rates recorded for Aboriginal people for the whole of Canada, where the number of women in paid employment reached 49.7 per cent, against 65.4 per cent for men.

The unemployment rate is lower for women than for men, in Quebec and throughout Canada. In Quebec, the unemployment rate reaches 20.7 per cent for women and 26.6 per cent for men.

Comparing the participation rate of North American Indian women living on reserve and off reserve (Table 15B) reveals that women off reserve have a higher employment rate and a lower unemployment rate than women who live on reserve. The participation rate is 36.0 per cent for women on reserve, rising to 50.9 per cent off reserve. The unemployment rate for women is 26.6 per cent on reserve, while it is 18.9 per cent off reserve. Métis women's rates of employment (49.3 per cent) and unemployment (21.2 per cent) are comparable to those for North American Indian women off reserve.

The participation rate for women reporting Aboriginal identity is particularly high in large metropolitan areas, rising to 61.1 per cent in Montreal and to 61.9 per cent in the Ottawa-Hull area (Table 16C).

On the other hand, Indian women living on reserve were much more likely than those off reserve to have engaged in activities other than paid employment in order to earn money in 1990 and 1991: the proportion is 28.7 per cent for women living on reserve against 12.3 per cent off reserve. Women living on reserve are also more likely to have carried on unpaid activities to meet their family needs, the proportion being 17.0 per cent on reserve against only 7.3 per cent off reserve. The results for Métis women are generally closer to those for women living off reserve than for women living on reserve.

## 7.2 Eating Habits and Mobility (Tables 5, 17A, B)

The data on the eating habits of APS respondents (Table 5) and the source of food (meat, fish, poultry) show that 73.0 per cent of Indian women living on reserve say that a good part of their food comes from hunting and fishing while 32.8 per cent of Indian women living off reserve state that this food comes from hunting and fishing. We can assume that hunting and fishing activities are part of the unpaid activities of Indian women living on reserve.[49] Moreover, "Indian food" is a significant food source for Indians on some reserves. Easier access to the land allows them to stock up more regularly.

The survey data on the mobility of respondents over the year preceding the census (Tables 11A & B), show that on-reserve Indians, both men and women, were the most likely to have spent time "on the land . . . during the past 12 months".

Of all Aboriginal respondents (male and female) 15 years of age and over in Quebec and Canada who reported living on the land, men in Quebec were the most likely to have done so. The per centage in Quebec is 47.2 per cent, compared with 25.5 per cent for Canada. Quebec women are also more likely to have lived in the forest. The figures for Aboriginal women are 33.7 per cent in Quebec and 15.1 per cent in Canada as a whole.

In the category of adult men (15 years of age and over) reporting Aboriginal identity in Quebec, on-reserve men lived on the land most often, with a figure of 65.6 per cent. For Inuit the number is 61.5 per cent, for Indians living off reserve, 32.5 per cent, and for Métis, 26.6 per cent. For women, the breakdown is the same but the per centages are lower: 51.6 per cent for Indian women living on reserve, 50.6 per cent for Inuit, 19.7 per cent for Indian women living off reserve and 16.1 per cent for Métis women.

The number of weeks that these individuals spent on the land also provides us with details on the different activities of Indian women living on reserve and those living off reserve.

In Quebec, 39.4 per cent of Indian women living off reserve reported having spent one to two weeks on the land and 32.2 per cent, three to four weeks. Some data are insufficient for

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analysis: those for periods of five to 20 weeks and for over 20 weeks. For men living off reserve, 36.4 per cent spent one to two weeks on the land, 30.3 per cent spent three to four weeks and 24.9 per cent, from five to 20 weeks.

For Indians living on reserve in Quebec, 30.9 per cent of women spent one to two weeks on the land, 26.7 per cent from three to four weeks and 27.5 per cent from five to 20 weeks; 5.5 per cent spent more than 20 weeks on the land. For men, 23.0 per cent spent from one to two weeks on the land, 24.6 per cent from three to four weeks and 36.2 per cent from five to 20 weeks; 7.6 per cent spent more than 20 weeks.

### 7.3 Barriers to Employment (Tables 15A, B)

Among the barriers to employment met by persons reporting Aboriginal identity and looking for work in 1991 in Quebec (Table 15A), the main factors mentioned are lack of work in their region (62.7 per cent) and lack of training (36.1 per cent). Interestingly, 10.1 per cent of women report the absence of daycare services as a barrier to their looking for work, as opposed to 2.8 per cent for men.

If we compare barriers to employment for Indian women on and off reserve (Table 15B), we note that women living on reserve are more likely to have trouble finding employment. Among Indian women living on reserve, 71.0 per cent cited a lack of jobs, compared with only 52.2 per cent of Indian women off reserve; 42.9 per cent mentioned the absence of training, compared with 34.0 per cent for Indian women off reserve; 26.9 per cent cited a lack of information on available jobs, compared with 13.3 per cent for women off reserve.

As for daycare services, Indian women living on reserve are twice as likely to consider this factor a barrier to their search for work (14.6 per cent) as women living off reserve (7.2 per cent). If we examine the data on daycare expenses (Table 12), we note that Indian women living off reserve (72.0 per cent) are, in fact, the most likely to find daycare service in their neighborhood. On the other hand, Indian women living on reserve (29.6 per cent) received this service less often in their community. When we look at the availability of daycare in the neighbourhood or the community, women and men living on reserves have the least access. Indeed, 69.0 per cent of Indian women and 72.6 per cent of Indian men paid for this service outside their community.

It should also be mentioned that 18.0 per cent of Indian women living on reserves, that is, almost one woman in five, consider the fact that they are Aboriginal to be a barrier to employment (Table 15B). The figures do not allow us to compare the perceptions of women living on and off reserve.[50]

## 7.4 Income (Tables 18A, B)

Among women 15 years and older reporting Aboriginal identity in Quebec in 1991, 61.8 per cent had a total income of less than $10,000 in 1990 (Table 18A). For men, the proportion was 42.7 per cent. These figures are similar to those for the whole of Canada, where the proportion of Aboriginal adults earning less than $10,000 per year is 60.3 per cent for women and 47.1 per cent for men.

When we compare the income of Indian women living on and off reserve, we see that 70.3 per cent of women living on reserve reported having earned less than $10,000 in 1990 (Table 18B), in comparison with only 56.0 per cent of women living off reserve. For Métis women in Quebec, 58.4 per cent reported an income of less than $10,000, while the proportion reached 63.1 per cent for Inuit women.

For Indian women working in 1990, 78.4 per cent of those living on reserve reported having earned less than $20,000, compared with 65.1 per cent for women living off reserve.

These data could mean that Indian women living off reserve are in better financial circumstances than those living on reserve. However, it must be noted that the financial picture for both groups is hardly rosy and that, in general, Indian women, like Métis and Inuit women, have low incomes.

## 7.5 Schooling (Tables 17A, B)

Indian women living off reserve are much more likely to have undertaken postsecondary studies and to have obtained a diploma. Let us look at this information in more detail.

For Aboriginal women from 15 to 49 years of age in Quebec, 46.8 per cent have completed secondary school, 25.9 per cent have undertaken postsecondary studies (with or without a diploma) and 3.5 per cent have university degrees. These figures are very similar to those for men: 48.9 per cent have completed their secondary studies, 24.3 per cent have undertaken postsecondary studies (with or without a diploma) and 3.5 per cent have received a university degree. There is thus little difference between women and men with regard to the highest level of schooling reached.

The proportion of Aboriginal women attending only primary school is higher in Quebec (21.5 per cent) than in the rest of Canada (15.1 per cent).

A comparison of Indian women from 15 to 49 years of age living on and off reserve in Quebec shows that the proportion of women completing secondary school is practically the same: 47.3 per cent and 46.2 per cent respectively. On the other hand, women from 15 to 49 years of age living off reserve are twice as likely to have pursued postsecondary studies (34.7 per cent) as women living on reserve (16.6 per cent). Indian women living off reserve are also much more

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likely to have received a university degree (6.3 per cent) than women living on reserve (1.4 per cent). Finally, the proportion of women having less than eight years of schooling is much higher on reserve (33.6 per cent) than off reserve (12.4 per cent). For Métis women, the proportions are about halfway between those for women on and off reserve.

This information on the education of Aboriginal women allows us to see that the situation for women living outside Aboriginal communities in Quebec is somewhat different from that of women living on reserves. Women who live off reserve seem to have a higher rate of schooling.

With regard to access to instruction in Aboriginal languages with Aboriginal teachers, the survey shows that Aboriginal people in Quebec seem to have readier access to education in their language with Aboriginal teachers than Aboriginal people in Canada in general. However, those living off reserve have considerably fewer Aboriginal teachers and receive little training in Aboriginal history and culture.

For Aboriginal women 15 to 49 years of age attending secondary school in Quebec, 20.3 per cent reported having had Aboriginal teachers. This proportion is higher than for all of Canada, where 14.5 per cent reported having had Aboriginal teachers. Similarly, 15.4 per cent of Aboriginal women 15 to 49 years of age in Quebec reported having received schooling in an Aboriginal language, in comparison with only 5.6 per cent in Canada as a whole. Here again, differences between men and women are minimal.

When we examine the experience of Aboriginal culture in school, we find important differences for women living on reserve and those living off reserve. While 34.3 per cent of Indian women living on reserve had Aboriginal teachers in secondary school, the proportion is only 5.9 per cent for women living off reserve. Similarly, 24.6 per cent of Indian women on reserve were taught in an Aboriginal language in secondary school, compared with only 3.7 per cent of Indian women living off reserve. Indian women living on reserve were also more likely to have been taught about Aboriginal peoples (38.1 per cent) and to have liked what they were taught (97.2 per cent) than women living off reserve, only 21.3 per cent of whom received teaching about Aboriginal peoples and 72.5 per cent of whom liked what they were taught.

In all instances, the experience of Métis women is closer to that of women living off reserve than to that of women living on reserve. As for Inuit women, only 35.5 per cent have a secondary school diploma and 40.4 per cent have eight years or less of schooling. On the other hand, 74.4 per cent of them had Aboriginal teachers and 71.4 per cent received Aboriginal language instruction.

All of these data show how difficult it can be for women living outside their community to be taught in their language and about their history. This is even more true when students decide to undertake postsecondary studies, since most of the time they must do this outside their community in colleges and universities that offer few programs designed for Aboriginal people.[51] Quebec no longer has any Aboriginal postsecondary institutions, since the disappearance of Manitou College.[52] There have been a few college and university experiments to enable Indians to take charge of their postsecondary education but these have not been very conclusive.[53]

### 7.6 Language (Tables 2, 3)

On a cultural level, Indian women living off reserve seem to be a particularly vulnerable group. Indeed, as shown in Table 3, their participation rate in traditional activities is half (35.3 per cent) that of women on reserve (70.7 per cent). Moreover, they also have the lowest level of knowledge of an Aboriginal language (spoken, 15.6 per cent; read, 10.5 per cent; written, 7.3 per cent) compared with women living on reserve, whose language knowledge clearly seems better (spoken, 84.1 per cent; read, 50.3 per cent; written, 39.7 per cent). Indian women living off reserve also have the highest per centage of people who have never spoken an Aboriginal language (72.5 per cent) and a moderate per centage of those who would like to learn or relearn an Aboriginal language (51.4 per cent) (Table 2).

These last data can be particularly alarming. However, even though these data may provide important indicators, they do not help us to understand the particular situation of women who used their mother tongue every day before leaving their community. Nonetheless, we note that these women are also confronted with the daily reality of using a different language from their ancestral Aboriginal language. It goes without saying that a mother tongue is always in danger in an environment where it is not the everyday working language. Up until now, Amerindians in urban centres have had very few ways to improve this situation.

### 7.7 Health (Tables 4A, B, C)

Data on health, lifestyles and social issues allow us to better compare the situation of Indian women living off reserve with that of other Aboriginal groups in Quebec (Table 4A).

The variables used to explore the topic of health are the respondents' perceptions of: their health compared to other persons of their age, chronic illnesses diagnosed by a health professional, and visits to health professionals during the 12 months preceding the survey.

In Quebec, Indian women living off reserve report having excellent or very good health in a proportion of 65.6 per cent (Table 4A), compared with 50.3 per cent for Indian women living on a reserve. However, a lower per centage of Indian women living off reserve report having good health: 21.5 per cent of them, compared with 37.4 per cent for Indian women living on reserve. Almost identical per centages of the two groups report fair or poor health: 13.0 per cent and 12.2 per cent respectively.

For all Aboriginal people, men living off reserve seem to have the most positive health profile (Table 4B), with the highest per centage of excellent or very good health (73.4 per cent) and the lowest rate of fair or poor health (8.7 per cent).

With regard to chronic health problems (Table 4C), the survey reveals that high blood pressure, arthritis and rheumatism,[54] diabetes and bronchitis are seen as the main chronic health

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problems for Aboriginal people in Quebec. For Indian women living on reserve, high blood pressure (13.3 per cent), diabetes (10.7 per cent) and, finally, arthritis and rheumatism (10.4 per cent) are the main health problems. For Indian women living off reserve, it is, first, arthritis and rheumatism (17.0 per cent), followed by high blood pressure (10.9 per cent) and, finally, bronchitis (10.6 per cent).

Comparing the two groups of Indian women with respect to each of the illnesses specifically reported in the survey, it emerges that Indian women living on reserve worry more than Indian women living off reserve about the following problems: diabetes (10.7 per cent compared with 4.7 per cent), high blood pressure (13.3 per cent in comparison with 10.9 per cent) and cardiac problems (10.1 per cent compared with 6.9 per cent). Diabetes shows the clearest gap: 6.0 per cent.

However, Indian women living off reserve worry more about arthritis and rheumatism (17.0 per cent versus 10.4 per cent), bronchitis (10.6 per cent versus 5.8 per cent) and asthma (9.0 per cent versus 7.5 per cent). Here, arthritis and rheumatism show the most significant difference (6.6 per cent).

Taking these data together with information gathered from health professionals allows us to state that the health problems of Indian women, whether they live on or off reserve, are similar. However, the **main** chronic health problems of Indian women appear to be different depending on whether or not they live on a reserve. Indeed, the survey tells us that diabetes is seen as a clearly more significant problem on reserves. Nonetheless, the survey does not allow us to determine whether women in urban centres use all the services to which they are entitled both in town and on the reserve. Here again, caution must be used in analyzing these data even though they provide very relevant information. It appears from the information obtained in the interviews that the survey data do not reflect the reality of the health status of Indian women in Quebec. Questions intended to reveal how respondents perceive their health do not allow us, in our opinion, to understand the real situation. However, the indicators are far from negligible.

A survey on the health status of Aboriginal women in Quebec would provide information that would make it possible to target the services delivered to them more effectively. Moreover, Indian women living off reserve would improve their health if they knew more about the programs and services available to Indians in urban centres and if they had readier access to them. Health is an aspect of life for these women which has not been very well analyzed until now.[55] The same is true of their lifestyles.

## 7.8 Lifestyles

### Alcohol Use (Table 6A)

Relatively few Aboriginal people said they had not used alcohol over the past year: 10.2 per cent for Aboriginal women and 9.8 per cent for Aboriginal men in Quebec, 15.4 per cent for Aboriginal women and 13.2 per cent for Aboriginal men for the whole of Canada. The majority of Aboriginal people in Quebec and in Canada said they had. In Quebec, 57.8 per cent of Aboriginal women and 68.6 per cent of Aboriginal men were in this group, while for Canada 60.6 per cent of Aboriginal women and 67.4 per cent of Aboriginal men also reported having used alcohol during this period.

In Quebec, Indian women living off reserve used alcohol more than Indian women living on reserve. Even so, the rate for those who never used alcohol was lower for Indians living off reserve (20.3 per cent, compared with 28.0 per cent), while the rate of non-use over the past year was also lower for Indian women living off reserve (8.3 per cent in comparison with 13.8 per cent). However, the rate for use during the past year was clearly higher for Indian women living off reserve (64.1 per cent, as opposed to 50.6 per cent). Nonetheless, the latter seem to have used alcohol less than men in the same situation: 64.1 per cent of Indian women and 71.6 per cent of Indian men living off reserve reported that they had used alcohol over the past year. In both cases, whether comparing both groups of Indian women or both groups living off reserve, the profile is the same for all of Canada.

### Use of Tobacco (Table 7A)

In Quebec, as in Canada as a whole, an almost identical proportion of Aboriginal men and women used tobacco: 45.6 per cent of Aboriginal women and 46.5 per cent of Aboriginal men in Quebec and 43.7 per cent of Aboriginal women and 43.8 per cent of Aboriginal men in Canada said that they smoked daily. Still looking at Quebec and Canada, the difference between men and women in the Indian groups is not very important (0.1 per cent to 2.9 per cent). This is similar to the situation for all ethnic categories taken together and follows the general trend of a higher rate of tobacco use for men than for women. Contrary to the general trend, Métis women and Inuit women have a slightly higher rate of use than men in the same categories, with a difference of 0.8 per cent to 3.0 per cent, which is not really very significant.

For Quebec, Inuit are found to be the Aboriginal population with the highest per centage of smokers: 66.2 per cent of Inuit women and 63.2 per cent of Inuit men smoke daily in Quebec. The Canadian per centages are slightly lower than those for Quebec.

Staying with Quebec, those with the lowest rate of regular (daily) smoking are Indian women living off reserve. They have a per centage of 37.7 per cent, in contrast with the rates for Indian women (48.1 per cent) and Indian men (50.3 per cent) living on reserve and Indian men living off reserve (41.3 per cent). For Canada, the difference among these four groups is almost

. . .

non-existent, with Indians in general having a mean per centage of 41.5 per cent of regular smokers.

In Quebec, it is also Indian women living off reserve who are found to have the highest per centage of persons who no longer smoke (49.4 per cent), followed closely by men in the same category (48.8 per cent). Indian men and women living on reserve have a clearly lower score: 34.8 per cent of men and 38.0 per cent of women in this category said they had stopped smoking. The situation is similar for all of Canada, with a non-smoking rate of 44.4 per cent for Indian women living off reserve, 41.0 per cent for Indian women living on reserve and 38.7 per cent for Indian men in the same category. Let us turn now to an examination of social issues for Aboriginal respondents.

### 7.9 Social Issues (Tables 9A, B)

Aboriginal respondents to the APS in Quebec are especially concerned by alcohol abuse and unemployment. Indeed, survey data show that Indian women (78.0 per cent) and Indian men (79.0 per cent) living on reserve most often identified alcohol abuse as a problem which Aboriginal people face in their community; on the other hand, 48.6 per cent of Indian women and 52.5 per cent of Indian men living off reserve most often highlighted unemployment as a problem for their community. It should, however, be noted that respondents did not have to rank their choices. The per centages shown here take into account only the descending or ascending order of the per centages of respondents choosing one option or another. Let us examine these data in more detail.

In addition to the problem of alcohol abuse in their community, Indian women living on reserve reported the following problems most often: unemployment (71.3 per cent), drug abuse (67.0 per cent), family violence (53.7 per cent), suicide (40.7 per cent), sexual abuse (30.6 per cent) and, finally, rape (22.5 per cent). After unemployment, Indian women living off reserve most often identified drug abuse (32.4 per cent), family violence (27.9 per cent), suicide (16.3 per cent), sexual abuse (14.6 per cent) and rape (10.2 per cent).

Indian women living on reserve were thus twice as likely to identify various problems which their communities face. As we noted earlier, mental health problems on reserves can influence the choice of some women to remain outside their community.

As part of the APS, all Aboriginal respondents in Quebec were asked to recommend different ways to improve conditions in their communities (Tables 10A, B). First, 11.3 per cent of women and 10.8 per cent of men emphasized an improvement in community services. Respondents also mentioned: more policing (11.8 per cent of women and 10.7 per cent of men), job creation (6.3 per cent of women and 8.7 per cent of men) and family counselling services (9.3 per cent of women and 7.3 per cent of men).

The first priority of Indian women living on reserve was more policing (16.1 per cent) in their community, while Indian women living off reserve suggested improving community services (9.7 per cent) as a way to solve problems in their neighbourhood.

However, these particular data on recommended ways to solve community problems must be used with a great deal of caution. In the survey questionnaire, the suggested responses limited the answers of respondents. The response rate, which was rather low overall, may be an indicator of this bias. Moreover, when the APS talked about "the community", it was not specified whether this meant the urban Aboriginal community or the home community of the respondent, which could yield very different results. It is difficult to make the link between the preceding data on lifestyles and the social concerns of respondents.

### 7.10 Housing (Tables 13, 14)

An analysis of the data gathered by the APS on the housing of Aboriginal respondents allows us to compare the conditions of Aboriginal people living off reserve (Indians, Métis and Inuit) with those of Indians living on reserve. However, the data in this section have not been broken down by sex. The comparison will be between the various groups reporting Aboriginal identity and the different regions covered by the survey.

Looking at the general housing characteristics of adults reporting Aboriginal identity or who reported having Aboriginal origins in Quebec, we see that the average number of persons per dwelling is 3.5 (Table 13). The highest numbers are for Inuit (4.8) and for Indians living on reserve (4.7), while off-reserve Indians and Métis have a lower average rate (3.0).

The average number of rooms per dwelling is similar for all Aboriginal people in Quebec: 5.5. The average number of bedrooms is 2.8 for the whole Quebec region. However, the average number of bedrooms per dwelling is 3.1 for Indians living on reserve and 3.0 for Inuit.

The Canadian profile is similar. The average number of persons per dwelling (3.5) is the same as in Quebec. For Indians living on reserve and Inuit, the rate is 4.3. However, there are on average 5.8 rooms per dwelling, which is slightly higher than the number of rooms per dwelling in Quebec (5.5). As for the number of bedrooms, the Canadian average is 0.1 lower than the figure for Quebec. It may be interesting to note, however, that the Montreal metropolitan area has a slightly different profile.

In this part of Quebec, the average number of persons in dwellings occupied by Indians is lower than the average for Quebec or for Canada, at 2.8 persons per dwelling. The same is true for the number of rooms and the number of bedrooms, which are 5.4 and 2.5 respectively. However, it should be noted that the aggregate data do not include persons living temporarily in housing whose main tenant is an Indian.[56]

If we compare tenants and owners among the Aboriginal persons who responded to the survey, a clear difference can be observed between Indians living on reserve and those living off reserve.

Let us look first at the data for all Aboriginal respondents 15 years and over in Canada (Table 14). The statistics show that in Canada 48.7 per cent of Aboriginal people report being tenants, 41.3 per cent report being owners and 10.0 per cent report living in band housing.[57] In Quebec, the breakdown is 45.6 per cent tenants, 44.8 per cent owners and 8.3 per cent occupying band housing. Inuit have the highest per centage of tenants, with 91.0 per cent. In comparison, 45.8 per cent of Métis, 45.6 per cent of off-reserve Indians and 32.1 per cent of Indians living on reserve are tenants. If we look at average gross rent, off-reserve Indians are paying the most, at $452, while Indians living on reserve pay on average $370 and Inuit $265.

Montreal metropolitan area data show that 53.5 per cent of Aboriginal people responding to this section (off-reserve Indians and Métis) are tenants and that their average rent is $549.

Let us now analyze the data on owner status. Among the persons who responded to this question, 44.8 per cent in Quebec are owners and in Canada, 41.3 per cent. In Quebec, Indians living off reserve are owners 54.4 per cent of the time and spend on average $602 per month for their housing while 53.7 per cent of Métis are also owners and spend $500. As for Indians living on reserve, 29.1 per cent of them are owners[58] and spend on average $233. Inuit who are owners (9.0 per cent) spend on average $376. The considerable gap between the amount spent by owners of property on and off reserves is clear. However, many more Indians are owners off reserve (54.4 per cent) than on reserve (29.1 per cent).

In the Montreal metropolitan area, 48.6 per cent of Indians report being owners, and they spend an average of $891 per month.

The final variable is the average number of band housing dwellings. In Quebec, 38.9 per cent of people living on reserve responding to this question lived in band housing. In Canada, the per centage was 62.5 per cent. However, it is interesting to note that of the respondents waiting for band housing (1,680) in Quebec, 5.4 per cent were Indians living off reserve and 11.4 per cent were Indians living on reserve. Unfortunately, we do not have data on requests by women in particular. It would be very interesting to know whether the requests came from women who wanted to move back to their home community.

## Conclusion

The APS data have enabled us to sketch a statistical profile of Aboriginal women in urban centres in relation to the Aboriginal participants in the 1991 survey. These data allow us to highlight important differences between the two groups, for example, those related to lifestyle, language and traditions, schooling, work and housing.

Overall, statistics show that Indian women in urban centres seem better educated and more often have a paid job. However, according to the various people we consulted, women who have had to leave their community are not well educated: in cities they are at an even greater disadvantage because competition for work is stiffer than in communities. These women also seem to be less concerned about living conditions in their community. Finally, these same women have far fewer opportunities to maintain and pass on their culture.

These data on Indian women living off reserve show us that urban life has altered their activities. Their daily life seems very different, even when these Indian women maintain significant links either with their home community or with other urban Aboriginal people. For example, we feel that the fact that Indian women on reserve are involved in more unpaid activity underlines the importance of support and sharing networks in Aboriginal communities. Indian women in urban centres, moreover, are less likely to live "on the land". They have less opportunity to obtain "Indian food" from hunting and fishing activities.

According to APS data, Indian women in urban centres use their mother tongue less and cannot take part as regularly in cultural activities. Moreover, unpaid work, which we consider to be linked to traditional ways of life, is much less important off reserve. It should be remembered that participating in hunting, fishing and gathering helps to meet part of the needs of the on-reserve Indian family.

Data on health, lifestyles and social issues tell us that Indian women living off reserve have approximately the same health problems as those living on reserve. However, data on lifestyles of Aboriginal people in general and those of Indian women in cities in particular are very eloquent. In the same way, social issues may be different for the two groups.

Contrary to the perception that Indian men and women on reserves use more alcohol than those in cities, the reality can be quite different. With regard to the use of tobacco, the data seem to reveal much about the lifestyles of people responding to the survey. Indians on reserve do not pay tax on tobacco or other consumer products. The price of cigarettes is doubtless a major factor in the use of tobacco in Aboriginal communities.

With regard to social issues and recommended ways to improve conditions, we can conclude that persons living on reserve are very much aware of mental health problems affecting their community. However, the survey does not allow us to understand the recommendations people living on reserve would really make in order to improve conditions; the survey's suggested responses do not seem to take into account the cultural context of Aboriginal people, who seem to favour a more comprehensive approach when dealing with mental health problems.[59]

Finally, the survey data show us that people living off reserve occupy dwellings with a higher average number of rooms than those on reserve. Moreover, Indians who live off reserve are more often tenants than owners and pay a higher average gross rent. We can also note that some of the requests for band housing come from people who want to return to the reserve.

We could thus come to some hasty conclusions based largely on the differences between women on reserves and women in cities. Nonetheless, the circumstances of Indian women, whether they live on reserve or not, cannot be summed up this way. As we noted earlier, Indian women who move away from the reserve do not always choose to leave "their community". Whether to work or study, to escape family violence situations or because of marriage to a "non-Indian", Indian women in urban centres have had to leave their people. The data show that this decision has considerably changed their lives. Yet these women did not choose another way of life but were simply seeking to improve their situation or to live freely with the spouse of their choice. Let us now look at what the specific needs of this group might be.

## 8. SPECIFIC NEEDS

The individuals met for the purpose of this study identified the following needs: reception and referral services, social services and health services. Employment, training and housing are further sectors where Aboriginal people in urban centres also need help.

The needs of urban Aboriginal people as identified by Gurstein[60] are as follows: transients need lodging, money, treatment for alcohol or drug addiction and guidance; migrants need services to help with their cultural adjustment, employment services, social or educational services and recreation and rehabilitation services. For residents, Gurstein notes that Aboriginal people should have non-discriminatory access to services, that they should be able to maintain their cultural traditions in the city, that they should be able to participate in Aboriginal ethnic organizations and that there should be services for the specific needs of single mothers and retired people.

A subcommittee on the socio-economic and legal situation of Métis, non-status Indians and status Indians living off reserve[61] heard testimony concerning a number of problems. First, these groups of Aboriginal people have more limited access to programs and government services provided for people living on reserves. Next, they are often at the centre of disputes between the federal and provincial governments. Finally, off-reserve Indians do not always know which door to knock on for service. Even though friendship centres offer services designed for urban Aboriginal people, Indians who have just left their community do not automatically go to these centres.

### 8.1 Reception and Referral

In its brief to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, the General Urban Council of the QNWA also mentioned the need for reception services for people in difficulty. The Council recommended establishing Aboriginal halfway houses to facilitate contacts between members of the family concerned so as to allow better social reintegration of the person in difficulty. Moreover, these shelters would offer Aboriginal people a chance to benefit from a network of cultural relations in which they would feel more confident.[62]

Aboriginal students also have specific needs. Considering the difficulties of integration and adjustment, Aboriginal young people who study in urban centres need support and encouragement. They should be offered guidance services and pedagogical assistance. To prevent dropping out and promote academic success, the General Urban Council of the QNWA suggested to the Commission that infrastructures designed for Aboriginal students be set up.

The QNWA's General Urban Council also maintained that training and employment are central concerns of Indian women living in urban centres. From the data of Statistics Canada's APS, we can say that unemployment is the major concern of Indian women in urban centres.

Often these women have no basic training or specialization. They place a great deal of hope in the "Ways to Success" program, which is a partnership between Human Resources Development Canada and the Aboriginal peoples. This kind of partnership provides new opportunities for urban Aboriginal people, but Aboriginal women in urban centres still fear what they call the "vicious cycle of employment":[63] temporary employment created by a variety of social assistance and Human Resources Development Canada programs that enable the worker to collect unemployment insurance before returning to welfare benefits and starting the cycle all over again. According to the Urban Council of the QNWA, " . . . meaningful, satisfying and permanent employment for Aboriginal people will not come from this cycle of employment" [translation].[64]

Other areas in which Indian women in urban centres really need services are communication and information. Setting up a communication and information network would make it possible to exchange and disseminate information on the rights of Aboriginal people in urban centres and the services available to them. In addition, interpretation services and better knowledge of Aboriginal clientele would allow health and social services workers to communicate more effectively with Indian women in urban centres.

## 8.2 Access to Services

Services in urban centres are numerous and varied. In spite of that, Indian women who have left their community are often confronted with multiple problems, most notably impersonal bureaucratic structures. Moreover, services do not always meet their specific needs.

With regard to daycare services, the APS shows us that Indian women in urban centres have readier access to daycare; however, they do not necessarily have access to a service which meets their needs.

According to the Quebec Native Women's Association,[65] services are not available in Aboriginal languages or in the context of Aboriginal culture and are therefore not used much by Aboriginal people. Moreover, there are no Aboriginal daycare services in Montreal, Quebec City or Val d'Or despite a significant concentration of Aboriginal people in these cities. The Native Council of Canada found that 6,480 daycare spaces existed in Quebec in 1992 but that only 24 Aboriginal children were enrolled.[66]

Services available to people in urban areas do not meet the needs of Indian women. One of the main problems seems to be communicating with staff. The services are unfamiliar to Aboriginal women, highly structured and individualized and have inflexible criteria. For these reasons, Indian women do not use them very much.

Thus, women say that when they ask for service, they are received coldly and impersonally. They feel like numbers. In an interview, a counsellor from the Native Friendship Centre of Montreal[67] told us that Amerindian women are often attracted by the city and its many opportunities. However, when they arrive, they need a period of adjustment because cities are very different from their home community. These differences become extremely important when

women find themselves isolated, when they have to use a new language, when they have to meet deadlines or make appointments to obtain services to which they had much easier access in their community. In the face of so many barriers, many women give up. Either they return to their community or they become even more isolated.

## 8.3 Support

The support of various organizations, notably friendship centres, is essential. However, the diverse needs of Aboriginal urban clients make it difficult for centres to provide support and follow-up to all the women who need it. Aboriginal women's shelters can provide timely support when needed in cases of crisis, but these shelters are few and far between.

When women leave their home reserve in an emergency, they need support. Managers of organizations working with Aboriginal women in urban centres as well as key respondents unanimously stated that these women too often find themselves without resources, forgotten by their community, isolated in cities where administrative structures make services practically inaccessible. Moreover, these women often lack self-confidence because of the violent situation which many of them have just experienced in their community.

The power to change things and improve living conditions for all Aboriginal people is often linked to the ability to grow and develop in free and independent communities. Urban Aboriginal people do not always have a place in this debate on the political and economic choices of First Nations.

## 9. URBAN ABORIGINAL PEOPLE AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

For Aboriginal people, self-government means that they can make their own societal choices. P.G. Forest and J.F. Tremblay of Laval University's Groupe d'études inuit et circumpolaires (Inuit and Circumpolar Research Group) write: " . . . the maintenance and development of indigenous societies depend not on control over any particular program, but on the quality of public choices or more precisely the ability to make such choices" [translation].[68]

In the Canadian political framework, where the division of powers is written into the Constitution, federal and provincial government authorities have the power to pass laws in their respective areas of jurisdiction. Indians and the lands reserved for them are governed by the federal government. The inherent right to Aboriginal self-government is not always recognized in the Canadian political framework. Up until 1982, rights were accorded to individuals who were, and who still are, defined by the *Indian Act*. The powers of their representatives are still defined and supervised by the federal government, as are the lands which are reserved for Indians. Up until now, governments have not been able to agree on a way to amend the Constitution so as to include explicit recognition of Aboriginal self-government.[69]

### 9.1 "Inherent" Right

If the Charlottetown Accord had become law, the inherent right of Aboriginal people to self-government would have been recognized in the Constitution. The term "inherent", instead of "existing", would have recognized that Aboriginal people enjoyed this right "by the fact of their collective historical existence, even before the creation of Canadian constitutional instruments" [translation],[70] but the Charlottetown Accord was rejected.

Ovide Mercredi, Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, which represents all tribal councils, explains the significance of the inherent right to Aboriginal self-government:

> When you stop being controlled by the *Indian Act* and you start living as a free man or a free woman, you stand tall on the heritage of your people. You act with the pride of your nation and with the strength to control your own destiny. You are not inferior to anybody. That is the vital symbolic importance of the inherent right of self-government.[71]

According to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples,[72] under common law doctrine applicable to Aboriginal rights, Aboriginal peoples in Canada have the inherent right to govern themselves. This right is "inherent" because it originates in the Aboriginal communities. Neither the Crown nor Parliament conferred this right upon them.

For the Commission, therefore, this is not a right derived from the Constitution or conferred by it. However, somewhat paradoxically, the commissioners point out that Aboriginal

self-government involves "circumscribed" rather than "unlimited" powers,[73] which thus cannot be exercised except within the framework defined by Confederation.

During the work on the National Round Table on Aboriginal Urban Issues,[74] participation in Aboriginal self-government appeared to be an important issue for urban Aboriginal people. How could self-government be exercised by Aboriginal people living outside communities (Indian reserves and settlements) and Aboriginal land? Would the rights of Aboriginal people, recognized and confirmed in the *Constitution Act, 1982*, be linked to place of residence?

In the various documents we reviewed, there are many more questions than answers. The exercise of Aboriginal self-government in urban centres seems difficult to imagine. Is self-government itself, like the "inherent" right, a collective right which can be recognized only in the case of communities? Does this right belong to individuals? Do Indians who leave their community retain this right? Finally, is this right attached to a specific place where it can be exercised?

## 9.2 Urban Aboriginal Government

Aboriginal people in urban centres seem to face many problems caused by "cultural dislocation and powerlessness, discrimination and economic hardship".[75] To confront these difficulties, Aboriginal people in urban centres across Canada have grouped together, especially in Vancouver, Toronto and Winnipeg.[76] These groups, initially set up to respond to socio-cultural needs, would seem to be in the best position to represent urban Aboriginal people in the political arena. However, speaking before the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, some urban Aboriginal people advocated retaining political links with bands, treaty organizations or land-based Aboriginal governments.[77]

Urban Aboriginal organizations claimed to represent Aboriginal people in urban centres when they appeared before the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.[78] However, a number of Aboriginal people reported to the same Commission that urban Aboriginal organizations were not accountable to them for their actions. Some urban Aboriginal people said they could not really express their opinions and concerns to the organizations which claimed to represent them. These Aboriginal people did not have any true spokespersons.

In Quebec, there are native friendship centres for many urban Aboriginal people, but they do not consider that these centres truly represent them. Moreover, when these Aboriginal people are status Indians and maintain legal and political links with a band council, they want to have their say in the political organization which should represent them: their band council.

Indian women in urban centres who have left their community for one reason or another have no real political representation. They do not always have the right to vote in their community and, what is more, they do not have any political representation in urban centres. But how can urban Aboriginal government be set up? The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples tackled this question.

According to the Commission, there can be no single urban Aboriginal government model, since "workable models and approaches adopted in centres across the country will need to reflect the diverse circumstances, characteristics and choices of the communities in question".[79] One thing is sure, and that is that specific political structures are necessary for urban Aboriginal people to make their voices heard and participate in the decisions affecting them. However, the debate about determining who is Indian and who is not is still not settled. Aboriginal governments want to have the power to decide for themselves who will be Aboriginal citizens.

### 9.3 Aboriginal Women in Urban Centres and Self-Government

When confronted with the problems experienced by all Aboriginal people in urban centres, many women wonder about the protection of their rights by Aboriginal governments. Many research reports,[80] briefs[81] and discussion papers[82] reveal the fears of women who have already been discriminated against by the *Indian Act*. We will briefly describe the fears of women who have regained their Indian status since the passage of Bill C-31.

First, all Aboriginal people want to see an end to the *Indian Act*, the legal instrument which regulates the daily life of all status Indians and which defines who is Indian. Affirming their right to self-determination as a people, Aboriginal people want to build political institutions based on their "inherent" right to self-government and to define membership in their nation themselves.

The rights of status Indians as set out in the *Indian Act* (amended in 1985) guarantee women the right to equality. Women ask themselves if they would be treated equitably by Aboriginal governments[83] if the Act were to disappear.

The various provisions of the *Constitution Act, 1982* to strengthen and protect Aboriginal collective and individual rights do not seem to be sufficient guarantees for the equality of Aboriginal citizens under self-government. On the other hand, if the inherent right to Aboriginal self-government were recognized in the Canadian Constitution, the *Indian Act* would have no further reason to exist. In a working paper, the NWAC asks the following question:

> If the *Indian Act* disappears and First Nations have the power over membership criteria in their communities, how will the rights of Aboriginal women be protected?[84]

In brief, if Aboriginal governments allow the *Indian Act* to disappear while preserving the patriarchal model that it set in place, women who have been discriminated against risk seeing their right to equality compromised once again. Women, especially if they currently live off reserve, are afraid of being the first target of the membership rules.

All Indians living and working in urban centres -- men, women and children -- face the risk of having different rights from those who live or work in communities, since the rights can be definitively granted to residents of reserves and Indian settlements. Amerindian women in urban

centres thus face an absence of real political representation and uncertainty about their participation in Indian government.

## 9.4 Aboriginal Women and Aboriginal Rights

Since the constitutional reform of 1982, the collective rights of Aboriginal people in Canada -- Indians, Inuit and Métis -- have been recognized and confirmed.[85] Section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982* (Appendix 1) includes, in addition to a definition of Aboriginal peoples (s.35(2)) and a guarantee of equal rights for both sexes (s.35(4)), a recognition of existing Aboriginal and treaty rights (s.35(1)) and a constitutional recognition of land claims agreements (s.35(3)).

Despite four constitutional meetings on Aboriginal rights, governments and Aboriginal peoples have not agreed on the specific content of this provision. For Aboriginal people, the inherent right to self-government is an Aboriginal right recognized under section 35(1), but governments and Aboriginal people do not agree on the interpretation of section 35.

In a discussion paper by the Native Women's Association of Canada, women ask whether Aboriginal and treaty rights recognized and confirmed in the Constitution exist only if Aboriginal people live on designated Indian land.

Land claims and the desire for Aboriginal self-determination are manifestations of the desire to preserve culture, languages and a self-sustaining economy, where it is still possible. Aboriginal people in urban centres, especially women, worry, since Aboriginal identity gains its full meaning in the special link with ancestral land and the rights attached to it.

For Thomas Berger, who chaired the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, Aboriginal people see land as inalienable property which belongs to all members of the tribe. It is collective property that is transferred from generation to generation; it is the tribal heritage that members of the community acquire at birth and pass on to their descendants.[86]

Do people who have left their community preserve their tribal heritage? Have they abdicated their rights to ancestral lands by leaving their community? Are ancestral land rights linked to place of residence?

Indian women who are members of Quebec Indian bands and live off reserve wonder, quite rightly, whether they have Aboriginal or treaty rights by virtue of their Aboriginal citizenship or simply because they live on Indian land defined and designated by non-Aboriginal governments. Is choosing to live in an urban centre considered to be a kind of abdication of these rights?

According to comments gathered by Christiane Montpetit,[87] the important thing for people on reserves is that people who leave should preserve their feeling of identity, continue to maintain links with their community and work for their nation. Is it this recognition which allows certain

criteria applicable to urbanized Indians to be developed? How can participation in the life of the community be assessed? These are some of the questions raised by Indians living off reserve.

Participation in the settlement of land claims negotiations by Indians living in urban centres has not yet been specified. Identification criteria will be defined and a share in the settlements will be specified in the agreements themselves. Women who have left their community for various reasons do not know what form their participation will take even though they are still members of bands that are negotiating and are about to sign agreements with the various governments.

### 9.5 Different Situations

The issue is not the same for Aboriginal people (Métis and non-status Indians) who are not members of an Indian band and who are not affected by treaties or land claims agreements. Urban Aboriginal people appearing before the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples argued that their interests had not been well served by land-based Aboriginal governments or existing Aboriginal organizations. These Aboriginal people preferred setting up distinct organizations to represent them.[88] Recognition of the existing Aboriginal and treaty rights and rights by way of land claims agreements of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada raises many questions about the definition of these rights and of those who are entitled to them.

The courts will be called upon to interpret the provisions designed to protect the collective identity of Aboriginal people. Is it possible that this protection will contravene the rules protecting the equality rights guaranteed by the Canadian *Charter*?

Aboriginal people have expressed a desire to formulate their own charters, but these will not all necessarily be the same. All these questions are a source of considerable worry for women re-registered as Indians after Bill C-31 who have not rejoined their home community.

The situation is different for Indian women who left their communities to study or work. The link that they maintain with their community has not been severed by legislative measures that excluded some women because of marriage. However, no woman living off reserve is really protected. Measures which will determine membership in different Aboriginal nations will be formulated and submitted to Aboriginal people living on reserve. Currently, most of the women living and working off reserve cannot participate in decisions taken by band councils.

The General Urban Council of the QNWA raised a number of relevant questions before the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Are Aboriginal rights limited to a particular place of residence? Are these rights "inherent"?[89] Can they be exercised anywhere in Canada or only in communities?[90] These questions are worthy of consideration because even though leaving their community places Indians in a different cultural context, off-reserve Indians still keep their identity and rights.

Urban Aboriginal people are taking steps to make their views known. Aboriginal authors, no matter what their origins or where they live, also express the same resistance and the same

determination to protect and pass on their Aboriginal culture. We have chosen several texts which allow us to better understand the aspirations and plans of Aboriginal people.

## 10. NATIONAL EXPRESSION IN ABORIGINAL LITERATURE

Aboriginal people express their aims very thoughtfully, basing their thinking on the identity they want to protect and on the culture they want to pass on. Their comments express their sense of Indian identity.[91]

### 10.1 Resistance

The writings of Aboriginal authors often express resistance -- resistance to assimilation and resistance to dispossession. They also express the desire for independence. Aboriginal authors are committed. From poets to essayists, through writers of fiction, songs and plays, they give us an Amerindian vision of the world.[92]

For example, Eléonore Sioui, a Huron-Wendat woman, reveals the cultural differences of Aboriginal people in her poems and asserts their rights as first occupants:

> We are MEN created of the earth, air, water and sun of OUR COUNTRY, whence comes the substance of our roots; roots that have shaped our soul, and that nothing, neither massacre, nor war, nor laws, will change.[93] [translation]

In an anthology of poetry on the meaning of Indian identity, she describes a happy past and condemns dispossession:

> I am a Natural Child
> Of America
> Fallen
> Into the hands
> Of a Foreigner. [94] [translation]

Michèle Vigeant, a Mohawk, draws her inspiration from Amerindian spirituality:

> The essence of Amerindian spirituality is the recognition of the relationships among the elements of the universe, which continue to exist because of their interdependence. [95] [translation]

She writes that she feels better since discovering this philosophy because she used to feel like a stranger in western society, which she saw as "a society which stereotypes people, which encourages division, which is oppressive" [translation].

Virginia Pésémapéo, painter and poet, expresses her sense of Indian identity and also her sense of being a Métis in her works. For example, in a poem entitled "Métisse d'ici", she reveals her Amerindian and Quebec roots and her wish to build a bridge between these two peoples. She describes herself as "a double culture shock" [translation].[96]

I am witness to two races
Thirsting for life
Witness to their inability to come together
I am the bridge between two peoples
Stretched out over an abyss
By an accident of fate

I am rich with contrasts
Branded by the red-hot iron of paradox
I am streaked white and red [translation]

Another Amerindian woman author talks about dispossession and underlines the ravages of industrialization. An Antane Kapesh wrote two works, in Montagnais, *Eukuan Nin Matshimanitu Innu-Ishueu* : *Je suis une maudite sauvagesse* and *Qu'as-tu fait à mon pays?*[97] She also wrote a personal account published in the journal *Rencontre* in 1981.

In the first work, An Antane Kapesh describes the ways she has struggled against discrimination and the use of Montagnais land without the consent of the principals. In the second work, she writes a fictitious history of an Amerindian who seems powerless in the face of the invasion of his land and the exploitation of its natural resources. In her writing, Kapesh describes the anguish and helplessness of Montagnais (Innus) faced with dispossession.

> To my way of understanding, within each reserve today, there are Indians in great anguish and all sorts of suffering. If you take away all people's occupations, it is not surprising that they do not have any will to live in this world and that they're only waiting to die.[98] [translation]

The author expresses the collective will to survive of the Montagnais (Innus).

## 10.2 Land and Urban Life

Bernard Cleary analyzes negotiations between governments and Aboriginal peoples. He describes the much-abused rights of Aboriginal peoples and their desire for liberty. In a long poem, Cleary also talks about dispossession and the determination of Aboriginal people to regain their freedom.[99]

The 7,000-year-old child
once had a country
without borders, without paperwork,
where he was at home
. . .
The 7,000-year-old child,

huddled in the corners
of the earth where he is allowed to live,
dreams now of regaining
his lost wealth,
his pride,
his personality
. . .
This dwelling is made not of cement,
at the end of an asphalt road,
but of moss.
. . .

In these lines, life in the forest is contrasted with life in the city, the image of freedom pitted against that of restriction, although Cleary is not the only one to highlight these differences.

Virginie Michel[100] expresses the difficult choice faced by young Aboriginal people: learning more about their traditions and the know-how of their people or acquiring other knowledge to enable them to earn a diploma. "I have to acquire this traditional wealth", she writes, "for the integrity of my cultural identity, so that I can feel totally Innu" [translation]. Too often, Amerindians seem to have to sacrifice their identity in order to be open to new knowledge. However, as Virginie Michel writes, the knowledge that her father imparts to her is as important as what she learns at university.

The appropriation by Amerindians of their own history and the expression of their distinct identity, which is based on their own value system and enables them to approach the world from their own viewpoint, are also manifestations of their difference. To understand better why Indian women living off reserve can still maintain their own identity, express their sense of Indian identity and pass on their values, it is necessary not only to know their points of view but also to understand what animates them and to grasp their perspective.

Amerindian identity is a legacy in which Indian women in urban centres continue to share but they need ways to fully express their cultural identity. To pass on their pride to their children and teach them how to deal with daily life, they have to be aware of the dangers of insidious assimilation and take steps to create and maintain special ties with their community. Amerindian literature provides new ways of passing on their cultural heritage despite distance from the community to which they belong.

## 11. CONCLUSION

In this study, we tried to understand the difference between life on and off reserve. We asked questions in order to learn what impels Amerindian women to leave their communities and why they want to return. We tried to sketch a statistical profile of Amerindian women in urban centres. In addition, we wanted to reveal the problems of returning, the particular needs of these Amerindian women and their place in the debate about the "inherent" right of Aboriginal people to self-government. Finally, we tried to show that Amerindian identity can be expressed in a variety of forms, but that there runs throughout a "common cultural thread" of feelings, judgments and behaviour that reveals kinship in a distinct community.

The system of reserves severely reduced the space where formerly independent Amerindians lived. Placed under control, under federal guardianship, Indians were forced to live their daily lives within a limited land area. Faced with the impossibility of moving about freely on their ancestral lands, many of them had to adapt to a sedentary way of life. Colonization, municipal organization, concessions granted to logging and mining companies by governments, hydro-electric projects and the development of outfitting operations deprived Indians of the lands on which they once freely exercised their rights.

Government subsidies for status Indians as well as programs for all Canadians allowed Indians deprived of their resources to survive on reserves. However, Indians had neither the means nor the powers to grow and develop freely on their ancestral lands because the Canadian political structure denied their political and economic rights over these lands. Nonetheless, life on lands reserved for Indians made it possible to set up new administrative structures and to organize and provide services mainly for the local Indian population.

Some people, mainly women, had to leave this new site of Amerindian social, political and economic organization; they left more than a place of residence. Amerindian women left behind them their family, their clan and their band, in fact, those with whom they shared their cultural identity.

Amerindian women who emigrated to cities did not always have the choice of living where they wanted. Often, for economic (study, work) or social (family violence and substance abuse) reasons or because of marriage to a person who did not have Indian status, they were obliged to leave and to organize their "new life" on hitherto unknown paths.

The attraction of city life, with its services and recreation, with the anonymity and safety that it offers to those caught up in family violence, is often short-lived. Many Amerindian women who had to leave their community very soon feel isolated, excluded and abandoned. However, some of them say that they choose to live in the city because they feel urban life will enable them to develop, find satisfying work and live more freely.

The situation is thus not the same for everyone; it often depends on the original reason for leaving the reserve. Moreover, the relative permanency of the migration of Indian women to

urban centres determines the relationship that they will maintain from then on with their home community, whether they preserve a close link with their community or burn their bridges and try to make a new life. However, whatever the reason for which Amerindian women leave the reserve, the reserve does not leave them, since it is their main place of identity and their community. Thus, they belong to a political, social and economic community which is different from the one where they live every day and this can cause problems for them.

## 11.1 Contribution of the APS

Statistics Canada's 1991 APS provided us with data on a number of issues raised in this analysis. We had hoped these data would enable us to draw a statistical profile of women members of First Nations living off reserve, in Canada as well as Quebec.

Statistical data from the 1991 census and the APS did enable us to sketch a portrait of Aboriginal women living in Quebec urban centres. However, the survey did not tell us very much about the real situation of these women, although it did supply some valuable indicators about their living conditions.

These data appear to be particularly useful in shedding light on the situation of urban Amerindian women with regard to employment, schooling, social issues, lifestyles and living conditions, as well as their cultural life. The survey shows us that Indian women living off reserve seem better educated, have a salaried job more often, have somewhat different social concerns but have far fewer opportunities to participate in cultural activities. We also learn from the data that they have basically the same health problems as women who stay on reserve.

The survey, however, shows us that the lifestyles of Indians living off reserve, especially with regard to the use of alcohol and tobacco, are not necessarily better than those of inhabitants of reserves. Social issues and ways recommended to improve conditions also indicate significant differences. Indians off reserve report unemployment as their main concern while Indians on reserve point to alcohol abuse. The data gathered on the ways recommended to improve conditions do not allow for suggested solutions which give due regard to cultural context. As for housing, off-reserve Indians are more often tenants than owners. A number of them have submitted applications for housing in their home community.

We believed that the APS would enable us to draw a socio-demographic portrait of Aboriginal women living off reserve in Quebec. However, for operational reasons, people living in institutions such as hospitals or penitentiaries, and those living in collective housing like rooming houses, were excluded from the survey. Indian women may well find themselves living in such places when they emigrate to urban centres.

## 11.2 Contribution of the Documentary Analysis and Interviews

The documentary analysis and the interviews with key respondents revealed that very little research has been done on the situation of Aboriginal women in Quebec urban centres. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples had identified significant gaps in research on urban Aboriginal people and on Aboriginal women. In spite of this finding, none of the work of the Commission focused specifically on the situation of Aboriginal women in Quebec urban centres.

Generally speaking, the studies, research, reports, and other works on Quebec Aboriginal people explore only part of Aboriginal reality: that of people living on reserves and lands covered by agreements. Women living off reserve are not reflected in the different research into the social, economic and cultural conditions of Indians, their education and their access to services.

However, access to the documentation centres of various Aboriginal organizations did enable us to learn more about the circumstances of Amerindian women in urban centres. The documents listed reveal the concerns of the individuals in question, particularly in connection with the needs and demands of women who want to take part more actively in the debate surrounding the place of First Nations within the Canadian state.

In the minds of the people we met during this work, there is no doubt that Indian women in urban centres have specific needs, because even though they retain the rights and benefits linked to their Indian status, they have more difficult access to services and programs designed for Indian people. For example, with respect to health and educational services, housing and employment programs, they encounter many obstacles in obtaining services to which they had easier access in their community.

The interviews also revealed that there are large differences between life in cities and that on reserves, particularly concerning personal support networks. Indeed, on reserves and in other Aboriginal communities (northern villages and category I lands), there seems to be more solidarity. However, in these communities, people find it more difficult to obtain confidential service as everyone knows everyone else. Consequently, when women are experiencing family violence, they often have no choice but to leave their reserve to find "more confidential" help outside.

The situation of Amerindian women who left their reserve in an emergency is not well known. According to the people we met, these women are too often without resources, forgotten by their community, living in cities where it is difficult to have access to services. Moreover, many of them must adapt to a new pace of life, communicate in a new language, learn how to make appointments and meet deadlines. They have to learn to "function" in the city, where concepts of time and space have a quite different meaning. Many give up and return to live in their home community, where they are faced with the same problems as before.

On the other hand, those who left for other reasons, whether to study or work or to accompany a non-Indian spouse, experience sometimes quite different situations. For the first

group, cities can represent a place where they can have more independence, choose their activities more easily, have more privacy, enjoy a better quality of life and offer their children more opportunities. For the second group, despite the re-registration of women who left because of marriage, reintegration into their home community is far from automatic. While they may have the freedom to return, they know that they are not always welcome. What is more, their return still appears to be an additional burden for local authorities.

The situation of Indian women in Quebec urban centres certainly requires more detailed analysis. Research should tackle a number of topics: their needs, access to services, cultural identity, family situation, impacts of Bill C-31, problems of mental health, of housing, and so on. Moreover, specific studies could make health and social service professionals aware of the situation of Indian women in urban centres and of the relationship between these women and their band council. Empirical research would make it possible to answer the following questions: How do Aboriginal women in urban centres combine their urban life with their cultural identity? What is their vision for the future? What ties do they maintain with their home community?

Indian women in Quebec urban centres, like all status Indians, live daily with people who assume they get everything for free. They also have to cope with the harsh reality of the mental health problems that undermine their family and community life. If they decide to incorporate a new way of life into their daily routine, it is to improve their situation. However, even when they are far away from their community, they remain profoundly attached to it. If their community is not free or if their brothers and sisters do not have the choice to live as they wish, they cannot close their eyes to that reality. In spite of the distance, the hearts of Indian women who have left their community usually remain on the reserve.

**NOTES**

1. These women are recorded in the Indian Register. The statistics of the Register are for individuals recorded as part of a registry group rather than individuals considered as members of a band.

2. Respondents who identified themselves as belonging to more than one group are included in each group. This is why the figures differ from the APS figures.

3. Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Data: Age and Sex, Catalogue 94-327, 1991, Table 5.

4. IBID., p. vii.

5. The *Aboriginal Peoples Survey* does not contain any information about communities which were incompletely enumerated in the 1991 census. In Quebec, this includes Akwesasne (part), Kahnawake, Kanesatake, Lac Rapide and Wendake.

6. Canada, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *Indian Register Population by Sex and Residence 1993* (Ottawa: Minister of Government Services Canada, 1993).

7. Indians living on Crown land and on category 1A and 1A-N (James Bay) land are included with those of the reserves in the "on-reserve" category.

8. Off reserve: in the Indian Register, this includes members of a band or their descendants who live neither on a reserve nor on Crown land.

9. 1995-01-18 - Ministère de la Santé et des Services sociaux (Quebec).

10. *Supra*, note 3, tables 1 and 2.

11. J. Richer, "Le réveil des femmes autochtones", *La Gazette des Femmes*, Vol. 14, No. 5 (January-February 1993), p. 17.

12. Michael Gurstein, *Urbanization and Indian People: An Analytical Literature Review* (Unpublished photocopy, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1977).

13. Dolorès André, "L'autochtone et la ville", *Liberté aux Indiens 196-197*, Vol. 33, No. 4-5 (August-October 1990), p. 139.

14. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *Aboriginal Peoples in Urban Centres: Report of the National Round Table on Aboriginal Urban Issues* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1992).

15. Mark Nagler, *Natives Without a Home*, Canadian Social Problems Series (Don Mills: Longman Canada Ltd., 1975), "Patterns of Urbanization".

16. Gilles Chaumel, "Vivre en ville, pas vraiment une solution", *Rencontre*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (June 1991), p. 12.

17. Belle H. Petawabano, Eric Gourdeau, Francine Jourdain et *al.*, *La santé mentale et les autochtones du Québec* (Boucherville: Gaëtan Morin, 1994).

18. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

19. Different sections of the *Indian Act* provided for enfranchisement, that is, that the persons concerned were no longer Indian women under the *Act*. Section 12(1)(b) provided that women marrying "non-Indians" lost their status and no longer had any on-reserve rights.

20. Suzan D. Craig, *Qui prend mari prend pays? A Study of Women's Role in Ethnic Boundary in a Native Community in Quebec.* (Master's thesis, Université Laval, 1987).

21. After much pressure on the Canadian government to eliminate discriminatory sections of the *Indian Act*, and following enactment of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, the *Indian Act* was amended in 1985.

22. Monique Laplante (under the supervision of Micheline Potvin), *Les Autochtones de Val d'Or* (Val d'Or: Val d'Or Native Friendship Centre, 1991).

23. *Supra*, note 13.

24. Virginie Michel (with the participation of Georges-André and Laurette Michel), "Cet aîné qui est mon père", *Rencontre*, Vol. 15, No. 2, p. 19.

25. *Rencontre*, Vol. 12, No. 4, p. 9.

26. François Larose, "L'environnement des réserves est-il pathogène? Réflexions sur le suicide et l'identification des facteurs de risque en milieu amérindien québécois", *Revue québécoise de psychologie*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1989), pp. 31-44.

27. Quebec Native Women's Association, *Taking Our Rightful Place*, Brief submitted to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (Montreal: May 1993).

28. Christiane Montpetit, *Trajectoire de vie de migrants autochtones à Val d'Or* (Master's thesis, Université de Montréal, 1989).

29. *Supra*, note 17, p. 61.

30. Marie-Jeanne Basile, Rolande Rock and Jenny Rock, *Montagnaises de parole - Eukuan Ume Ninaan Etentamat* (Quebec: Atikamekw and Montagnais Council, 1992), pp. 46-50.

31. Jocelyne Richer, "Le réveil des femmes autochtones", *La Gazette des femmes*, Vol. 14, No. 5 (January-February 1993), p. 17.

32. *Supra*, note 17, p. 74.

33. Diane Joannette, "Une étape vers l'égalité", *Rencontre*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (June 1991), p. 16.

34. Quebec Native Women's Association, *Presentation to the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs on the Introduction of Bill C-31* (February 1988).

35. Kathleen Jamieson, *Indian Women and the Law in Canada: citizens minus* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1978).

36. Diane Morissette, "Être présidente en toute lucidité: interview with Bibiane Courtois, President of the Quebec Native Women's Association", in *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*, Vol. XIV, No. 3 (1984), p. 61.

37. Other acts also had to be amended to meet the new equality criteria in section 15 of the *Charter*.

38. Figures obtained from Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.

39. In 1995, the 96,850 people in Canada who had recovered their status through Bill C-31 were eligible for the rights and benefits of status Indians.

40. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *Impacts of the 1985 Amendments to the Indian Act (Bill C-31): Aboriginal Inquiry* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1990).

41. *Ibid.* In 1990, these expenditures amounted to $338 million. The largest amounts were devoted to health services ($103 million), housing ($91 million) and postsecondary studies ($71 million).

42. Declarations of paternity were necessary to determine if an individual belonged to category 6(1) or 6(2).

43. INAC, *Impacts of the 1985 Amendments to the Indian Act*.

44. Joan Holmes, *The New Indian Act: Equality or Disparity? Impacts on Indian Women of Bill C-31 (1985)* (Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, March 1987), p. 40.

45. On this topic, see the personal accounts gathered in *Montaignaises de parole, supra*, note 30.

46. Statistics Canada, *User's Guide - 1991 Aboriginal Data* (Ottawa: October 1993), p. 3.

47. For operational reasons, residents of institutions such as hospitals and penitentiaries and other collective accommodation such as hotels, rooming houses and boarding houses were excluded from the survey. Statistics Canada, *User's Guide*, p. 12.

48. All the statistics taken from the APS database are estimates based on a probability survey carried out on a sample Canadian Aboriginal population. This kind of survey can include sampling errors as well as coverage, response, processing and non-processing errors. Statistics Canada, *User's Guide*, p. 14.

49. It is not possible to show the extent to which these activities correspond to unpaid activities of Indian women living on reserve, but direct observation

on reserves allows us to say that they represent a relatively significant occupation.

50. Statistics Canada does not publish figures for which the coefficient of variation is higher than 33.3 per cent, that is, that are deemed to be too unreliable to be cited.

51. Colleges and universities offer a variety of programs for Aboriginal people in the following fields: education, law, Aboriginal language, Aboriginal art, administration, tourism.

52. Manitou College was an Aboriginal postsecondary educational institution. It was created in 1972 following the recommendations of a report on education by the Canadian Indian Federation, *La maîtrise indienne de l'éducation indienne*. The college closed in December 1976.

53. Pierrette Beaudoin, *La formation universitaire des autochtones : contexte et vision du développement* (Quebec: Institut culturel et éducatif montagnais, 1991).

54. Arthritis and rheumatism were listed together as one of the several possible responses on the questionnaire.

55. According to Clotilde Pelletier, " . . . there are virtually no basic data, especially in the form of social and medical analyses, on the physical and mental health of Quebec Aboriginals" [translation]. C. Pelletier, *État des lieux: violence et santé mentale chez les autochtones du Québec* (Montreal: Quebec Native Women's Association, 1993).

56. Indian migrants to urban centres can live temporarily for fairly long periods of time with Indians already settled in cities. A study of this phenomenon in Winnipeg was carried out by E. Peters, *Native Households in Winnipeg: strategies of co-residence and financial support* (Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1984), but none exists for Quebec urban centres.

57. Most housing on reserves belongs to band councils. It can be single family homes or apartments.

58. Most Indian reserves in Quebec do not issue any ownership certificates. The land belongs to the community. However, Indians can own their own homes.

59. *Supra*, note 55, p. 65.

60. *Supra*, note 12.

61. Canada, Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, *Second Report: Questions in Abeyance: Action Program for All Canadians in the 1990s* (Ottawa: March 1990).

62. General Urban Council of the QNWA, *Brief presented to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (May 1993).

63. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

64. *Ibid.*

65. QNWA, *Position of the Quebec Native Women's Association on Daycare Services in Aboriginal Centres: Needs, Services Offered and Recommended Solutions* (Montreal: October 1994).

66. *Supra*, note 14.

67. Friendship centres offer support and follow-up services for newcomers requesting assistance.

68. Pierre-Gerlier Forest and Jean-François Tremblay, "Coming full circle: political science and the analysis of Inuit modernity", *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 16 (1-2), 1992, p. 302.

69. INAC, "Constitutional Reform and Aboriginal People", *Information* (Ottawa: 1987), p. 5.

70. Alain Bissonnette, "Analyse posthume d'un accord mis à mort", *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1 (1993), p. 80.

71. Ovide Mercredi and Mary Ellen Turpel, *In the Rapids: Navigating the Future of First Nations* (Toronto: Viking, 1993), p. 111.

72. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *Partners in Confederation: Aboriginal Peoples, Self-Government and the Constitution* (Ottawa: Canada Communication Group, 1993), p. 17.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

74. *Supra*, note 14.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

76. The organizations are: URBAN in Vancouver, the Native Canadian Centre in Toronto and the Aboriginal Council in Winnipeg.

77. *Supra*, note 14, p. 8.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

80. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *Impacts of the 1985 Amendments to the Indian Act* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1990), five volumes.

81. Quebec Native Women's Association, *Presentation to Hearings of the Circle of First Nations on the Constitution* (Montreal: February 6, 1992).

82. Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC), *The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms: a plain language version: a discussion paper (Ottawa: NWAC, 1992)*.

83. Kathleen Jamieson, "Plus ça change, plus c'est pareil? Les femmes autochtones et la question du gouvernement indien autonome et du droit coutumier", *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*, Vol. XIV, No. 3 (1984).

84. Native Women's Association of Canada, *Native Women and Self-Government: a discussion paper* (Ottawa: NWAC, 1992), p. 10.

85. Under section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982*.

86. Thomas R. Berger, *A Long and Terrible Shadow: White Values, Native Rights in the Americas, 1492-1992* (Toronto/Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1992).

87. Christiane Montpetit in Monique Laplante, *Les Autochtones de Val d'Or*, Centre d'Amitié autochtone de Val d'or, 1991, p. 193.

88. *Supra*, note 14, p. 9.

89. According to Alain Bissonnette, the expression "inherent" presupposes that Aboriginal people enjoyed this right "by the fact of their collective historical existence, even before the creation of Canadian legal instruments", [translation]. "Analyse posthume d'un accord mis à mort", *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, 1993, p. 80.

90. General Urban Council of the QNWA, *Brief presented to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, May 1993.

91. Diane Boudreau, *Histoire de la littérature amérindienne au Québec* (Montreal: Hexagone, 1993).

92. *Ibid.*

93. Eléonore Sioui, "Le droit d'être", *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*, Vol. II, No. 4-5 (1972), pp. 39-42. In Boudreau, *Histoire de la littérature amérindienne au Québec.*

94. Eléonore Sioui, *Andatha* (Val d'Or: Éditions Hyperborée, 1985), p. 47.

95. Michèle Vigeant, "La différence, fardeau ou privilège", *Liberté aux Indiens 196-197*, Vol. 33, No. 4-5 (August-October 1990), p. 200.

96. Virginia Pésémapéo Bordeleau, "Métisse d'ici", *Rencontre*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (June 1991), p. 11.

97. An Antane Kapesh, *Eukuan Nin Matshimanitu Innu-Ishueu : Je suis une maudite sauvagesse* (Ottawa: Leméac, 1976) and *Qu'as-tu fait à mon pays?* (Montreal: Impossible, 1979).

98. An Antane Kapesh, "Témoignage", *Rencontre*, Vol. III, No. 1 (1981), p. 14.

99. Bernard Cleary, *L'Enfant de 7000 ans : Le long portage vers la délivrance* (Sillery: Septentrion, 1989), pp. 96-99.

100. *Supra*, note 24, pp. 16-19.

# ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

## 1. Aboriginal People in Canada

Berger, Thomas R. *A Long and Terrible Shadow: White Values, Native Rights in the Americas, 1492-1992.* Toronto/Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1992. (Book)

The author explains that Aboriginal people have always resisted assimilation and want to reconstruct a "social matrix" on their ancestral land. This book shows the importance of the link to the land and the feeling of identification with it. According to the author, this link is not merely physical: thus it relates not only to the place where Aboriginal people live but more importantly to their overall relationship with the earth and the concomitant responsibility.

Canada. Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs. *Issues in Abeyance: Action Program for All Canadians in the 1990s.* Ottawa: March 1990. (Summary)

This summary of the Standing Committee's hearings looks at issues affecting Aboriginal people. According to the Committee, it is necessary to pay special attention to self-government and its significance for all Canadians. A number of issues are raised: from land claims to systems of government, through questions dealing with finance, the economy, employment, housing and education. The Committee notes that Aboriginal women are still concerned about a number of problems raised by Bill C-31, family violence, daycare, education and the financial support of Aboriginal women's associations. The groups appearing as witnesses before the Committee condemned the socio-economic and legal situation of Métis, non-status Indians and status Indians living off reserve. The latter did not have access to the same services and programs as those living on reserve. Moreover they often bore the brunt of disputes between the federal and provincial governments.

*[1] Mercredi, Ovide and Mary Ellen Turpel. *In the Rapids: Navigating the Future of First Nations.* Toronto: Viking, 1993. (Book)

Aboriginal people, who for a long time were absent from the Canadian political scene, are now very much in evidence. The objective of this work is to make the principal Aboriginal claims and proposed solutions more widely known. Ovide Mercredi, Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, explains how individuals' rights will be protected by Aboriginal governments even if these are not subject to existing charters.

Richardson, Boyce. *People of Terra Nullius.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994. (Book)

The author tries to show that in spite of the policies that to a great extent undermined their society, Aboriginal people have survived what history has done to them. Today, they are asserting their right to self-determination and are contributing to a new openness and understanding of what Aboriginal civilizations bring to our modern era.

Rouleau, Michèle. "Communication". Paris: Les états généraux des Droits de l'Homme, June 1989.[2]

This document describes the reality of the struggle by Aboriginal people to officially regain that which has always belonged to them, their autonomy. It depicts the struggle of Aboriginal women to regain their proper place. Michèle Rouleau describes the political game governments play as a way of promoting some recognition of the right to self-government of Aboriginal people without relinquishing the powers which would make it effective.

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. *Overview of the First Round.* October 1992.

This summary highlights the common themes for Aboriginal people who live in urban centres, on reserves and on ancestral land.

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[1] Aboriginal author(s).

[2] Available at the Quebec Native Women's Association (QNWA).

_____. Discussion Paper No. 1. *Framing the Issues*. 1992.

This document sets out the various questions to be tackled by the Commission. Four themes -- socio-cultural, management, land and economic and northern issues -- emerged. The work also covers Aboriginal people in urban centres, women and youth.

_____. *The Right of Aboriginal Self-Government and the Constitution: A Commentary*. February 1992.

The Commission notes that any arrangement affecting the right of Aboriginal people to self-government must indicate that this right is **inherent** in nature and **sovereign** in its sphere. The arrangement must take account of the recognition of this right in the Constitution and be evocable before the courts.

_____. *Partners in Confederation: Aboriginal Peoples, Self-Government and the Constitution*. Ottawa: Canada Communication Group, 1993. (Commentary)

Given the historical context of treaties and the doctrine of Aboriginal rights, the Commission concludes that the Aboriginal right to self-government may be assumed to exist under section 35(1) of the *Constitution Act, 1982*. This right is inherent and not derived from or conferred by the Constitution. However, the right to self-government, according to the Commission, involves circumscribed powers. Collective initiatives, treaties and other agreements, as well as federal statutes, are means for implementing Aboriginal self-government.

_____. *Integrated Research Plan*. July 1993.

Identifies the themes around which the Commission's research is carried out: the role of government, Aboriginal economies, treaties and land issues, socio-cultural aspects and the North. For each theme, researchers must deal with women's, urban, historical, youth and statistical dimensions and consider the specific interests of Indians, Inuit and Métis.

_____. *Public Policy and Aboriginal Peoples: 1965-1992*. Bibliography volume 4.

A bibliography of primary documents submitted to the Royal Commission by Aboriginal organizations and federal, provincial and territorial governments.

*Sioui, Georges E. *Pour une autohistoire amérindienne : Essai sur les fondements d'une morale sociale*. Quebec City: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1989. (Book)

A philosophical work by an Amerindian author who suggests rules that should be applied to the study of Aboriginal history. He shows that it is necessary for Aboriginal people themselves to write their history from their own perspective.

*Sioui, Eléonore. *Andatha*. Val d'Or: Les Éditions Hyperborée, 1985. (Anthology)

Collection of poetry about Indian identity. The author condemns the dispossession of the Amerindian universe by the white man.

*Sioui, Eléonore. "Le droit d'être". *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*, Vol 2, No. 4-5 (1972), pp. 39-42. (Article in a learned journal)

The author describes Aboriginal cultural differences and asserts their rights as first occupants.

Tremblay, Marc-Adélard and Carole Lévesque. *Les études québécoises en sciences sociales sur les peuples autochtones du Nord 1960-1989 : Conditions sociohistoriques de production et profil thématique*. Quebec City: Laboratoire de recherches anthropologiques, Université Laval, April 1993. (Retrospective bibliography)

Analysis of documents produced by Anglophone and Francophone Quebec researchers on Aboriginal people in Quebec, Canada and certain neighbouring circumpolar regions. The study's authors note that work on the status of women is rare and recent and that this is a neglected or even ignored area.

*Vigeant. Michèle. "La différence. fardeau ou privilège". *Liberté aux Indiens* 196-197. Vol. 33. No. 4-5 (August-October 1990). pp. 193-201. (Personal account)

Vigeant emphasizes the need for Aboriginal people to regain their freedom. "to check the relentless advance of a destructive civilization" [translation]. She writes that Amerindian spirituality essentially resides in the recognition of the global relationship and the interdependence of all the elements of the universe.

## 2. Aboriginal People in Quebec

Beaudoin. Pierrette. *La formation universitaire des autochtones : contexte et vision du développement.* Quebec City: Institut culturel et éducatif montagnais. 1991. (Research report)[3]

Aboriginal responsibility for postsecondary education falls within the context of political self-determination. The author suggests the "École supérieure" as an institutional model, stating that it meets both the objectives of integration within the Quebec education system and the political needs of self-determination. The report focuses on the needs of Aboriginal people living in communities and on the communities' human resources needs. According to the author. future university training programs should respond to the needs of Aboriginal people in communities.

Bherer. Donald. *La présence autochtone au Cégep des Sept-Îles.* Sept-Îles: Cégep de Sept-Îles, Service du développement de la recherche. 1987. ICEM (Report)

The author describes the context for the setting-up of a program adapted to the college-level training needs of Montagnais and the activities undertaken by the Cégep de Sept-Îles for its Aboriginal clientele. He concludes that training for Aboriginal people in specially adapted programs as well as in regular programs should meet the special need for economic development within communities.

Bherer. Harold. Sylvie Gagnon and Jacinte Roberge. *Wampoum et lettres patentes : étude exploratoire de l'entrepreneuriat autochtone.* Quebec City: Les presses de l'Université Laval, 1989. (Book)

After setting out the socio-political context of "Indian identity", the authors describe the socio-economic and cultural environment of the "chosen lands" (three reserves and one Inuit village) with due regard to the institutional constraints specifically imposed on Aboriginal businessmen and businesses. Only entrepreneurship in Aboriginal communities (reserves and villages) is dealt with but the study shows the deep attachment to the community and to the family that is reflected in business. Urban Aboriginal people are deprived of these links.

*Bordeleau. Virginia Pésémapéo. "Métisse d'ici". *Rencontre,* Vol. 12, No. 4 (June 1991), p. 11. (Poem)

Poem on the situation of Métis women.

Boudreau. Diane. *Histoire de la littérature amérindienne au Québec.* Montreal: L'Hexagone, 1993. (Book)

The work focuses on oral literature and on the writing of Amerindian Quebec authors published in French. The author first describes the social and political context, then Amerindian beliefs and mythology; finally, she shows that Amerindian literature constitutes a unique form of expression. According to the author, Amerindians living in cities express in their writing their desire to recapture their traditional Amerindian values and promote their culture to demonstrate "its unique contribution to the world" [translation].

*Cleary. Bernard. *L'Enfant de 7000 ans : Le long portage vers la délivrance.* Sillery: Septentrion, 1989. (Book)

This book has three objectives: to describe the Aboriginal journey, to show that a profound transformation among First Nations has passed unnoticed by "Whites" and to provide evidence that the Atikamekw and Montagnais are close to realizing their own "social plan". In this work, Cleary denounces racism, discrimination and the attitudes of "false democrats" who appropriate the wealth of others. Chapter 5, "Honteuse discrimination", tells the story of the return of a woman to her community which she had to leave after her marriage to a non-Aboriginal. This chapter tackles the question of the break. adjustment problems, family conflicts, etc.

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[3] Available at the Institut culturel et éducatif montagnais (ICEM).

Conseil consultatif sur la santé mentale. *Rapport.* (Quebec City: June-September 1990). ICEM (Study)

Through data collected from different workers in Aboriginal communities, the various on- and off-reserve resources were evaluated in order to prepare model intervention plans that communities can use.

Dominique. Richard and J.G. Deschênes. *Cultures et sociétés autochtones du Québec, bibliographie critique.* Quebec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture. (1979, 1985).

Critical bibliography with a selection of publications on Aboriginal peoples in Quebec. It contains social science and humanities research documents of description, analysis and summary.

Gendron, Gaëtan. *L'affirmation ethnique chez les Métis et les Indiens sans statut du Québec, ambiguïtés et tensions.* Master's thesis. Université Laval, 1984.

Gendron is careful to show that the plans of Métis and non-status Indians living off reserve in Quebec mainly result from their "marginalization by the *Indian Act*" [translation].

*Gill, Lise. *Quatre obstacles majeurs au règlement de la négociation territoriale des Atikamekw et des Montagnais.* Master's thesis. Université Laval, 1994.

It cannot be assumed that Aboriginal people living off reserve will participate in Aboriginal government and in the resolution of land negotiations. Are Aboriginal rights linked to place of residence?

*Kapesh, An Antane. *Eukuan Nin Matshimantu Innu-Ishueu : Je suis une maudite sauvagesse.* Ottawa: Leméac, 1976. (Life story)

The author tells how she and her people were dispossessed of their land by "those who wanted to do them good". She explains how, day after day, she stood up to public servants and exploiters of Montagnais land. She describes how governments ruined her life and that of her children.

Larose, François. "L'environnement des réserves est-il pathogène? Réflexions sur le suicide et l'identification des facteurs de risque en milieu amérindien québécois". *Revue québécoise de psychologie*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1989), pp. 31-44. (Article in a learned journal)

The author shows that it is necessary to create new measurement tools for mental health workers on reserves in subarctic Quebec. Noting that there are five to six times more suicides and other violent deaths in Amerindian settings, he suggests an "ecological and multidisciplinary" [translation] approach, independent of "European" cultural bias.

*Liberté*, Vol. 33, No. 4-5 (August-October 1991). (Magazine)

*Liberté* gives the floor to Indians. Sixteen authors representing almost all Aboriginal peoples in Quebec express their ideas, their desires and their dreams.

*Michel, Virginie (in collaboration with Georges-André and Laurette Michel). "La richesse du peuple Innu". *Rencontre*, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 16-19. (Personal account)

An account of the life of the Innu people through a student's interview (without paper or pencil) of her father. She listens attentively to, and respectfully passes on, the knowledge he imparts to her.

Quebec. Secrétariat aux affaires autochtones. *Rencontre.* (Selected issues) Vol. 11, No. 1 (September 1989); Vol. 12, No. 4 (June 1991); Vol. 13, Nos. 1 and 2 (autumn, winter 1991); Vol. 14, Nos. 1 and 4 (autumn 1992, summer 1993); Vol. 16, No. 1 (autumn 1994). (Government publication)

This magazine published by the Secrétariat aux affaires autochtones is for Amerindians and Inuit in Quebec. It contains Amerindian and Inuit news and commentary, provides information on services provided by the Government of Quebec for Aboriginal people and gives details on the programs for which they are eligible. The issues we selected contain personal accounts, stories, poems and reports, as well as a survey of Aboriginal women.

Pelletier, Clotilde (assisted by Carole Laurin). *États des lieux : violence et santé mentale chez les autochtones du Québec.* Centre de recherche et d'analyse en sciences humaines (SSDCC Inc.): 1993.

This research first reviews selected works about mental health and violence among Aboriginal people in Quebec as well as available services and services desired by social workers. It then describes a few community initiatives and reviews government policies, programs and action plans. It concludes that federal and provincial government action and intervention plans could benefit from co-ordination among the different departments.

Petawabano, Bella H., Eric Gourdeau, Francine Jourdain, *et al*. *La Santé mentale et les Autochtones.* Montreal: Gaetan Morin. 1994. (Report)

Report on the current mental health of Aboriginal people in Quebec. According to the authors, individual and social dependence is heightened by colonizing policies that exclude Aboriginal people from decisions which concern them. Moreover, the dislocation of Aboriginal families and the loss of values and identity are noted as aggravating factors in mental health problems in Aboriginal communities. The main symptoms of mental health problems are suicide, violence, sexual abuse, alcoholism and drug abuse. The authors conclude by stating that solutions must come from the Aboriginal community, which can call on external specialists.

Sommet de la Justice. "La situation des autochtones à l'égard de l'administration de la justice : État de la situation". Background Paper 2.4, (October 1991). (Background paper)

This background paper summarizes the situation of Aboriginal people with regard to the administration of justice and deals with access to justice for Aboriginal people in Quebec. It does not tackle the question of legal services for Aboriginal people in urban centres even though they are also concerned.

### 3. Aboriginal Women in Canada

Archibald, L. *An Overview of the Issues of Concern to Inuit Women.* Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. June 1992. (Study)

Ideally, research should be undertaken only at the request of the people concerned and with their participation. According to the author, Inuit women are best placed to know their situation and to identify research needs.

Canada. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. *Impacts of the 1985 Amendments to the Indian Act (Bill C-31).* Five volumes. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1990. (Reports)

A survey of Aboriginal organizations on the impacts of Bill C-31; a survey of registrants that indicates that 92 per cent of those newly registered live off reserve and that half of them foresee moving to a reserve; a study of the impacts of the *Act* on bands and communities; and, lastly, a study on trends and changes in federal government programs.

*Canadian Women's Studies/Les cahiers de la femme.* York University. Vol. 10, No. 2-3 (summer/fall 1989). (Learned journal)

This issue on Aboriginal women includes portraits of women and articles on Aboriginal history, traditions and languages. The authors, all Aboriginal women, also tackle social issues including problems of violence and conclude with articles about how Aboriginal women view the future.

Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women. "Work in Progress: Tracking Women's Equality in Canada". Ottawa: June 1994. (Report)

This assessment of the equality of women in Canada notes the progress achieved since the adoption by Canada of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. The report sets out the main questions chosen in consultation with various women's groups to convince the Canadian government to act more effectively. These women are unanimous in saying that progress is too slow. The most serious problems were identified among women in poverty, women belonging to racial minorities, Aboriginal women and women with disabilities.

Drolet, Gaëtan and Marie-France Labrecque. *Les femmes amérindiennes au Québec, guide annoté de sources d'information.* Quebec City: Laboratoire de recherches anthropologiques, Université Laval, 1986. CACSW. (Annotated bibliography)

Bibliography on Amerindian women in Quebec and Canada. It is the only bibliography in French on Aboriginal women.

Fochs Heller, Anita. "La femme protectrice de la santé". Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women. March 1986. (Study)

A CACSW study on the problem of health protection at home. One of its specific findings is that for Amerindian women, the role as a health protector is marked by the fact that they identify four significant health care factors: alcohol as a health risk; the positive role of spirituality in their well-being; the "cultural conflict" with regard to conventional medical practice; and the remoteness of services.

Holmes, Joan. "The New *Indian Act*: Equality or Disparity? Impacts on Indian Women of Bill C-31 (1985)". Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women. March 1987. (Study)

This study, commissioned by the CACSW to help groups of Indian and non-Indian women understand the impacts of the amendments to the *Indian Act* (Bill C-31), underlines the difficulties raised by requests for registration as well as the worries of Indian bands, which were particularly afraid that resources for Aboriginal people would be reduced and that there would be a negative impact on the social and cultural life of communities.

Jamieson, Kathleen. *Indian Women and the Indian Act.* Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1978. (Book)

This well-documented study describes the situation of Aboriginal women prior to the amendments to the *Indian Act*. The author sketches the history of discriminatory measures and highlights the opposition of Aboriginal organizations to any amendments to the *Indian Act*.

_____. *Native Women in Canada, A Selected Bibliography.* Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Vancouver: Simon Fraser University, 1982. CACSW

Bibliography containing a list of books, articles and theses published on the subject of Aboriginal women since the early 1970s.

_____. "Plus ça change, plus c'est pareil? Les femmes autochtones et la question du gouvernement indien autonome et du droit coutumier". *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec,* Vol. XIV, No. 3 (1984), pp. 65-74. (Article in a learned journal)

The author tackles the question of the protection of individual rights by Aboriginal governments.

Native Women's Association of Canada. "Native Women and Self-Government: a discussion paper". Ottawa: NWAC, 1992. QNWA

The document sets out Aboriginal women's questions in a discussion on self-government.

_____. "Aboriginal women and the *Charter*: a discussion paper". Ottawa: NWAC, 1992. QNWA

A brief history of the impact of the *Charter* on Aboriginal women's rights and a description of examples of cases that Aboriginal women have brought to court invoking the *Charter*.

_____. "Native Women and aboriginal and treaty rights: a discussion paper". Ottawa: NWAC, 1992. QNWA

Sets out the provisions of the *Constitution Act, 1982* which recognize and confirm Aboriginal rights and treaty rights.

_____. "The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*: a plain language version: a discussion paper". Ottawa: NWAC, 1992. QNWA

Contains sections of parts I and II of the *Constitution Act, 1982* followed by an explanation.

_____. "Matriarchy and the Canadian *Charter*: a discussion paper". Ottawa: NWAC, 1992. QNWA

An overview of the history of the matriarchy and of its structures, powers and functions; thoughts on how it works within the Canadian Constitution and the *Charter*; and recommendations.

_____. "Statement on the 'Canada package'". Ottawa: NWAC, 1992. QNWA

Position of the Native Women's Association of Canada on constitutional proposals. The NWAC raises the question of whether Aboriginal people have Aboriginal and treaty rights only if they live on designated Indian lands.

Silman, Janet (as told to). *Enough is Enough: Aboriginal Women Speak Out*. Toronto: The Women's Press, 1987. (Book)

Remarks collected by Silman from Aboriginal women in Tobique, an Indian reserve in New Brunswick. They talk about their struggle to enjoy the same rights as their brothers and to improve the quality of life for women and children who live on reserves.

## 4. Aboriginal People in Canadian Urban Centres

Gurstein, Michael. "Urbanization and Indian People: An Analytical Literature Review". Unpublished photocopy. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1977. (Literature review)[4]

The study documents knowledge of the movement of Aboriginal people to urban centres by identifying three kinds of participants in this migration: transients, migrants and residents. The various works dealing with this question are American studies which date back 20 years or more. The author concludes by recommending different intervention approaches depending on whether the migration situation is temporary or permanent.

Nagler, Mark. *Natives Without A Home*. Canadian Social Problems Series. Don Mills: Longman Canada Ltd., 1975. "Patterns of Urbanization". (Book)

Aboriginal people who settle in cities do so mainly to improve their socio-economic situation. While urban life seems incompatible with the Amerindian identity, it has become for many the place to express their Aboriginal identity within the "pan-Indian" movement.

Peters, Evelyn. *Native Households in Winnipeg: strategies of co-residence and financial support*. Research and Working Paper No. 5. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1984. (Research report)

The researcher is interested in the composition of Aboriginal households, their economic status and the context of their organization (migration, employment and conditions) in the City of Winnipeg. Peters analyzes the impact on the household economy of assistance (housing, money) provided to Aboriginal people who come to the city and who move in with those who are already residents. Far from revealing adjustment problems or cultural disorganization, these arrangements appear to be exchanges which allow for a certain sharing of household resources.

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. *Aboriginal Peoples in Urban Centres: Report of the National Round Table on Aboriginal Urban Issues*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1993. (Report)

This report sets out the major themes which emerged from the round table: the survival of Aboriginal identity, the absence of government policy, access to social services and participation in Aboriginal government.

## 5. Aboriginal Women in Quebec

*Basile, Marie-Jeanne, Rolande Rock, and Jenny Rock. *Montagnaises de Parole, Eukuan Ume Ninan Etentamat*. Quebec City: Atikamekw and Montagnais Council, 1992. (Collection of interviews also available on videocassette)

This collection puts forward the points of view of three generations of Montagnais women living on reserve. They express themselves on a variety of subjects including family life, laws, culture, self-government and their vision for the future.

[4] Available at the Quebec Native Friendship Centre.

Craig, Suzan D. *Qui prend mari prend pays? A Study of Women's Role in Ethnic Boundary in a Native Community in Quebec*. Master's thesis, Université Laval, 1987.

Focusing mainly on the points of view of women concerning the ethnic divisions between two groups — pure blood Indians and Métis — on a Montagnais reserve, the researcher also looks at Aboriginal women excluded because of their marriage.

Labrecque, Marie-France. "The Sociological Isolation of Francophone Amerindians". Paper delivered at the annual conference of the ICREF, Saskatoon, November 9, 1985.

Paper on the social isolation of Francophone Amerindian women. Among the significant problems which these women face, the author notes those connected to the need to leave their community to study.

*La Gazette des femmes*, Vol. 14, No. 5 (January-February 1993). (Publication of the Conseil du statut de la femme du Québec)

This special issue on Aboriginal women shows that they are playing an incressingly active political role and making their voices heard.

Morissette, Diane. "Être présidente en toute lucidité". Interview with Bibiane Courtois, President of the Quebec Native Women's Association. *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*, Vol. XIV, No. 3 (1984), pp. 59-65. (Interview in a learned journal)

The question of a return to the reserve by people affected by Bill C-31 is considered in this interview. According to the President of the QNWA, people affected by Bill C-31 need help. Moreover, she believes that Aboriginal people think differently from non-Aboriginal people and their regained identity will enable them to participate effectively in collective decision-making.

Morissette, Diane (with Michèle Rouleau). *Vitalités et regroupements chez les femmes autochtones du Québec*. Quebec City: Secretary of State, 1982. (Study)

Study on the organizational needs of Aboriginal women's groups in Quebec, their development and the impact of their activities.

Picard, Josette and Hélène Lévesque. "Les Amérindiennes brimées, jamais soumises". *La Gazette des femmes*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (November-December 1984), pp. 14-18. (Article in the journal of the Conseil du statut de la femme du Québec)

This article deals with the struggle of Amerindian women against the patriarchal system established by the *Indian Act*.

Quebec. Ministère de la Santé et des Services sociaux (in collaboration with the Quebec Native Women's Association). *La violence familiale dans les communautés autochtones*. Quebec City: 1991. (Reference work)

A reference work which includes a review of the literature and audio-visual documents on family violence in Native communities as well as a list of the various services available to families in trouble in and outside Aboriginal communities.

Quebec. Secrétariat à la Condition féminine. *Les femmes autochtones au Québec*. Quebec City: Secrétariat à la Condition féminine, 1987. (Study)

A study on the status of Aboriginal women in Quebec in which the following issues are examined: equality, family, health and social services, housing, employment and income, schooling, cultural identity and legal services. The conclusion points out that in spite of the passage of the law eliminating discriminatory sections of the *Indian Act*, women who have regained their Indian status must continue to struggle to obtain full recognition of their equality and their identity. (No bibliography or notes.)

Quebec Native Women's Association. *Le Mocassin Télégramme*. (Newsletter)

Published in French and English, the newsletter provides information on the Association's activities and its projects. A "mail box" is provided for members to express their ideas and comments.

_____. Brief submitted to the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs: Bill C-31. Ottawa: March 1985.

This brief followed the tabling of Bill C-31. The QNWA outlines women's concerns, of which the protection of the family unit seems to be an essential element. Bill C-31 continues the discrimination against women and their children.

_____. "Taking Our Rightful Place". Brief submitted to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Montreal: May 1993.

The QNWA's main concerns are family violence, daycare for preschool children, the vulnerability of Aboriginal women in urban centres, the amendments to the *Indian Act* (Bill C-31), the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and the participation of Aboriginal women in decision-making bodies. In its brief, the QNWA declares itself in favour of a new societal arrangement for Aboriginal people based on equality, responsibility, truth, solidarity and openness.

_____. Brief to the National Aboriginal Inquiry on the Impact of Bill C-31. Montreal: December 1989.

The QNWA describes the circumstances of Aboriginal women re-registered as Indian after the adoption of Bill C-31 and the problems which many of them encounter with band councils. The registration of children of single mothers, on- and off-reserve housing, land claims, the right of residence, financial support for class action suits, band membership and self-government are all issues raised by the QNWA.

_____. Brief to the Subcommittee on Sexual Discrimination against Indian Women. Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Ottawa: House of Commons, September 14, 1982. (Brief)

In this brief, which predates the passage of Bill C-31, the QNWA states that everyone would win by amending the *Indian Act*: Aboriginal women, who would regain their Indian status; bands, which would have the right to determine their membership and to regulate housing on reserves; and finally the government, which would thus improve its relations with Aboriginal people and its international image.

_____. Brief to hearings of the Circle of First Nations on the Constitution. Montreal: February 6, 1992. (Brief)

Brief of the QNWA on self-government and the protection of the rights of Aboriginal citizens.

_____. "Report on the Implementation of Bill C-31". Brief. Ottawa: February 1988.

The QNWA appeared before the Committee to report on the situation of Aboriginal women after the passage of Bill C-31, and it condemned the climate of uncertainty and confusion that reigned on reserves. Lack of information, lack of funds for housing programs, budget cuts for education, etc., were linked by many Native people in communities to the re-registration of women and children discriminated against by the *Act*.

*Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*. "Être née femme autochtone". Vol. XIV, No. 3 (Autumn 1984). (Learned journal)

This issue includes a bibliographic inventory as well as an article on the rights of Amerindian women. Other articles deal with Atikamekw, Montagnais and Inuit women. (Some of these articles are summarized in the articles section.)

_____. "Femmes par qui la parole voyage". Vol. XIII, No. 4 (1983). (Learned journal)

Personal accounts by Aboriginal women and articles about their particular circumstances provide an inside perspective and an analysis which enables a better understanding of the social changes in Aboriginal societies.

*UniversElles*. Feminist newsletter for international solidarity. The 5th world collective. Vol. 4, No. 1-2 (March 1992). (Newsletter)

Various articles based on the stories of Quebec Amerindian women and those of South America deal with their living conditions, the services available to them and their struggle for the recognition of their rights.

*Women and Justice*, Vol. 4, No. 5 (May 1989). (Newsletter)

This issue of the newsletter of the Montreal Elizabeth Fry Society focuses on Aboriginal women in trouble with the law. The authors tackle the particular problems encountered by some women who face legal difficulties when they find themselves in urban centres.

## 6. Aboriginal People in Quebec Urban Centres

Alliance autochtone du Québec. "État de santé des autochtones vivant hors réserve au Québec". Quebec. (Literature review)[5]

Summary review of documentation on the health of Aboriginal people living off reserve in Quebec.

CLSC Le Minordet and Centre d'Entraide autochtone de Senneterre. *Une communauté amérindienne en développement dans un milieu urbain : La concertation possible*. Senneterre: The Senneterre Native Friendship Centre. May 1990. (Study)[6]

A study which aims to provide an inventory of the psycho-social needs of Aboriginal young people in Senneterre. It shows that it is necessary to help the town's Aboriginal young people by setting up the social and community resources they need for a better quality of life.

DesRosiers, François. "Le logement des autochtones hors réserve du Québec : une étude comparative des besoins de la demande et de l'offre". La Corporation Waskahegen Inc., April 1993. BAGQ (Comparative study)

The study shows the match between the needs and the supply and demand for housing for off-reserve Aboriginal people. The authors recommend that agencies which support social housing for off-reserve Aboriginal people change the way in which the funds are distributed.

Laplante, Monique. *Les autochtones de Val d'Or : Étude sur les autochtones vivant en milieu urbain*. Val d'Or: Val d'Or Native Friendship Centre, 1991. (Study)

This study points out the main reasons for the migration of Aboriginal people to Val d'Or. It brings together data on their origin, their level of schooling, their employment, their recreational activities and their needs in terms of housing, health, training and recreation. The Aboriginal people who were interviewed gave their opinion on culture and ancestors. The study shows that even though the majority of respondents have maintained contact with the people and the places linked to their ancestral culture, they prefer to live in town mainly because of the services available (schools, shopping, goods, activities and recreation).

Montpetit, Christiane. *Trajectoire de vie de migrants autochtones à Val d'Or*. Master's thesis, Université de Montréal, 1989.

Study on the migratory behaviour and urbanization of Aboriginal people in Val d'Or. Indians in this urban centre have more frequent contacts with the communities from which they come and which remain at the centre of their social and political organization. Their communities are their "home", the place to which they can always return.

National Association of Friendship Centres. "Projet de recherche sur le milieu : phase I et II : L'alcoolisme et la toximanie". 1985. BAGQ (Study)

Study on the problems of alcohol, drug and solvent abuse by Aboriginal people in urban centres. It points out the absence of policies and programs for urban Aboriginal people.

Native Friendship Centre of Montreal. *The NFCM Circle*. (Newsletter)

Published in French and English, the newsletter provides information about the Centre's activities (socio-cultural events, festival, etc.) and the services available.

Roy, François. *De la réserve à la ville : urbanisation montagnaise dans la région de Québec*. Master's thesis, Université Laval, 1993.

The study centres on the urbanization of Montagnais in the Quebec City area and evaluates their adaptation to urban life through consideration of their social activities and their dealings with others.

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[5] Available at the Bibliothèque administrative du Gouvernement du Québec (BAGQ).

[6] Available at the Quebec Native Friendship Centres Group (QNFCG).

Working Group on Aboriginal People in Quebec Urban Centres. Meeting held at Wendake, November 8 and 9, 1993. QNWA (Report of the meeting)

Presentations of various organizations working in Quebec urban centres. Provides approximate data on the Aboriginal urban population and describes services for Aboriginal people in cities. Four questions emerged: whether the urban Aboriginal clientele needs to be better defined, how many Aboriginal people there are in Quebec urban centres, how they are represented by political bodies and, finally, whether there is a duplication of services for Aboriginal people in urban centres.

7. **Aboriginal Women in Quebec Urban Centres**

*André, Dolorès. "L'autochtone et la ville". *Liberté aux Indiens* 196-197, Vol. 33, No. 4-5 (August-October 1990), pp. 138-140. (Personal account)

Story of an Aboriginal woman who lives in the city. According to her, Aboriginal people move to the city for a variety of reasons, but they preserve their culture and integrate it into their daily life.

Cross, Zambrowsky, Suan. "Needs Assessment on the Native Women Who Are or May Be in Conflict With the Law in the Region of Montreal". Montreal: Native Friendship Centre of Montreal, 1986. (Study)

This research paper is one of the few which focuses on a specific group of Aboriginal women in a Quebec urban centre (Montreal). The study portrays the socio-economic, cultural and demographic situation of Aboriginal women prostitutes in Montreal.

General Urban Council of the Quebec Native Women's Association. No title. Brief presented to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Montreal, May 1993.

The General Urban Council represents Aboriginal women in Quebec urban centres. Their brief to the Commission noted that Aboriginal rights should not be restricted to a particular place of residence (the reserve) but should be able to be exercised anywhere in Canada. Questions about health, housing, education, employment and training as well as communications were raised.

Labrecque, Marie-France. "Un partenariat féministe de recherche : Les femmes autochtones en milieu urbain". Paper at a conference: Feminist university training, research and publications -- Quebec, Brazil, France. Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, June 1994.

The researcher describes the emerging feminist research partnership between Aboriginal activists living in urban centres and university women. This kind of partnership should contribute to knowledge on the status of these women and give them some control over this knowledge.

# APPENDIX 1

EXCERPTS FROM *THE CONSTITUTION ACT, 1982*

PART I

*CANADIAN CHARTER OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS*

1. The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* guarantees the rights and freedoms set out in it subject only to such reasonable limits prescribed by law as can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society.

Equality Rights

15.(1) Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability.

General

25. The guarantee in this Charter of certain rights and freedoms shall not be construed so as to abrogate or derogate from any aboriginal, treaty or other rights or freedoms that pertain to the aboriginal peoples of Canada including:
(a) any rights or freedoms that have been recognized by the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763; and
(b) any rights or freedoms that now exist by way of land claims agreements or may be so acquired.

27. This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians.

PART II

RIGHTS OF THE ABORIGINAL PEOPLES OF CANADA

35.(1) The existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed.

(2) In this Act, 'aboriginal peoples of Canada' includes the Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada.

(3) For greater certainty, in subsection (1) "treaty rights" include rights that now exist by way of land claims agreements or may be so acquired.

(4) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the aboriginal and treaty rights referred to in subsection (1) are guaranteed equally to male and female persons.

# APPENDIX 2

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS CONSULTED

Quebec Native Women's Association (QNWA)
1450 City Councillors, Suite 440
Montreal, Quebec
H3A 2E5

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC)
320 St Joseph Street East
P.O. Box 51127
Quebec City, Quebec

La Tuque Native Friendship Centre
315 St Paul Street
P.O. Box 335
La Tuque, Quebec
G9X 3P3

Native Friendship Centre of Montreal (NFCM)
3730 Cote des Neiges
Montreal, Quebec
H3H 1V6

Quebec Native Friendship Centre (QNFC)
234 Saint Louis Street
Loretteville, Quebec
G2B 1L4

Atikamekw and Montagnais Council (CAM)
360 Charest Boulevard East
Quebec City, Quebec
G1K 3H4

Montreal Native Women's Shelter
P.O. Box 1183
Montreal, Quebec
(514) 933-4688

Institut culturel et éducatif montagnais (ICEM)
40 François Gros Louis Street
Wendake, Quebec
G0A 4V0

Quebec Native Friendship Centres Group (QNFCG)
30 de l'Ours Street
Huron Village, Quebec
G0A 4V0

Secrétariat aux affaires autochtones
875 Grande Allée East
Quebec City, Quebec
G1R 4Y8

# APPENDIX 3

## TABLES OF HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE *ABORIGINAL PEOPLES SURVEY*

**TABLE 1A:** Breakdown of Quebec **Aboriginal women** by age group and ethnic category (source: APS - 1991)

| | I.on R.[1] | % | I.off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] | CANADA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age group | | | | | | | | | | |
| 0 - 4 years | 1,360 | | 1,175 | | 600 | | 560 | | 3,645 | 44,055 |
| 5 - 14 years | 2,405 | | 1,720 | | 700 | | 855 | | 5,655 | 72,730 |
| 15 years & over | 6,755 | | 8,040 | | 3,005 | | 1,965 | | 19,260 | 207,435 |
| TOTALS: | 10,520 | | 10,935 | | 4,305 | | 3,380 | | 29,140 | 324,220 |
| CANADA | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15 years & over | 49,300[4] | | 106,095 | | 43,945 | | 10,680 | | 207,435 | |
| Montreal | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15 years & over | | | 2,070 | | 665* | | | | 2,575[4] | |

**TABLE 1B:** Breakdown of Quebec **Aboriginal men** by age group and ethnic category (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)

| | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age group | | | | | | | | | |
| 0 - 4 years | 1,425 | | 1,040 | | 350 | | 620 | | 3,380 |
| 5 - 14 years | 2,440 | | 1,800 | | 830 | | 945 | | 5,945 |
| 15 years & over | 6,695 | | 6,805 | | 3,210[4] | | 2,090 | | 18,410[4] |
| TOTALS: | 10,560 | | 9,645 | | 4,390 | | 3,655 | | 27,735 |
| CANADA | | | | | | | | | |
| 15 years & over | 52,775 | | 80,195 | | 40,210 | | 10,125 | | 181,465 |
| Montreal | | | | | | | | | |
| 15 years & over | | | 1,755 | | 565* | | | | 2,245 |

* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I.on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I.off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.
3) "Respondents who identified with more than one Aboriginal group are included in each of the Aboriginal groups with whom they identified. As a result, the sum of the Aboriginal groups is greater than the total population reporting Aboriginal identity." (Statistics Canada).
4) A difference of ±5 appears in the number of responses according to the Statistics Canada file from which the information is taken. Nonetheless, the difference is so small that it does not affect the percentage.

**TABLE 2:** **Culture: Aboriginal language(s) spoken, read, written by Quebec Aboriginal women, 15 years of age and over, broken down by ethnic category source: APS - 1991, special compilation)**

| | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Language(s) spoken** | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 5,680 | 84.1 | 1,255 | 15.6 | .. | | 1,940 | 98.7 | 6,935 | 36.0 |
| - Canada | 31,710 | 64.0 | 25,420 | 24.0 | 7,320 | 17.0 | 7,865 | 73.6 | 72,045 | 34.7 |
| **Language(s) read** | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 3,395 | 50.3 | 845 | 10.5 | .. | | 1,845 | 93.9 | 6,120 | 31.8 |
| - Canada | 10,895 | 22.1 | 8,540 | 8.0 | 1,380 | 3.0 | 7,130 | 66.8 | 27,915 | 13.5 |
| **Language(s) written** | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 2,680 | 39.7 | 590 | 7.3 | .. | | 1,785 | 90.8 | 5,090 | 26.4 |
| - Canada | 7,440 | 15.0 | 5,125 | 4.8 | 795 | 2.0 | 6,680 | 62.6 | 20,915 | 10.1 |
| **Persons who...** | | | | | | | | | | |
| . do not speak, but understand | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 410 | 6.1 | 865 | 10.8 | 275 | 9.2 | .. | | 1,520 | 7.9 |
| - Canada | 8,505 | 17.3 | 19,630 | 18.5 | 7,910 | 18.0 | .. | | 36,560 | 17.6 |
| . would like to re-learn | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 95* | | 400 | 5.0 | 80* | | .. | | 550 | 2.9 |
| - Canada | 2,480 | 5.0 | 7,160 | 6.8 | 2,355 | 5.4 | .. | | 12,180 | 5.9 |
| . never spoke | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 915 | 13.6 | 5,835 | 72.5 | 2,710 | 90.2 | .. | | 9,035 | 46.9 |
| - Canada | 14,360 | 29.1 | 68,325 | 64.4 | 32,725 | 74.5 | .. | | 115,710 | 55.8 |
| - Montreal | .. | | 1,515 | 73.2 | 585* | | .. | | 1,945 | 75.5 |
| . would like to learn | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 720 | 10.7 | 4,130 | 51.4 | 1,705 | 56.7 | .. | | 6,200 | 32.2 |
| - Canada | 12,710 | 25.8 | 51,920 | 48.9 | 24,815 | 56.5 | .. | | 89,365 | 43.1 |
| - Montreal | .. | | 1,185 | 57.3 | 425* | | .. | | 1,445 | 56.1 |

| TABLE 1A (excerpts) 15 years & over | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Quebec** | 6,755 | 8,040 | 3,005 | 1,965 | 19,260 |
| **Canada** | 49,300 | 106,095 | 43,945 | 10,680 | 207,435 |
| **Montreal** | .. | 2,070 | 665* | .. | 2,575 |

* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I. on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I. off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.
3) "Respondents who identified with more than one Aboriginal group are included in each of the Aboriginal groups with whom they identified. As a result, the sum of the Aboriginal groups is greater than the total population reporting Aboriginal identity." (Statistics Canada).

**TABLE 3:** Culture: **Aboriginal women who** listen to or watch audio-visual productions in Aboriginal language(s) and who participate or do not participate in traditional activities in Quebec, for women 15 years of age and over, broken down by ethnic category (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)

| | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Persons who...** | | | | | | | | | | |
| . listen to or watch Aboriginal language | | | | | | | | | | |
| . radio | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 5,695 | 84.3 | 1,510 | 18.8 | 220* | | 1,920 | 97.7 | 9,315 | 48.4 |
| - Canada | 18,580 | 37.7 | 16,750 | 15.8 | 7,210 | 16.4 | 8,205 | 76.8 | 50,240 | 24.2 |
| - Montreal | .. | | .. | | .. | | .. | | .. | |
| . recordings | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 4,410 | 65.3 | 2,315 | 28.8 | 605 | 20.0 | 1,330 | 67.7 | 8,580 | 44.6 |
| - Canada | 14,520 | 29.5 | 15,675 | 14.8 | 4,505 | 10.3 | 5,255 | 49.2 | 39,480 | 19.0 |
| - Montreal | .. | | 515* | | .. | | .. | | .. | |
| . television | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 2,725 | 40.3 | 1,590 | 19.8 | 520 | 17.0 | 1,835 | 93.4 | 6,615 | 34.4 |
| - Canada | 17,725 | 36.0 | 31,225 | 29.4 | 13,875 | 31.6 | 8,520 | 79.8 | 70,205 | 33.8 |
| - Montreal | .. | | 325* | | .. | | .. | | .. | |
| . videos | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 2,385 | 35.3 | 930 | 11.6 | 90* | | 730 | 37.5 | 4,115 | 21.4 |
| - Canada | 10,925 | 22.2 | 12,595 | 11.9 | 3,870 | 8.8 | 3,460 | 32.4 | 30,390 | 14.7 |
| - Montreal | .. | | .. | | .. | | .. | | .. | |
| . participate in trad. activities | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 4,775 | 70.7 | 2,835 | 35.3 | 830 | 27.6 | 1,545 | 78.6 | 9,950 | 51.7 |
| - Canada | 29,260 | 59.0 | 45,160 | 42.6 | 15,555 | 35.4 | 7,210 | 67.5 | 96,170 | 46.4 |
| - Montreal | .. | | 540* | | .. | | .. | | .. | |
| . experience problems | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 335 | 5.0 | 205* | | .. | | 125* | | 700 | 3.6 |
| - Canada | 2,295 | 4.7 | 4,930 | 4.7 | 1,775 | 4.0 | 430 | 4.0 | 9,065 | 4.4 |
| - Montreal | .. | | .. | | .. | | .. | | .. | |
| . do not participate... | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 1,905 | 28.2 | 4,725 | 58.8 | 2,030 | 67.5 | 405 | 20.6 | 8,720 | 45.3 |
| - Canada | 19,550 | 39.7 | 56,880 | 53.6 | 27,450 | 62.5 | 3,385 | 31.7 | 105,750 | 51.0 |
| - Montreal | .. | | 1,325 | 64.0 | 470* | | .. | | 1,695 | 65.8 |
| TABLE 1A (excerpts) 15 years & over | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Quebec** | 6,755 | | 8,040 | | 3,005 | | 1,965 | | 19,260 | |
| **Canada** | 49,300 | | 106,095 | | 43,945 | | 10,680 | | 207,435 | |
| **Montreal** | .. | | 2,070 | | 665* | | .. | | 2,575 | |

* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I. on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I. off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.
3) "Respondents who identified with more than one Aboriginal group are included in each of the Aboriginal groups with whom they identified. As a result, the sum of the Aboriginal groups is greater than the total population reporting Aboriginal identity." (Statistics Canada).

**TABLE 4A:** **Health status of Aboriginal women 15 years of age and over, broken down by ethnic category (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)**

| | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Women who report health status | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 6,680 | 98.9 | 7,565 | 94.1 | 2,855 | 95.0 | 1,950 | 99.2 | 18,560 | 96.4 |
| - Canada | 48,730 | 98.8 | 102,030 | 96.2 | 42,935 | 97.7 | 10,560 | 98.9 | 201,720 | 97.2 |
| - Montreal | | | | | | | | | 2,325 | 90.3 |
| Women who report health status | | | | | | | | | | |
| . excellent or very good | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 3,365 | 50.3 | 4,965 | 65.6 | 1,915 | 67.1 | 930 | 47.7 | 10,895 | 58.7 |
| - Canada | 23,530 | 48.3 | 59,535 | 58.4 | 24,970 | 58.2 | 5,725 | 54.2 | 112,035 | 55.5 |
| - Montreal | .. | | 1,380* | | .. | | .. | | 1,745* | |
| . good | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 2,495 | 37.4 | 1,630 | 21.5 | 595 | 21.0 | 735 | 37.7 | 5,355 | 28.9 |
| - Canada | 16,880 | 34.6 | 28,095 | 27.5 | 12,205 | 28.4 | 3,475 | 33.0 | 60,220 | 30.0 |
| - Montreal | .. | | 165* | | .. | | .. | | 315* | |
| . fair or poor | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 815 | 12.2 | 980 | 13.0 | 345 | 12.1 | 245* | | 2,310 | 12.5 |
| - Canada | 8,315 | 17.1 | 14,395 | 14.1 | 5,750 | 13.4 | 1,365 | 13.0 | 29,470 | 14.6 |
| - Montreal | .. | | .. | | .. | | .. | | .. | |
| TABLE 1A (excerpts) 15 years & over | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Quebec** | 6,755 | | 8,040 | | 3,005 | | 1,965 | | 19,260 | |
| **Canada** | 49,300 | | 106,095 | | 43,945 | | 10,680 | | 207,435 | |
| **Montreal** | .. | | 2,070 | | 665* | | .. | | 2,575 | |

* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I. on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I. off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.
3) "Respondents who identified with more than one Aboriginal group are included in each of the Aboriginal groups with whom they identified. As a result, the sum of the Aboriginal groups is greater than the total population reporting Aboriginal identity." (Statistics Canada).

**TABLE 4B:** **Health status of Aboriginal men 15 years of age and over, broken down by ethnic category (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)**

| | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men who report health status | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 6,575 | 98.2 | 6,380 | 93.8 | 2,985 | 93.0 | 2,070 | 99.0 | 17,650 | 95.9 |
| - Canada | 51,995 | 98.5 | 76,220 | 95.0 | 39,040 | 97.1 | 10,025 | 99.0 | 175,475 | 96.7 |
| - Montreal | | | | | | | | | 1,990 | 88.6 |
| Men who report health status | | | | | | | | | | |
| . excellent or very good | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 3,710 | 56.4 | 4,680 | 73.4 | 1,975 | 66.2 | 975 | 47.1 | 11,165 | 63.3 |
| - Canada | 28,735 | 54.5 | 49,425 | 55.4 | 23,590 | 60.4 | 5,700 | 56.8 | 106,450 | 61.0 |
| - Montreal | .. | | 1,265* | | .. | | .. | | 1,575* | |
| . good | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 2,295 | 35.0 | 1,140 | 17.9 | 770 | 25.8 | 765 | 36.9 | 4,855 | 27.5 |
| - Canada | 16,365 | 31.4 | 19,430 | 25.5 | 10,600 | 27.15 | 3,180 | 31.7 | 48,995 | 27.9 |
| - Montreal | .. | | .. | | .. | | .. | | .. | |
| . fair or poor | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 565 | 8.6 | 555 | 8.7 | 215* | | 330 | 15.9 | 1,625 | 9.2 |
| - Canada | 6,885 | 13.2 | 7,365 | 9.6 | 4,855 | 12.4 | 1,150 | 11.5 | 20,030 | 11.4 |
| - Montreal | .. | | .. | | .. | | .. | | .. | |
| TABLE 1B (excerpts) 15 years & over | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Quebec** | 6,695 | | 6,805 | | 3,210 | | 2,090 | | 18,410 | |
| **Canada** | 52,775 | | 80,195 | | 40,210 | | 10,125 | | 181,465 | |
| **Montreal** | 1,755 | | 565* | | .. | | 2,245 | | | |

* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I. on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I. off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.
3) "Respondents who identified with more than one Aboriginal group are included in each of the Aboriginal groups with whom they identified. As a result, the sum of the Aboriginal groups is greater than the total population reporting Aboriginal identity." (Statistics Canada).

**TABLE 4C:** **Chronic health problems for Aboriginal women 15 years of age and over, broken down by ethnic category (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)**

| | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Persons reporting these problems | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 1,955 | 28.9 | 2,495 | 31.0 | 865 | 28.8 | 405 | 20.6 | 5,530 | 28.7 |
| - Canada | 17,190 | 34.9 | 36,020 | 33.9 | 16,805 | 38.2 | 2,820 | 26.4 | 71,870 | 34.6 |
| . diabetes | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 720 | 10.7 | 375 | 4.7 | 65* | | 70* | | 1,220 | 6.3 |
| - Canada | 5,195 | 10.3 | 6,360 | 6.0 | 2,935 | 6.7 | 235* | | 14,595 | 7.0 |
| . high blood pressure | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 900 | 13.3 | 880 | 10.9 | 380 | 12.7 | 155* | | 2,200 | 11.4 |
| - Canada | 7,090 | 14.4 | 12,065 | 11.4 | 5,270 | 12.0 | 1,295 | 12.1 | 25,455 | 12.3 |
| . arthritis/rheumatism | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 705 | 10.4 | 1,365 | 17.0 | 490 | 16.3 | 145* | | 2,570 | 13.3 |
| - Canada | 8,575 | 17.4 | 19,015 | 17.9 | 9,005 | 20.5 | 1,335 | 12.5 | 37,355 | 18.0 |
| . cardiac problems | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 515 | 10.1 | 555 | 6.9 | 205* | | 130* | | 1,340 | 7.0 |
| - Canada | 3,525 | 7.2 | 6,835 | 6.4 | 2,980 | 6.8 | 730 | 6.8 | 13,940 | 6.7 |
| . bronchitis | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 395 | 5.8 | 855 | 10.6 | 265 | 8.8 | 90* | | 1,580 | 8.2 |
| - Canada | 3,675 | 7.5 | 11,760 | 11.1 | 5,835 | 13.3 | 625 | 5.9 | 21,600 | 10.4 |
| . emphysema/shortness of breath | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 320 | 4.7 | 150* | | 70* | | 135* | | 660 | 3.4 |
| - Canada | 3,710 | 7.5 | 6,480 | 6.1 | 2,605 | 5.9 | 685 | 6.4 | 13,320 | 6.4 |
| . asthma | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 505 | 7.5 | 720 | 9.0 | 225* | | .. | | 1,485 | 7.7 |
| - Canada | 2,665 | 5.4 | 7,790 | 7.3 | 3,545 | 8.1 | 400 | 3.7 | 14,235 | 6.9 |
| . tuberculosis | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 165 | 2.4 | .. | | .. | | 90* | | 270 | 1.4 |
| - Canada | 1,740 | 3.5 | 3,250 | 3.1 | 1,175 | 2.7 | 785 | 7.4 | 6,790 | 3.3 |
| . epilepsy (seizures) | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 110 | 1.6 | 110* | | 80* | | .. | | 480* | |
| - Canada | 835 | 1.7 | 1,870 | 1.8 | 675 | 1.5 | 220* | | 3,600 | 1.7 |
| . other health problems[4] | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 775 | 11.5 | 1,200 | 15.0 | 480 | 16.0 | 210* | | 2,540 | 13.2 |
| - Canada | 5,375 | 10.9 | 16,220 | 15.3 | 7,295 | 16.6 | 950 | 8.9 | 29,155 | 14.1 |
| TOTALS | Average | | Average | | Average | | Average | | Average | |
| - Quebec | 5,110 | 2.6 | 5,725 | 2.3 | 3,125 | 3.6 | 1,025 | 2.5 | 14,345 | 2.6 |
| - Canada | 42,385 | 2.5 | 91,645 | 2.5 | 41,320 | 2.5 | 7,260 | 2.6 | 180,045 | 2.5 |

TABLE 1A (excerpts)
15 years & over

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Quebec | 6,755 | 8,040 | 3,005 | 1,965 | 19,260 |
| Canada | 49,300 | 106,095 | 43,945 | 10,680 | 207,435 |

* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I. on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I. off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.
3) "Respondents who identified with more than one Aboriginal group are included in each of the Aboriginal groups with whom they identified. As a result, the sum of the Aboriginal groups is greater than the total population reporting Aboriginal identity." (Statistics Canada).

**Table 5:** **Eating habits of Aboriginal women** 15 years of age and over, broken down by ethnic category (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)

| | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Persons who report eating meat/fish/poultry | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 6,655 | 98.5 | 7,530 | 93.7 | 2,825 | 94.0 | 1,955 | 99.5 | 18,485 | 96.0 |
| - Canada | 48,370 | 98.1 | 101,375 | 95.6 | 42,530 | 96.8 | 10,495 | 98.3 | 200,235 | 96.5 |
| . every day | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 2,180 | 32.3 | 3,655 | 45.5 | 1,615 | 53.7 | 1,205 | 61.3 | 8,340 | 43.3 |
| - Canada | 23,710 | 48.1 | 54,415 | 51.2 | 23,975 | 54.6 | 6,265 | 58.7 | 107,015 | 51.6 |
| . 1/2/several times a week | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 4,215 | 62.4 | 3,730 | 46.4 | 1,180 | 39.3 | 735 | 37.4 | 9,685 | 50.3 |
| - Canada | 22,900 | 46.5 | 44,485 | 42.0 | 17,725 | 40.3 | 3,970 | 37.2 | 87,905 | 42.4 |
| . less than once a week | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 260 | 3.9 | 145* | | .. | | .. | | 455 | 2.4 |
| - Canada | 1,755 | 3.6 | 2,480 | 2.3 | 830 | 1.9 | 260* | | 5,315 | 2.6 |
| Source of meat/ fish/poultry | | | | | | | | | | |
| . Neither hunting nor fishing | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 1,025 | 15.2 | 3,950 | 49.1 | 1,700 | 56.6 | .. | | 6,365 | 33.0 |
| - Canada | 7,970 | 16.2 | 45,535 | 42.9 | 18,760 | 42.7 | 930 | 8.7 | 71,980 | 34.7 |
| . Most obtained from hunting and fishing | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 4,930 | 73.0 | 2,635 | 32.8 | 860 | 28.6 | 1,385 | 70.5 | 9,940 | 51.6 |
| - Canada | 34,495 | 70.0 | 46,520 | 43.8 | 18,990 | 43.2 | 6,715 | 62.8 | 107,730 | 51.9 |
| . all obtained from hunting and fishing | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 300 | 4.4 | 105* | 1.3* | .. | | 495 | 25.2 | 905 | 4.7 |
| - Canada | 2,200 | 4.5 | 2,340 | 2.2 | 2,796 | 6.4 | 2,545 | 23.8 | 7,660 | 3.7 |
| Problems of availability of food | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 660 | 9.8 | 420 | 5.2 | 250* | | 235* | 12.0 | 1,525 | 7.9 |
| - Canada | 4,305 | 8.7 | 10,255 | 9.7 | 3,955 | 9.0 | 1,445 | 13.5 | 19,675 | 9.5 |
| TABLE 1A (excerpts) 15 years & over | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Quebec** | 6,755 | | 8,040 | | 3,005 | | 1,965 | | 19,260 | |
| **Canada** | 49,300 | | 106,095 | | 43,945 | | 10,680 | | 207,435 | |

* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I. on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I. off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.
3) "Respondents who identified with more than one Aboriginal group are included in each of the Aboriginal groups with whom they identified. As a result, the sum of the Aboriginal groups is greater than the total population reporting Aboriginal identity." (Statistics Canada).

**Table 6A:** **Use of alcohol by Aboriginal women** 15 years of age and over, broken down by ethnic category (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)

| | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| . Never | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 1,890 | 28.0 | 1,635 | 20.3 | 795 | 26.5 | 600 | 30.5 | 4,795 | 24.9 |
| - Canada | 13,390 | 27.2 | 14,935 | 14.1 | 5,535 | 12.6 | 2,775 | 26.0 | 36,285 | 17.5 |
| . Not during the past year | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 935 | 13.8 | 670 | 8.3 | 130* | | 240* | | 1,970 | 10.2 |
| - Canada | 9,455 | 19.2 | 15,110 | 14.4 | 6,415 | 14.6 | 1,220 | 11.4 | 31,845 | 15.4 |
| . Yes, during the past year | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 3,415 | 50.6 | 5,155 | 64.1 | 1,860 | 61.9 | 1,050 | 53.4 | 11,135 | 57.8 |
| - Canada | 22,615 | 45.9 | 69,115 | 65.1 | 29,645 | 67.5 | 6,080 | 56.9 | 125,730 | 60.6 |
| TABLE 1A (excerpts) 15 years & over | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Quebec** | 6,755 | | 8,040 | | 3,005 | | 1,965 | | 19,260 | |
| **Canada** | 49,300 | | 106,095 | | 43,945 | | 10,680 | | 207,435 | |

**Table 6B:** **Use of alcohol by Aboriginal men** 15 years of age and over, broken down by ethnic category (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)

| | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| . Never | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 1,020 | 15.2 | 860 | 12.6 | 315 | 9.8 | 405 | 19.4 | 2,590 | 14.1 |
| - Canada | 8,380 | 15.9 | 7,765 | 9.7 | 3,505 | 8.7 | 1,800 | 17.8 | 21,305 | 11.7 |
| . Not during the past year | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 855 | 12.8 | 575 | 8.5 | 210* | | 175 | 8.4 | 1,805 | 9.8 |
| - Canada | 8,270 | 15.7 | 9,610 | 12.0 | 5,305 | 13.2 | 965 | 9.5 | 24,020 | 13.2 |
| . Yes, during the past year | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 4,320 | 64.5 | 4,870 | 71.6 | 2,395 | 74.7 | 1,375 | 65.8 | 12,630 | 68.6 |
| - Canada | 31,780 | 60.2 | 56,145 | 70.0 | 29,000 | 72.1 | 6,820 | 67.4 | 122,255 | 67.4 |
| TABLE 1B (excerpts) 15 years & over | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Quebec** | 6,695 | | 6,805 | | 3,210 | | 2,090 | | 18,410 | |
| **Canada** | 52,775 | | 80,195 | | 40,210 | | 10,125 | | 181,465 | |

* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I. on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I. off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.
3) "Respondents who identified with more than one Aboriginal group are included in each of the Aboriginal groups with whom they identified. As a result, the sum of the Aboriginal groups is greater than the total population reporting Aboriginal identity." (Statistics Canada).

Table 7A: **Use of tobacco by Aboriginal women** 15 years of age and over, broken down by ethnic category (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)

| | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Persons who report smoking daily** | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 3,250 | 48.1 | 3,035 | 37.7 | 1,360 | 45.3 | 1,300 | 66.2 | 8,780 | 45.6 |
| - Canada | 20,245 | 41.1 | 43,620 | 41.1 | 21,125 | 48.1 | 6,790 | 63.6 | 90,720 | 43.7 |
| **Persons who report smoking occasionally** | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 860 | 12.7 | 560 | 7.0 | 130* | | 140* | | 1,665 | 8.6 |
| - Canada | 8,170 | 16.6 | 11,195 | 10.6 | 3,145 | 7.2 | 775 | 7.3 | 22,925 | 11.1 |
| **Persons who report not smoking now** | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 2,570 | 38.0 | 3,970 | 49.4 | 1,365 | 45.4 | 520 | 26.5 | 8,130 | 42.2 |
| - Canada | 20,220 | 41.0 | 47,050 | 44.4 | 18,630 | 42.4 | 2,980 | 27.9 | 87,775 | 42.3 |
| TABLE 1A (excerpts) 15 years & over | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Quebec** | 6,755 | | 8,040 | | 3,005 | | 1,965 | | 19,260 | |
| **Canada** | 49,300 | | 106,095 | | 43,945 | | 10,680 | | 207,435 | |

Table 7B: **Use of tobacco by Aboriginal men** 15 years of age and over, broken down by ethnic category (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)

| | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Persons who report smoking daily** | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 3,365 | 50.3 | 2,670 | 39.2 | 1,360 | 42.4 | 1,320 | 63.2 | 8,565 | 46.5 |
| - Canada | 22,480 | 42.3 | 33,135 | 41.3 | 18,540 | 46.1 | 6,360 | 62.8 | 79,560 | 43.8 |
| **Person who report smoking occasionally** | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 865 | 12.9 | 390 | 5.7 | 120* | | 145* | | 1,510 | 8.2 |
| - Canada | 9,000 | 17.1 | 8,265 | 10.3 | 3,030 | 7.5 | 770 | 7.6 | 20,905 | 11.5 |
| **Persons who report not smoking now** | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 2,330 | 34.8 | 3,320 | 48.8 | 1,505 | 46.9 | 600 | 28.7 | 7,550 | 41.0 |
| - Canada | 20,395 | 38.7 | 34,540 | 43.1 | 17,355 | 43.2 | 2,885 | 28.5 | 74,500 | 41.1 |
| TABLE 1B (excerpts) 15 years & over | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Quebec** | 6,695 | | 6,805 | | 3,210 | | 2,090 | | 18,410 | |
| **Canada** | 52,775 | | 80,195 | | 40,210 | | 10,125 | | 181,465 | |

* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I. on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I. off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.
3) "Respondents who identified with more than one Aboriginal group are included in each of the Aboriginal groups with whom they identified. As a result, the sum of the Aboriginal groups is greater than the total population reporting Aboriginal identity." (Statistics Canada).

**Table 8:** **Safety and Aboriginal women 15 years of age and over, broken down by ethnic category (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)**

| Persons who... | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Report using seatbelts** | | | | | | | | | | |
| . most of the time/ always | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 4,270 | 63.2 | 7,095 | 88.3 | 2,785 | 92.7 | 85* | | 13,845 | 71.9 |
| - Canada | 30,035 | 60.9 | 89,135 | 84.0 | 37,765 | 85.9 | 2,760 | 25.8 | 157,410 | 75.9 |
| . sometimes/rarely or never | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 1,985 | 29.4 | 400 | 5.0 | .. | | 1,215 | 61.8 | 3,615 | 18.8 |
| - Canada | 16,615 | 33.7 | 11,130 | 10.5 | 4,830 | 11.1 | 5,415 | 50.7 | 37,775 | 18.2 |
| **Report feeling safe walking alone** | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 4,690 | 69.4 | 5,035 | 62.6 | 1,675 | 55.7 | 1,405 | 71.5 | 12,535 | 65.1 |
| - Canada | 33,900 | 68.8 | 61,945 | 58.4 | 26,470 | 60.2 | 7,505 | 70.3 | 128,215 | 61.8 |
| **Report having been assaulted during the past year** | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 345 | 5.1 | 355 | 4.4 | 75* | | 205 | 10.4 | 945 | 4.9 |
| - Canada | 2,955 | 6.0 | 6,385 | 6.0 | 2,345 | 5.3 | 965 | 9.0 | 12,560 | 6.1 |
| TABLE 1A (excerpts) 15 years & over | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Quebec** | 6,755 | | 8,040 | | 3,005 | | 1,965 | | 19,260 | |
| **Canada** | 49,300 | | 106,095 | | 43,945 | | 10,680 | | 207,435 | |

* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I. on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I. off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.
3) "Respondents who identified with more than one Aboriginal group are included in each of the Aboriginal groups with whom they identified. As a result, the sum of the Aboriginal groups is greater than the total population reporting Aboriginal identity." (Statistics Canada).

**Table 9A:** **Social issues for Aboriginal women** 15 years of age and over, broken down by ethnic category (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)

| | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Suicide in the community** | | | | | | | | | | |
| . is a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 2,750 | 40.7 | 1,310 | 16.3 | 475 | 15.8 | 1,240 | 63.1 | 5,685 | 29.5 |
| - Canada | 17,975 | 36.5 | 22,960 | 21.6 | 10,355 | 23.6 | 4,575 | 42.8 | 55,005 | 26.5 |
| . is not a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 2,050 | 30.3 | 2,660 | 33.1 | 1,055 | 35.1 | 515 | 26.2 | 6,065 | 31.5 |
| - Canada | 18,705 | 37.9 | 35,100 | 33.1 | 15,965 | 36.3 | 3,840 | 36.0 | 72,945 | 35.2 |
| **Unemployment in the community** | | | | | | | | | | |
| . is a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 4,815 | 71.3 | 3,905 | 48.6 | 1,675 | 55.7 | 1,530 | 77.9 | 11,730 | 60.9 |
| - Canada | 38,340 | 77.8 | 64,110 | 60.4 | 29,815 | 67.8 | 7,795 | 73.0 | 138,340 | 66.7 |
| . is not a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 690 | 10.2 | 995 | 12.4 | 345 | 11.5 | 255 | 13.0 | 2,120 | 11.0 |
| - Canada | 4,565 | 9.3 | 11,875 | 11.2 | 4,245 | 9.7 | 1,375 | 12.9 | 21,800 | 10.5 |
| **Family violence in the community** | | | | | | | | | | |
| . is a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 3,630 | 53.7 | 2,240 | 27.9 | 935 | 31.1 | 1,215 | 61.8 | 7,880 | 40.9 |
| - Canada | 22,990 | 46.6 | 40,870 | 38.2 | 18,645 | 42.4 | 4,860 | 45.5 | 85,945 | 41.4 |
| . is not a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 1,210 | 17.9 | 1,820 | 22.6 | 755 | 25.1 | 440 | 22.4 | 4,075 | 21.2 |
| - Canada | 12,755 | 25.9 | 24,510 | 23.1 | 9,695 | 22.1 | 3,065 | 28.7 | 49,605 | 23.9 |
| **Sexual abuse in the community** | | | | | | | | | | |
| . is a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 2,070 | 30.6 | 1,175 | 14.6 | 525 | 17.5 | 1,065 | 54.2 | 4,720 | 24.5 |
| - Canada | 15,590 | 31.6 | 25,235 | 23.8 | 11,460 | 26.1 | 4,145 | 38.8 | 55,430 | 26.7 |
| . is not a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 1,895 | 28.1 | 2,265 | 28.2 | 885 | 29.5 | 470 | 23.9 | 5,365 | 27.9 |
| - Canada | 16,115 | 32.7 | 28,925 | 27.3 | 11,795 | 26.8 | 3,355 | 31.4 | 55,700 | 26.9 |

(... cont'd)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **TABLE 1A (excerpts)** | | | | | |
| 15 years & over | | | | | |
| **Quebec** | 6,755 | 8,040 | 3,005 | 1,965 | 19,260 |
| **Canada** | 49,300 | 106,095 | 43,945 | 10,680 | 207,435 |

* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I. on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I. off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.
3) "Respondents who identified with more than one Aboriginal group are included in each of the Aboriginal groups with whom they identified. As a result, the sum of the Aboriginal groups is greater than the total population reporting Aboriginal identity." (Statistics Canada).

**Table 9A:** **Social issues for Aboriginal women 15 years of age and over** (cont'd ...)

| | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Drug abuse in the community** | | | | | | | | | | |
| . is a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 4,525 | 67.0 | 2,600 | 32.4 | 1,135 | 37.8 | 1,405 | 71.5 | 9,510 | 49.4 |
| - Canada | 29,540 | 60.0 | 46,250 | 43.6 | 20,615 | 46. | 5,325 | 49.9 | 100,380 | 48.4 |
| . is not a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 750 | 11.1 | 1,570 | 19.5 | 610 | 20.3 | 295 | 15.0 | 3,060 | 15.9 |
| - Canada | 9,395 | 19.1 | 21,835 | 20.6 | 8,615 | 19.6 | 2,755 | 25.8 | 42,170 | 20.3 |
| **Alcohol abuse in the community** | | | | | | | | | | |
| . is a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 5,270 | 78.0 | 3,575 | 44.5 | 1,375 | 45.8 | 1,390 | 70.7 | 11,415 | 59.3 |
| - Canada | 36,355 | 73.8 | 60,320 | 56.9 | 26,115 | 59.4 | 6,355 | 59.5 | 127,500 | 61.5 |
| . is not a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 515 | 7.6 | 1,030 | 12.8 | 500 | 16.6 | 315 | 16.0 | 2,235 | 11.6 |
| - Canada | 5,940 | 12.0 | 14,940 | 14.1 | 6,260 | 14.3 | 2,345 | 22.0 | 29,185 | 14.1 |
| **Rape in the community** | | | | | | | | | | |
| . is a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 1,520 | 22.5 | 820 | 10.2 | 390 | 13.0 | 935 | 48.0 | 3,610 | 18.7 |
| - Canada | 8,855 | 18.0 | 15,680 | 14.8 | 7,355 | 16.7 | 2,955 | 27.7 | 34,250 | 16.5 |
| . is not a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 2,190 | 32.4 | 2,600 | 32.3 | 1,030 | 34.2 | 515 | 26.2 | 6,115 | 31.7 |
| - Canada | 20,410 | 41.4 | 34,845 | 32.8 | 14,685 | 33.4 | 4,215 | 39.5 | 73,450 | 35.4 |
| **TABLE 1A (excerpts)** 15 years & over | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Quebec** | 6,755 | | 8,040 | | 3,005 | | 1,965 | | 19,260 | |
| **Canada** | 49,300 | | 106,095 | | 43,945 | | 10,680 | | 207,435 | |

* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I. on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I. off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.
3) "Respondents who identified with more than one Aboriginal group are included in each of the Aboriginal groups with whom they identified. As a result, the sum of the Aboriginal groups is greater than the total population reporting Aboriginal identity." (Statistics Canada).

**Table 9B:** **Social issues for Aboriginal men** 15 years of age and over, broken down by ethnic category (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)

| | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Suicide in the community** | | | | | | | | | | |
| . is a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 2,670 | 39.9 | 735 | 10.8 | 265 | 8.3 | 1,070 | 51.2 | 4,715 | 25.6 |
| - Canada | 17,220 | 32.6 | 15,045 | 18.8 | 7,845 | 19.5 | 4,005 | 39.6 | 43,685 | 24.1 |
| . is not a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 2,185 | 32.6 | 2,565 | 37.7 | 1,180 | 36.8 | 625 | 29.9 | 6,450 | 35.0 |
| - Canada | 21,940 | 41.6 | 27,190 | 33.9 | 16,095 | 40.0 | 3,720 | 36.7 | 68,480 | 37.7 |
| **Unemployment in the community** | | | | | | | | | | |
| . is a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 4,980 | 74.4 | 3,575 | 52.5 | 1,685 | 52.5 | 1,520 | 72.7 | 11,555 | 62.8 |
| - Canada | 41,560 | 78.8 | 48,985 | 61.1 | 26,515 | 65.9 | 7,705 | 76.1 | 122,765 | 67.7 |
| . is not a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 590 | 8.8 | 760 | 11.2 | 360 | 11.2 | 250 | 12.0 | 1,960 | 10.7 |
| - Canada | 4,640 | 8.8 | 8,485 | 10.6 | 4,375 | 10.9 | 1,035 | 10.2 | 18,420 | 10.2 |
| **Family violence in the community** | | | | | | | | | | |
| . is a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 3,550 | 53.0 | 1,740 | 25.6 | 720 | 22.4 | 1,035 | 49.5 | 6,955 | 37.8 |
| - Canada | 21,985 | 41.7 | 26,955 | 33.7 | 14,155 | 35.2 | 4,180 | 41.3 | 66,490 | 36.6 |
| . is not a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 2,075 | 31.0 | 1,820 | 26.8 | 1,040 | 32.4 | 520 | 24.9 | 4,565 | 24.8 |
| - Canada | 13,965 | 26.5 | 18,560 | 23.1 | 10,920 | 27.2 | 3,130 | 30.9 | 46,505 | 25.6 |
| **Sexual abuse in the community** | | | | | | | | | | |
| . is a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 2,075 | 31.0 | 805 | 11.8 | 335 | 10.4 | 785 | 37.6 | 3,980 | 21.6 |
| - Canada | 13,965 | 26.5 | 15,370 | 19.2 | 7,890 | 19.6 | 3,155 | 31.2 | 39,970 | 22.0 |
| . is not a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 1,920 | 28.7 | 2,225 | 32.7 | 1,155 | 36.0 | 655 | 31.3 | 5,850 | 31.8 |
| - Canada | 18,640 | 35.3 | 22,230 | 27.7 | 12,875 | 32.0 | 3,550 | 35.1 | 56,880 | 31.3 |

(... cont'd)

| TABLE 1B (excerpts) 15 years & over | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Quebec** | 6,695 | 6,805 | 3,210 | 2,090 | 18,410 |
| **Canada** | 52,775 | 80,195 | 40,210 | 10,125 | 181,465 |

* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I. on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I. off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.
3) "Respondents who identified with more than one Aboriginal group are included in each of the Aboriginal groups with whom they identified. As a result, the sum of the Aboriginal groups is greater than the total population reporting Aboriginal identity." (Statistics Canada).

**Table 9B:** **Social issues for Aboriginal men 15 years of age and over (cont'd ...)**

| | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Drug abuse in the community** | | | | | | | | | | |
| . is a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 4,440 | 66.3 | 2,275 | 33.4 | 1,100 | 34.3 | 1,270 | 60.8 | 8,910 | 48.4 |
| - Canada | 30,475 | 57.8 | 34,145 | 42.6 | 17,445 | 43.4 | 4,875 | 48.2 | 86,045 | 47.4 |
| . is not a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 870 | 13.0 | 1,490 | 21.9 | 725 | 22.6 | 465 | 22.2 | 3,535 | 19.2 |
| - Canada | 10,975 | 20.8 | 14,790 | 18.4 | 8,720 | 21.7 | 2,810 | 27.8 | 37,115 | 20.5 |
| **Alcohol abuse in the community** | | | | | | | | | | |
| . is a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 5,285 | 79.0 | 3,200 | 47.0 | 1,460 | 45.5 | 1,295 | 62.0 | 11,035 | 59.9 |
| - Canada | 38,355 | 72.7 | 43,955 | 54.8 | 23,405 | 58.2 | 5,630 | 55.6 | 110,180 | 60.7 |
| . is not a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 530 | 7.9 | 960 | 14.1 | 580 | 18.1 | 445 | 21.3 | 2,510 | 13.6 |
| - Canada | 6,520 | 12.4 | 10,330 | 12.9 | 6,375 | 15.9 | 2,520 | 24.9 | 25,675 | 14.2 |
| **Rape in the community** | | | | | | | | | | |
| . is a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 1,505 | 22.5 | 535 | 7.9 | 180* | 5.6* | 740 | 35.4 | 2,925 | 15.9 |
| - Canada | 7,880 | 14.9 | 9,045 | 11.3 | 4,950 | 12.3 | 2,235 | 22.1 | 23,865 | 13.2 |
| . is not a problem | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 2,330 | 34.8 | 2,455 | 36.1 | 1,275 | 39.7 | 755 | 36.1 | 6,740 | 36.6 |
| - Canada | 23,145 | 43.9 | 26,145 | 32.6 | 15,205 | 37.8 | 4,445 | 43.9 | 68,505 | 37.8 |
| TABLE 1B (excerpts) 15 years & over | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Quebec** | 6,695 | | 6,805 | | 3,210 | | 2,090 | | 18,410 | |
| **Canada** | 52,775 | | 80,195 | | 40,210 | | 10,125 | | 181,465 | |

* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I. on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I. off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.
3) "Respondents who identified with more than one Aboriginal group are included in each of the Aboriginal groups with whom they identified. As a result, the sum of the Aboriginal groups is greater than the total population reporting Aboriginal identity." (Statistics Canada).

**Table 10A:** **Ways of overcoming social problems in the community, for Aboriginal women 15 years of age and over, broken down by ethnic category (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)**

| Problems in Aboriginal communities/ neighbourhoods could be overcome by... | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| . more policing | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 1,090 | 16.1 | 515 | 6.4 | 245* | 8.2* | 440 | 22.4 | 2,275 | 11.8 |
| - Canada | 8,745 | 17.7 | 8,015 | 7.6 | 3,720 | 8.5 | 1,180 | 11.1 | 21,515 | 10.4 |
| shelters for abused women | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 310 | 4.6 | 160* | 2.0* | 65* | | 160* | | 690 | 3.6 |
| - Canada | 4,255 | 8.6 | 7,420 | 7.0 | 2,705 | 6.2 | 815 | 7.6 | 15,070 | 7.3 |
| . family service counselling | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 715 | 10.6 | 590 | 7.3 | 305 | 10.2 | 180* | | 1,785 | 9.3 |
| - Canada | 7,670 | 15.6 | 10,775 | 10.2 | 4,905 | 11.2 | 1,060 | 9.9 | 24,160 | 11.6 |
| . counselling services (other than family) | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 320 | 4.7 | 210* | 2.6* | 65* | | 235* | 12.0* | 835 | 4.3 |
| - Canada | 4,390 | 8.9 | 9,920 | 9.4 | 4,130 | 9.4 | 1,380 | 12.9 | 19,405 | 9.4 |
| . improved community services | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 780 | 11.5 | 780 | 9.7 | 345 | 11.5 | 350 | 17.8 | 2,185 | 11.3 |
| - Canada | 5,325 | 10.8 | 10,310 | 9.7 | 4,810 | 11.0 | 1,320 | 12.4 | 21,375 | 10.3 |
| . more employment | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 255 | 3.8 | 715 | 8.9 | 165* | | 90* | | 1,210 | 6.3 |
| - Canada | 3,120 | 6.3 | 7,300 | 6.9 | 3,530 | 8.0 | 1,125 | 10.5 | 14,750 | 7.1 |
| . improved education | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 170 | 2.5 | 395 | 4.9 | 90* | | 80* | | 685 | 3.6 |
| - Canada | 1,735 | 3.5 | 9,305 | 8.8 | 4,400 | 10.0 | 770 | 7.2 | 15,670 | 7.5 |
| TABLE 1A (excerpts) 15 years & over | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Quebec** | 6,755 | | 8,040 | | 3,005 | | 1,965 | | 19,260 | |
| **Canada** | 49,300 | | 106,095 | | 43,945 | | 10,680 | | 207,435 | |

* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I. on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I. off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.
3) "Respondents who identified with more than one Aboriginal group are included in each of the Aboriginal groups with whom they identified. As a result, the sum of the Aboriginal groups is greater than the total population reporting Aboriginal identity." (Statistics Canada).

**Table 10B:** Ways of overcoming social problems in the community, for Aboriginal men 15 years of age and over, broken down by ethnic category (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)

| | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Problems in Aboriginal communities/ neighbourhoods could be overcome by...** | | | | | | | | | | |
| . more policing | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 1,135 | 17.0 | 340 | 5.0 | 75* | | 420 | 20.1 | 1,970 | 10.7 |
| - Canada | 9,070 | 17.2 | 5,190 | 6.5 | 2,520 | 6.3 | 1,200 | 11.9 | 17,910 | 9.9 |
| . shelters for abused women | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 275 | 4.1 | .. | | .. | | 100* | | 420 | 2.3 |
| - Canada | 2,530 | 4.8 | 3,185 | 4.0 | 3,805 | 9.5 | 405 | 4.0 | 7,325 | 4.0 |
| . family service counselling | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 580 | 8.7 | 375 | 5.5 | 255 | 7.9 | 130* | | 1,345 | 7.3 |
| - Canada | 6,585 | 12.5 | 5,720 | 7.1 | 3,805 | 9.5 | 745 | 7.4 | 16,655 | 9.2 |
| . counselling services (other than family) | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 430 | 6.4 | 225* | | 90* | | 155* | | 895 | 4.8 |
| - Canada | 4,300 | 8.2 | 7,155 | 8.9 | 3,255 | 8.1 | 955 | 9.4 | 15,485 | 8.5 |
| . improved community services | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 655 | 9.8 | 725 | 10.7 | 345 | 10.7 | 360 | 17.2 | 1,980 | 10.8 |
| - Canada | 5,135 | 9.7 | 6,835 | 8.5 | 3,710 | 9.2 | 1,470 | 14.5 | 16,885 | 9.3 |
| . more employment | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 345 | 5.2 | 930 | 13.7 | 300 | 9.4 | 90* | | 1,600 | 8.7 |
| - Canada | 4,050 | 7.7 | 6,755 | 8.4 | 3,700 | 9.2 | 1,325 | 13.1 | 15,635 | 8.6 |
| . improved education | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 275 | 4.1 | 255* | | 70* | | .. | | 655 | 3.6 |
| - Canada | 1,880 | 3.6 | 7,140 | 8.9 | 3,775 | 9.4 | 650 | 6.4 | 13,165 | 7.3 |
| TABLE 1B (excerpts) 15 years & over | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Quebec** | 6,695 | | 6,805 | | 3,210 | | 2,090 | | 18,410 | |
| **Canada** | 49,300 | | 80,195 | | 40,210 | | 10,125 | | 181,465 | |

* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I. on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I. off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.
3) "Respondents who identified with more than one Aboriginal group are included in each of the Aboriginal groups with whom they identified. As a result, the sum of the Aboriginal groups is greater than the total population reporting Aboriginal identity." (Statistics Canada).

**Table 11A:** **Aboriginal women, 15 years of age and over, who lived on the land, according to ethnic category (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)**

| | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Persons who lived... | | | | | | | | | | |
| **during the past 12 months** | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 3,485 | 51.6 | 1,585 | 19.7 | 485 | 16.1 | 995 | 50.6 | 6,485 | 33.7 |
| - Canada | 10,515 | 21.3 | 12,330 | 11.6 | 4,220 | 9.6 | 4,600 | 43.0 | 31,420 | 15.1 |
| - Montreal | | | 310* | | | | | | 360* | |
| . from 1 to 2 weeks | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 1,080 | 30.9 | 625 | 39.4 | 260 | 53.6 | 330 | 33.2 | 2,280 | 35.2 |
| - Canada | 3,435 | 32.7 | 4,105 | 33.3 | 1,690 | 3.8 | 1,575 | 34.2 | 10,750 | 34.2 |
| . from 3 to 4 weeks | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 930 | 26.7 | 510 | 32.2 | 100* | | 315 | 31.6 | 1,800 | 27.8 |
| - Canada | 2,245 | 21.4 | 2,955 | 24.0 | 890 | 2.0 | 1,320 | 28.7 | 7,335 | 23.3 |
| . from 5 to 20 weeks | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 960 | 27.5 | 330* | | 100* | | 300 | 30.2 | 1,680 | 25.9 |
| - Canada | 2,210 | 21.0 | 3,355 | 27.1 | 1,175 | 2.7 | 1,330 | 28.9 | 7,995 | 25.4 |
| . more than 20 weeks | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 190 | 5.5 | .. | | .. | | .. | | 260 | 4.0 |
| - Canada | 960 | 9.1 | 870 | 7.1 | 200* | | 320* | | 2,325 | 7.4 |
| . unspecified number of weeks | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 330 | 9.5 | .. | | .. | | .. | | 465 | 7.2 |
| - Canada | 2,090 | 19.9 | 1,250 | 10.1 | 375 | 8.9 | 270* | | 3,925 | 12.5 |

| Excerpts from TABLES 1A & 1B 15 years & over | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Quebec** | | | | | |
| men | 6,695 | 6,805 | 3,210 | 2,090 | 18,410 |
| women | 6,755 | 8,040 | 3,005 | 1,965 | 19,260 |
| **Canada** | | | | | |
| men | 52,775 | 80,195 | 40,210 | 10,125 | 181,465 |
| women | 49,300 | 106,095 | 43,945 | 10,680 | 207,435 |
| **Montreal** | | | | | |
| men | .. | 1,755 | 565* | .. | 2,245 |
| women | .. | 2,070 | 665* | .. | 2,575 |

* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I. on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I. off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.
3) "Respondents who identified with more than one Aboriginal group are included in each of the Aboriginal groups with whom they identified. As a result, the sum of the Aboriginal groups is greater than the total population reporting Aboriginal identity." (Statistics Canada).

**Table 11B:** **Aboriginal men, 15 years of age and over, who lived on the land, according to ethnic category (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)**

| | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Persons who lived... during the past 12 months | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 4,390 | 65.6 | 2,210 | 32.5 | 855 | 26.6 | 1,285 | 61.5 | 8,690 | 47.2 |
| - Canada | 17,795 | 33.7 | 15,775 | 19.7 | 7,050 | 17.5 | 6,080 | 60.0 | 46,351 | 25.5 |
| - Montreal | .. | | .. | | .. | | .. | | 360* | |
| . from 1 to 2 weeks | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 1,010 | 23.0 | 805 | 36.4 | 375 | 43.9 | 405 | 31.5 | 2,585 | 29.7 |
| - Canada | 5,175 | 29.1 | 5,055 | 32.0 | 2,945 | 41.8 | 1,790 | 29.4 | 15,320 | 33.1 |
| . from 3 to 4 weeks | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 1,080 | 24.6 | 670 | 30.3 | 235* | | 320 | 24.9 | 2,290 | 26.4 |
| - Canada | 3,505 | 19.7 | 3,650 | 23.1 | 1,270 | 18.0 | 1,650 | 27.1 | 10,025 | 21.6 |
| . from 5 to 20 weeks | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 1,590 | 36.2 | 550 | 24.9 | 180* | | 425 | 33.0 | 2,725 | 31.4 |
| - Canada | 4,600 | 25.8 | 4,480 | 28.4 | 1,990 | 28.2 | 2,035 | 33.5 | 12,990 | 28.0 |
| . more than 20 weeks | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 335 | 7.6 | 125* | | .. | | 70* | | 555 | 6.4 |
| - Canada | 960 | 5.4 | 870 | 5.5 | 200* | | 320* | | 2,325 | 5.0 |
| . unspecified number of weeks | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 360 | 8.2 | .. | | .. | | 65* | | 535 | 6.2 |
| - Canada | 3,555 | 20.0 | 1,200 | 7.6 | 650 | 9.2 | 280* | | 5,695 | 12.2 |
| Excerpts from TABLES 1A & 1B 15 years & over | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Quebec** | | | | | | | | | | |
| men | 6,695 | | 6,805 | | 3,210 | | 2,090 | | 18,410 | |
| women | 6,755 | | 8,040 | | 3,005 | | 1,965 | | 19,260 | |
| **Canada** | | | | | | | | | | |
| men | 52,775 | | 80,195 | | 40,210 | | 10,125 | | 181,465 | |
| women | 49,300 | | 106,095 | | 43,945 | | 10,680 | | 207,435 | |
| **Montreal** | | | | | | | | | | |
| men | | | 1,755 | | 565* | | .. | | 2,245 | |
| women | | | 2,070 | | 665* | | .. | | 2,575 | |

* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I. on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I. off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.
3) "Respondents who identified with more than one Aboriginal group are included in each of the Aboriginal groups with whom they identified. As a result, the sum of the Aboriginal groups is greater than the total population reporting Aboriginal identity." (Statistics Canada).

Table 12: **Daycare expenses for Aboriginal men and women, 15 years of age and over, according to ethnic category (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)**

| | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Persons who had | | | | | | | | | | |
| . daycare services | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | | | | | | | | | | |
| men | 1,480 | 22.1 | 765 | 11.2 | 665 | 20.7 | 120* | | 3,020 | 16.4 |
| women | 1,690 | 25.0 | 1,285 | 16.0 | 670 | 22.3 | 120* | | 3,660 | 19.0 |
| - Canada | | | | | | | | | | |
| men | 8,650 | 16.4 | 9,495 | 11.8 | 4,660 | 11.6 | 935 | 9.2 | 23,215 | 13.0 |
| women | 9,680 | 19.6 | 16,165 | 15.2 | 7,040 | 16.2 | 1,130 | 10.6 | 34,015 | 16.3 |
| - Montreal | | | | | | | | | | |
| men | -- | | -- | | -- | | -- | | 300* | |
| women | -- | | 440* | | -- | | -- | | 510* | |
| . in the neighbourhood or the community all the time | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | | | | | | | | | | |
| men | 375 | 25.3 | 500 | 65.3 | 295 | 44.4 | 65* | | 1,230 | 40.7 |
| women | 500 | 29.6 | 925 | 72.0 | 335 | 50.0 | 100* | | 1,760 | 48.1 |
| - Canada | | | | | | | | | | |
| men | 1,460 | 16.9 | 3,590 | 37.8 | 2,045 | 43.9 | 485 | 51.9 | 7,475 | 32.2 |
| women | 2,640 | 27.2 | 8,340 | 51.6 | 3,820 | 53.3 | 680 | 60.2 | 15,140 | 45.1 |
| half the time or never | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | | | | | | | | | | |
| men | 1,075 | 72.6 | 235* | | 355 | 53.4 | -- | | 1,755 | 58.1 |
| women | 1,170 | 69.2 | 325* | | 310 | 46.3 | -- | | 1,880 | 51.4 |
| - Canada | | | | | | | | | | |
| men | 6,995 | 80.9 | 5,630 | 59.2 | 2,530 | 54.3 | 390* | | 15,450 | 66.6 |
| women | 7,035 | 70.9 | 7,560 | 46.8 | 3,155 | 44.8 | 400* | | 17,945 | 52.8 |
| Excerpts from TABLES 1A & 1B 15 years & over | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Quebec** | | | | | | | | | | |
| men | 6,695 | | 6,805 | | 3,210 | | 2,090 | | 18,410 | |
| women | 6,755 | | 8,040 | | 3,005 | | 1,965 | | 19,260 | |
| **Canada** | | | | | | | | | | |
| men | 52,775 | | 80,195 | | 40,210 | | 10,125 | | 181,465 | |
| women | 49,300 | | 106,095 | | 43,945 | | 10,680 | | 207,435 | |
| **Montreal** | | | | | | | | | | |
| men | | | 1,755 | | 565* | | .. | | 2,245 | |
| women | | | 2,070 | | 665* | | .. | | 2,575 | |

* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I. on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I. off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.
3) "Respondents who identified with more than one Aboriginal group are included in each of the Aboriginal groups with whom they identified. As a result, the sum of the Aboriginal groups is greater than the total population reporting Aboriginal identity." (Statistics Canada).

Table 13: **General housing characteristics for Aboriginal men and women, 15 years of age and over, according to ethnic category (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)**

| | I. on R.[1] | I. off R.[2] | Métis | Inuit | TOTALS[3] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total number of dwellings occupied by an Aboriginal person** | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 4,625 | 11,400 | 4,980 | 1,605 | 21,635 |
| - Canada | 39,870 | 137,580 | 65,005 | 9,655 | 239,240 |
| - Montreal | ... | 3,330 | 955 | ... | 4,045 |
| Average number of persons per dwelling | | | | | |
| Quebec | 4.7 | 3.0 | 3.0 | 4.8 | 3.5 |
| - Canada | 4.3 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 4.3 | 3.5 |
| - Montreal | ... | 2.8 | 2.7 | ... | 2.8 |
| Average number of rooms per dwelling | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 5.5 | 5.6 | 5.5 | 5.2 | 5.5 |
| - Canada | 5.5 | 5.9 | 5.9 | 5.4 | 5.8 |
| - Montreal | ... | 5.4 | 5.2 | ... | 5.4 |
| Average number of bedrooms per dwelling | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 3.1 | 2.7 | 2.7 | 3.0 | 2.8 |
| - Canada | 2.9 | 2.6 | 2.7 | 2.7 | 2.7 |
| - Montreal | ... | 2.5 | 2.4 | ... | 2.4 |

* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I. on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I. off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.
3) "Respondents who identified with more than one Aboriginal group are included in each of the Aboriginal groups with whom they identified. As a result, the sum of the Aboriginal groups is greater than the total population reporting Aboriginal identity." (Statistics Canada).

**Table 14:** Housing expenses of **Aboriginal** men and women, 15 years of age and over, according to ethnic category (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)

| | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % | TOTALS[3] | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of tenant-occupied dwellings | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 1,485 | 32.1 | 5,200 | 45.6 | 2,280 | 45.8 | 1,460 | 91.0 | 9,860 | 45.6 |
| - Canada | 5,435 | 13.6 | 77,445 | 56.3 | 33,535 | 51.6 | 125 | 7.8 | 116,610 | 48.7 |
| - Montreal | .. | | 1,675 | 50.8 | 605* | | .. | | 2,165 | 53.5 |
| Average gross rent | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | $ 370 | | $452 | | $433 | | $265 | | $410 | |
| - Canada | $ 362 | | $517 | | $505 | | $318 | | $495 | |
| - Montreal | ... | | $541 | | $482 | | ... | | $549 | |
| Number of owner - occupied dwellings | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 1,345 | 29.1 | 6,200 | 54.4 | 2,675 | 53.7 | 145 | 9.0 | 9,700 | 44.8 |
| - Canada | 10,755 | 27.0 | 60,025 | 43.6 | 30,895 | 47.5 | 2,510 | 26.0 | 98,700 | 41.3 |
| - Montreal | .. | | 1,620 | 48.6 | 355 | 37.2 | .. | | 1,885 | 46.6 |
| Average owner's major payments | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | $233 | | $602 | | $500 | | $376 | | $530 | |
| - Canada | $207 | | $670 | | $607 | | $538 | | $603 | |
| - Montreal | ... | | $891 | | $783 | | ... | | $876 | |
| Total number of band housing dwellings | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 1,800 | 38.9 | .. | | .. | | .. | | 1,805 | 8.3 |
| - Canada | 26,375 | 66.2 | .. | | .. | | 570* | | 23,900 | 10.0 |
| - Montreal | .. | | .. | | .. | | .. | | .. | |
| Waiting for band housing | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 530 | 11.4 | 605 | 5.4 | 185* | | 285 | 17.8 | 1,680 | 7.8 |
| - Canada | 5,545 | 13.9 | 10,065 | 7.3 | .. | | 4,070 | 42.1 | 19,950 | 8.3 |
| Excerpt from Table 13 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total number of dwellings occupied by an Aboriginal person | | | | | | | | | | |
| - Quebec | 4,625 | | 11,400 | | 4,980 | | 1,605 | | 21,635 | |
| - Canada | 39,870 | | 137,580 | | 65,005 | | 9,655 | | 239,240 | |
| - Montreal | | | 3,330 | | 955 | | | | 4,045 | |

*· Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I. on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I. off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.
3) "Respondents who identified with more than one Aboriginal group are included in each of the Aboriginal groups with whom they identified. As a result, the sum of the Aboriginal groups is greater than the total population reporting Aboriginal identity." (Statistics Canada).

**TABLE 15A: Employment**: Employment and business ownership characteristics of adults 15 years of age and over who identify themselves as aboriginals for Quebec and Canada (source: APS -1991, special compilation)

| | Women | | | | Men | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Canada | % | Quebec | % | Canada | % | Quebec | % |
| **Total** | 207,435 | | 19,255 | | 181,465 | | 18,410 | |
| **Employment status** | | | | | | | | |
| Unemployment rate | | 21.6 | | 20.7 | | 27.3 | | 26.6 |
| Participation rate | | 49.7 | | 45.8 | | 65.4 | | 63.2 |
| **Barriers to employment** | | | | | | | | |
| **Persons who looked for work in 1990 or 1991** | 59,790 | | 4,305 | | 67,895 | | 6,290 | |
| Persons who report problems finding a job because... | | | | | | | | |
| . there were few jobs in the region where they live | 36,260 | 60.6 | 2,700 | 62.7 | 47,425 | 69.9 | 4,415 | 70.2 |
| . their education or work experience did not match the available jobs | 24,995 | 41.8 | 1,555 | 36.1 | 27,415 | 40.4 | 2,275 | 36.2 |
| . they could not find child care | 8,425 | 14.1 | 435 | 10.1 | 2,340 | 3.4 | *175 | 2.8 |
| . there was not enough information about available jobs | 14,475 | 24.2 | 820 | 19.0 | 18,965 | 27.9 | 1,395 | 22.2 |
| . they were Aboriginal | 9,350 | 15.6 | 415 | 9.6 | 11,425 | 16.8 | 780 | 12.4 |
| . other reasons | 6,875 | 11.5 | 605 | 14.1 | 6,105 | 9.0 | 545 | 8.7 |
| **Business owners or operators (as a % of the active population)** | 6,945 | 6.7 | 475 | 5.3 | 11,680 | 9.7 | 900 | 7.6 |

**TABLE 15B:Employment:** Employment and business ownership characteristics of women 15 years of age and over, according to origin, for Quebec (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)

| | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 6,755 | | 8,040 | | 3,005 | | 1,965 | |
| **Employment status** | | | | | | | | |
| Unemployment rate | | 26.6 | | 18.9 | | 21.2 | | 13.7 |
| Participation rate | | 36.0 | | 50.9 | | 49.3 | | 49.9 |
| **Barriers to employment** | | | | | | | | |
| **Persons who looked for work in 1990 or 1991** | 1,470 | | 1,735 | | 740 | | 445 | |
| **Persons who report problems finding a job because...** | | | | | | | | |
| . there were few jobs in the region where they live | 1,045 | 71.1 | 905 | 52.2 | 485 | 65.5 | 320 | 71.9 |
| . their education or experience did not match the available jobs | 630 | 42.9 | 590 | 34.0 | *235 | 31.8 | *140 | 31.5 |
| . they could not find child care | 215 | 14.6 | *125 | 7.2 | .. | | .. | |
| . there was not enough information about available jobs | 395 | 26.9 | *230 | 13.3 | *105 | 14.2 | *95 | 21.3 |
| . they were Aboriginal | 265 | 18.0 | .. | | .. | | .. | |
| . other reasons | *95 | 6.5 | 370 | 21.3 | *130 | 17.6 | .. | |
| **Business owners or operators (as a % of the active population)** | | | *70 | 2.8 | *320 | 7.8 | *110 | 7.3 |
| **Women who report being involved in other activities since 1990 for which they received money** | 1,940 | 28.7 | 990 | 12.3 | 295 | 9.8 | 520 | 26.5 |
| **Women who report being involved in other activities to support themselves and their families since 1990 for which they did not receive money** | 1,150 | 17.0 | 585 | 7.3 | *125 | 4.2 | 450 | 22.9 |

* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I.on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I.off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.

**TABLE 16C:Employment:** Active population participation rate and unemployment rate for women and men 15 years of age and over, who identify themselves as Aboriginals, for certain metropolitan census regions (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)

| | Women | | Men | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Participation rate | Unemployment rate | Participation rate | Unemployment rate |
| Halifax | 80.6 | .. | *79.6 | .. |
| Montreal | 61.1 | .. | 74.0 | .. |
| Ottawa-Hull | 61.9 | *12.0 | 75.6 | *13.4 |
| Toronto | 67.2 | .. | 80.8 | .. |
| Winnipeg | 47.5 | *20.2 | 62.9 | 34.7 |
| Regina | 46.8 | *26.1 | 68.2 | *25.7 |
| Saskatoon | 43.2 | *29.7 | 62.3 | *36.0 |
| Calgary | 59.2 | *21.7 | 78.0 | *14.5 |
| Edmonton | 57.6 | *22.8 | 73.1 | 34.1 |
| Vancouver | 56.4 | 27.7 | 72.1 | 30.1 |
| Victoria | 59.8 | *18.8 | 72.4 | *20.5 |

* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).

**tTABLE 17A: Schooling:** Schooling characteristics for adults (15 to 49 years of age) who identify themselves as Aboriginals for Quebec and Canada (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)

| | Women | | | | Men | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Canada | % | Quebec | % | Canada | % | Quebec | % |
| **Total number of adults between 14 and 49 years** | 173,775 | | 15,285 | | 151,685 | | 14,965 | |
| No formal schooling | 1,330 | 0.8 | 265 | 1.7 | 1,605 | 1.1 | *240 | 1.6 |
| 1 to 8 years | 26,215 | 15.1 | 3,290 | 21.5 | 25,635 | 16.9 | 3,125 | 20.9 |
| Secondary | 83,050 | 47.8 | 7,150 | 46.8 | 78,290 | 51.6 | 7,320 | 48.9 |
| Some postsecondary | 26,870 | 15.5 | 1,705 | 11.2 | 18,420 | 12.1 | 1,445 | 9.7 |
| Certificate/diploma | 30,550 | 17.6 | 2,250 | 14.7 | 23,230 | 15.3 | 2,190 | 14.6 |
| University degree | 5,015 | 2.9 | 535 | 3.5 | 3,670 | 2.4 | 520 | 3.5 |
| Not specified | 740 | 0.4 | 90 | 0.6 | 830 | 0.6 | 120 | 0.8 |
| **Total number of adults who report attending secondary school** | 144,885 | | 12,755 | | 122,880 | | 12,645 | |
| Adults who report having Aboriginal teachers | 20,960 | 14.5 | 2,585 | 20.3 | 19,240 | 15.7 | 2,580 | 20.4 |
| Language used by teachers in the classroom | | | | | | | | |
| English | 130,120 | 89.8 | 5 710 | 44.8 | 107,865 | 87.8 | 5,235 | 41.4 |
| French | 42,955 | 29.6 | 9,770 | 76.6 | 34,410 | 28.0 | 9,565 | 75.6 |
| Aboriginal languages | 8,040 | 5.6 | 1,965 | 15.4 | 7,090 | 5.8 | 1,895 | 15.0 |
| Adults who report they were taught about Aboriginal people | 51,165 | 35.3 | 3,990 | 31.3 | 43,565 | 35.5 | 4,390 | 34.7 |
| Adults who report they liked what they were taught about Aboriginal people | 43,880 | 85.83 | 3,800 | 84.7 | 38,250 | 87.8 | 3,695 | 84.2 |

**TABLE 17B: Schooling:** Schooling characteristics of women (15 to 49 years of age) according to origin (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)

| | I. on R.[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total number of adults between 14 and 49 years** | 5,390 | | 6,305 | | 2,375 | | 1,635 | |
| No formal schooling | 180 | 3.3 | .. | | .. | | *80 | 4.9 |
| 1 to 8 years | 1,635 | 30.3 | 780 | 12.4 | 390 | 16.4 | 580 | 35.5 |
| Secondary | 2,550 | 47.3 | 2,910 | 46.2 | 1,220 | 51.4 | 645 | 39.5 |
| Some postsecondary | 475 | 8.8 | 830 | 13.2 | 295 | 12.4 | *185 | 11.3 |
| Certificate/diploma | 420 | 7.8 | 1,355 | 21.5 | 405 | 17.1 | *120 | 7.3 |
| University degree | 75 | 1.4 | 395 | 6.3 | .. | | .. | |
| Not specified | 55 | 1.0 | .. | | .. | | .. | |
| **Total number of adults from 15 to 49 years who report attending secondary school** | 4,215 | 72.2 | 5,720 | 90.7 | 2,205 | 92.8 | 995 | 60.9 |
| Adults who report having Aboriginal teachers | 1,445 | 34.3 | *340 | 5.9 | 65 | 3.0 | 740 | 74.4 |
| Language used by teachers in the classroom | | | | | | | | |
| English | 2,330 | | 2,030 | | 670 | | 745 | |
| French | 3,225 | | 4,545 | | 1,940 | | 285 | |
| Aboriginal languages | 1,035 | 24.6 | *210 | 3.7 | .. | | 710 | 71.4 |
| Adults who report they were taught about Aboriginal people | 1,610 | 38.1 | 1,220 | 21.3 | 465 | 21.1 | 735 | 73.9 |
| Adults who report that they liked what they were taught about Aboriginal people | 1,465 | 97.2 | 885 | 72.5 | 360 | 77.4 | 690 | 93.9 |

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* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I.on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I.off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.

**TABLE 18A: Income:** Some income characteristics of adults (15 years and over) who identify themselves as Aboriginals for Quebec and Canada (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)

| | Women | | | | Men | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Canada | % | Quebec | % | Canada | % | Quebec | % |
| **TOTAL INCOME FROM ALL SOURCES** | | | | | | | | |
| **Total number of adults aged 15 and older** | 207,435 | | 19,260 | | 181,465 | | 18,410 | |
| . no income | 33,605 | 16.2 | 4,040 | 21.0 | 17,840 | 9.8 | 1,700 | 9.2 |
| . under $2,000 | 26,990 | 13.0 | 1,605 | 8.3 | 19,610 | 10.8 | 1,215 | 6.6 |
| . $2,000 to $9,999 | 64,490 | 31.1 | 6,250 | 32.5 | 48,105 | 26.5 | 4,945 | 26.9 |
| . $10,000 to $19,999 | 49,320 | 23.8 | 4,155 | 21.6 | 39,145 | 21.6 | 4,360 | 23.7 |
| . $20,000 to $39,999 | 28,580 | 13.8 | 2,760 | 14.3 | 40,645 | 22.4 | 4,475 | 24.3 |
| . $40,000 and over | 4,410 | 2.1 | 445 | 2.3 | 16,070 | 8.9 | 1,715 | 9.3 |
| . not specified | .. | | .. | | .. | | .. | |
| **EMPLOYMENT INCOME, 1990** | | | | | | | | |
| **Total number of adults reporting employment income** | 109,955 | | 9,455 | | 121,910 | | 12,020 | |
| . under $2,000 | 21,160 | 19.2 | 1,770 | 18.7 | 17,585 | 14.4 | 1,360 | 11.3 |
| . $2,000 to $9,999 | 36,255 | 33.0 | 2,860 | 30.3 | 33,720 | 27.7 | 3,380 | 28.1 |
| . $10,000 to $19,999 | 25,775 | 23.4 | 2,140 | 22.6 | 23,285 | 19.1 | 2,315 | 19.3 |
| . $20,000 to $39,999 | 23,225 | 21.1 | 2,330 | 24.6 | 33,370 | 27.4 | 3,470 | 28.9 |
| . $40,000 and over | 3,545 | 3.2 | 355 | 3.8 | 13,950 | 11.4 | 1,500 | 12.5 |
| . not specified | .. | | .. | | .. | | .. | |

.. Figures not available (too unreliable).

**TABLE 18B:** Income: Some income characteristics of women (15 years and over) according to origin for Quebec (source: APS - 1991, special compilation)

| | I.D.R[1] | % | I. off R.[2] | % | Métis | % | Inuit | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **TOTAL INCOME FROM ALL SOURCES** | | | | | | | | |
| **Total number of adults aged 15 and older** | 6,755 | | 8,040 | | 3,005 | | 1,965 | |
| . no income | 1,500 | 22.2 | 1,755 | 21.8 | 670 | 22.3 | 360 | 18.3 |
| . under $2,000 | 625 | 9.3 | 505 | 6.3 | 300 | 10.0 | *190 | 9.7 |
| . $2,000 to $9,999 | 2,620 | 38.8 | 2,245 | 27.9 | 785 | 26.1 | 690 | 35.1 |
| . $10,000 to $19,999 | 1,290 | 19.1 | 1,820 | 22.6 | 735 | 24.5 | 420 | 21.4 |
| . $20,000 to $39,999 | 690 | 10.2 | 1,350 | 16.8 | 480 | 16.0 | 260 | 13.2 |
| . $40,000 and over | *35 | 0.5 | 355 | 4.4 | .. | | .. | |
| . not specified | .. | | .. | | .. | | .. | |
| **EMPLOYMENT INCOME, 1990** | | | | | | | | |
| **Total number of adults reporting employment income** | 2,710 | | 4,095 | | 1,615 | | 1,240 | |
| . under $2,000 | 735 | 27.1 | 495 | 12.1 | 230 | 14.2 | 330 | 26.6 |
| . $2,000 to $9,999 | 845 | 31.2 | 1,140 | 27.8 | 600 | 37.2 | 375 | 30.2 |
| . $10,000 to $19,999 | 545 | 20.1 | 1,030 | 25.2 | 360 | 22.3 | 265 | 21.4 |
| . $20,000 to $39,999 | 555 | 20.5 | 1,155 | 28.2 | 410 | 25.4 | *230 | 18.5 |
| . $40,000 and over | .. | | *280 | 6.8 | .. | | .. | |
| . not specified | .. | | .. | | .. | | .. | |

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* Use figures with caution - the coefficient of variation is between 16.7 and 33.3%.
.. Figures not available (too unreliable).
1) I.on R. = Indian living on Indian reserve or settlement.
2) I.off R. = Indian living off Indian reserve or settlement.